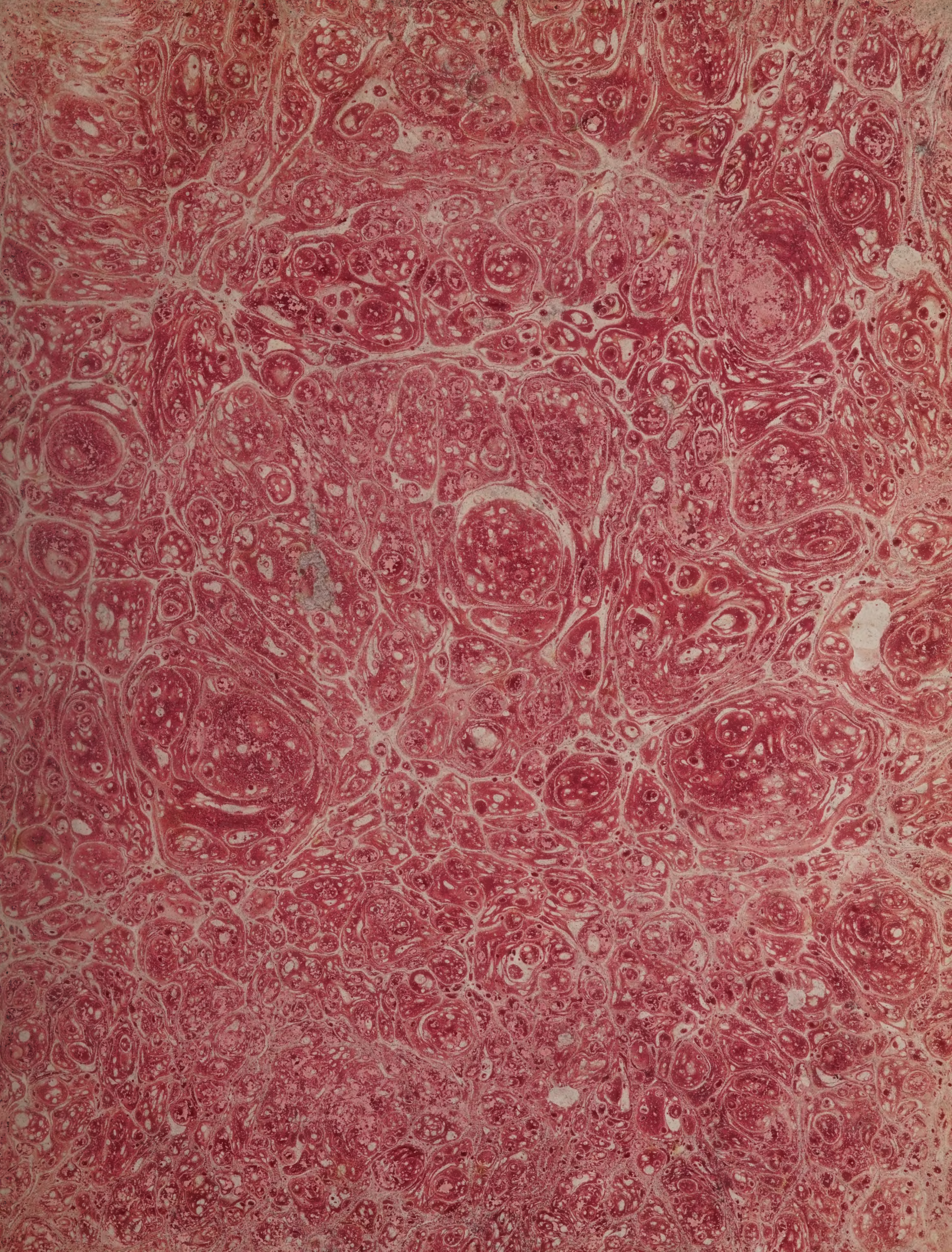




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THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY:

A
COLLECTION

OF
SCARCE, CURIOUS, AND ENTERTAINING
PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS,
AS WELL IN MANUSCRIPT AS IN PRINT.

SELECTED FROM THE
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INTERSPERSED WITH
HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND CRITICAL ANNOTATIONS,
BY THE LATE
WILLIAM OLDYS, ESQ.

AND
SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES,

BY
THOMAS PARK, F.S.A.

VOL. VI.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR WHITE AND CO., AND JOHN MURRAY, FLEET-STREET; AND
JOHN HARDING, ST. JAMES'S-STREET.

1810.



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HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

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THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

The Advice of W. P.¹ to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, for the Advancement of some particular Parts of Learning.

London, Printed *Anno Dom.* 1648.

[Quarto; containing thirty-four pages.]

THERE is invented an instrument of small bulk and price, easily made, and very durable, whereby any man, even at the first sight and handling, may write two resembling copies of the same thing at once, as serviceably and as fast, (allowing two lines upon each page for setting the instruments,) as by the ordinary way: of what nature, or in what character, or what matter soever, as paper, parchment, a book, &c. the said writing ought to be made upon.

The use hereof will be very great to lawyers and scriveners, for making of indentures, and all kinds of counter-parts; to merchants, intelligencers, registers, secretaries, clerks, &c. for copying of letters, accompts, invoices, entering of warrants, and other records; to scholars, for transcribing of rare manuscripts, and preserving originals from falsification, and other injuries of time. It lesseneth the labour of examination, serveth to discover forgeries and surreptitious copies, and to the transacting of all businesses of writing, as with ease and speed, so with much privacy also².

¹ [Sir William Petty, a singular instance of an universal genius. Having, in 1644, invented an instrument for double writing, he obtained a patent from the parliament, for the sole teaching of that art for seventeen years. Though this project (however promising in theory) did not turn to any great account in itself, yet by this means our author was brought into the knowledge of the leading men of those times; and observing their proceedings at Oxford, he resolved to lay hold of the opportunity of fixing himself there. Having therefore written his 'Advice to Mr. Hartlib,' he went thither in 1648, and became a great promoter of academical science. Biog. Dict.]

² [Rushworth, having mentioned the patent for teaching this art, transcribes nearly our author's words, and adds, that 'it might be learnt in an hour's practice.' The additional fatigue occasioned to the hand, by the increase of weight above that of the pen, rendered this project useless as to the chief advantage proposed, that of expedition in writing: but it seems to have been applied with some alterations respecting that design, to the business of drawing; the instrument for which is too well known to need any description here.]

To his honoured Friend, Master SAMUEL HARTLIB.

SIR,

I HAVE had many flying thoughts concerning the advancement of real Learning in general, but particularly of the Education of Youth, Mathematicks, Mechanicks, Physick, and concerning the history of Art and Nature; with some more serious ones, concerning your own most excellent advices for an Office of Publick Address. And, indeed, they were but flying thoughts; for, seeing what vast sums were requisite to carry on those designs, and how unwilling or unable men generally were to contribute towards them, I thought it but labour lost to fix my mind much upon them.

But it having pleased God, unexpectedly to make me the inventor of the art of Double Writing, daily and hourly useful to all sorts of persons in all places of the world, and that to perpetuity; I conceived that if there were understanding enough in men to be sensible of their own good, and thankfulness or honesty enough to reward the contrivers of it, such means might be raised out of this art as might at least set the aforementioned designs on float, and make them ready to set sail toward the haven of perfection, upon every opportunity of stronger gales. And thereupon I re-assumed my meditations, which I here give you, desiring you and your ingenuous friends to re-meditate upon them and correct them, but withal to think of the best course how to improve my invention to such advantage, as may, if possible, make us capable of enjoying more than bare ideas of that happiness, which the achievement of our designs promiseth. I shall desire you to shew them unto no more than needs you must, since they can please only those few that are real friends to the design of realities, not those who are tickled only with rhetorical prefaces, transitions, and epilogues, and charmed with fine allusions and metaphors (all which I do not condemn), wherewith, as I had no abilities to adorn my discourse, so I wanted allot her requisites thereunto, having written it (as yourself must bear me witness) at your own importunity, in the midst of my cares and endeavours to perfect my invention; and which is worse, in the midst of my hard and perhaps unprofitable labour, to prevent the ingratitude and backwardness of men to reward him, who shall earnestly labour to express himself

London, Jan. 8, 1647-8.

Yours, and your designs most affectionate servant,

W. P.

TO give an exact definition, or nice division of Learning, or of the advancement thereof, we shall not undertake, (it being already so accurately done by the great Lord Verulam,) intending only to shew where our own shoe pincheth us, or to point at some pieces of knowledge, the improvement whereof (as we at least conceive) would make much to the general good and comfort of all mankind; and, withal, to deliver our own opinion, by what means they may be raised some one degree nearer to perfection.

But, before we can meddle with this great work, we must first think of getting labourers, by appointing some general rendezvous, where all men, either able, or willing to take up arms against the many difficulties thereof, may find entertainment; that is to say, we must recommend the institution of an office of common address, according to the projection of Mr. Hartlib, that painful and great instrument of this design; whereby the wants and desires of all may be made known unto all; where men may know what is already done in the business of learning, what is at present in doing, and what is intended to be done: to the end that, by such a general communication of designs, and mutual assistance, the wits and endeavours of the world may no longer be as so many scattered coals, or firebrands, which for want of union are soon quenched; whereas, being but laid together, they would have yielded a comfortable light and heat. For, methinks, the present condition of men is like a field, where a battle hath been lately fought, where we may see may legs, and arms, and eyes, lying here and there, which for want of an union, and a soul to quicken and enliven them, are good for nothing, but to feed ravens, and

infect the air: so we see many wits and ingenuities lying scattered up and down the world; whereof some are now labouring to do what is already done, and puzzling themselves to re-invent what is already invented; others we see quite stuck fast in difficulties, for want of a few directions, which some other man, might he be met withal, both could and would most easily give them. Again, one man wants a small sum of money, to carry on some design that requires it; and there is, perhaps, another, who hath twice as much ready to bestow on the same design; but these two having no means ever to hear one of the other, the good work, intended and desired by both parties, doth utterly perish and come to nothing: but this we pass over slightly, though very fundamental to our business, because the master-builder thereof himself hath done it so solidly.

Having by this means procured workmen, and what else is necessary to the work, that which we would have them to labour in, is, How to find out such arts as are yet undiscovered; How to learn what is already known, by more compendious and facile ways; and to apply it to more, and those more noble uses: how to work in men an higher esteem of learning, so as to give occasion, encouragement, and opportunity, to more men to apply themselves to its advancement.

The next thing to be done will be, first; To see what is well and sufficiently done already, exploding whatsoever is nice, contentious, and merely fantastical; all which must in some measure be suppressed, and brought into disgrace and contempt with all men.

2. This survey may be made by perusing all books, and taking notice of all mechanical inventions.

3. In this perusal, all the real or experimental learning may be sifted and collected out of the said books.

4. There must be appointed able readers of all such books, with certain and well-limited directions what to collect out of them.

5. Every book must be so read by two several persons a-part, to prevent mistakes and failings from the said directions.

6. The directions for reading must be such, that the readers, observing them, may exactly agree in their collections.

7. Out of all these books one book, or great work, may be made, though consisting of many volumes.

8. The most artificial indices, tables, or other helps for the ready finding, remembering, and well understanding all things contained in these books, must be contrived and put in practice.

Having thus taken the height, or pitch, whereunto all arts and sciences whatsoever are already come, and observed where they now stick; the ablest men, in every respective faculty, must be set apart to drive them on further, with sufficient maintenance and encouragement for the same. Whereunto it is requisite that two or three, one under another, be employed about each faculty; to the end that, some of them dying, or any otherwise failing, there may never want men acquainted with the whole design, and able to carry it on, with the help of others to be admitted under them; and that, at least, yearly accounts be taken of those men's endeavours, and rewards be proportioned to them accordingly.

And now we shall think of whetting our tools, and preparing sharp instruments for this hard work, by delivering our thoughts concerning education; which are:

1. That there be instituted *ergastula literaria*, literary work-houses, where children may be taught as well to do something towards their living, as to read and write.

That the business of education be not, as now, committed to the worst and unworthiest of men; but that it be seriously studied and practised by the best and ablest persons.

That all children of above seven years old may be presented to this kind of education; none being to be excluded by reason of the poverty and inability of their parents: for hereby it hath come to pass, that many are now holding the plough, which might have been made fit to steer the state. Wherefore, let such poor children be employed on

works whereby they may earn their living, equal to their strength and understanding, and such as they may perform, as well as elder and abler persons, *viz.* attending engines, &c. and if they cannot get their whole living, and their parents can contribute nothing at all to make it up, let them stay somewhat the longer in the work-house.

That, since few children have need of reading, before they know, or can be acquainted with the things they read of; or of writing, before their thoughts are worth the recording, or they are able to put them into any form (which we call inditing); much less of learning languages, when there are books enough for their present use in their own mother-tongue; our opinion is, that those things, being withal somewhat above their capacity, (as being to be attained by judgment, which is weakest in children,) be deferred a while, and others more needful for them (such as are in the order of nature before those aforementioned, and are attainable by the help of memory, which is either most strong, or unpreoccupied in children) be studied before them. We wish, therefore, that the educands be taught to observe and remember all sensible objects and actions, whether they be natural, or artificial; which the educators must upon all occasions expound unto them.

That they use such exercises, whether in work, or for recreation, as tend to the health, agility, and strength of their bodies.

That they be taught to read by much more compendious means than are in common use; which is a thing certainly very easy and feasible.

That they be not only taught to write according to our common way, but also to write swiftly, and in real characters; as likewise the dextrous use of the instrument for writing many copies of the same thing at once.

That the artificial memory be thought upon; and, if the precepts thereof be not too far above children's capacities, we conceive it not improper for them to learn that also.

That in no case the art of drawing and designing be omitted, to what course of life soever those children are to be applied; since the use thereof, for expressing the conceptions of the mind, seems (at least to us) to be little inferior to that of writing; and, in many cases, performeth what by words is impossible.

That the elements of arithmetick and geometry be by all studied, being not only of great and frequent use in all human affairs, but also sure guides and helps to reason, and especial remedies for a volatile and unsteady mind.

That effectual courses be taken to try the abilities of the bodies and minds of children, the strength of their memory, inclination of their affections either to vice or virtue, and to which of them in particular; and, withal, to alter what is bad in them, and increase and improve what is good, applying all, whether good or bad, to the least inconveniency, and most advantage.

That such, as shall have need to learn foreign languages (the use whereof would be much lessened, were the real and common characters brought into practice), may be taught them by incomparably more easy ways, than are now usual.

That no ignoble, unnecessary, or condemned part of learning be taught in those houses of education; so that, if any man shall vainly fall upon them, he himself only may be blamed.

That such, as have any natural ability and fitness to musick, be encouraged and instructed therein.

That all children, though of the highest rank, be taught some genteel manufacture in their minority; such as are,

Turning of curious figures.

Making mathematical instruments, dials, and how to use them in astronomical observations.

Making watches, and other trochilic motions.

Limning and painting on glass, or in oil-colours.

Engraving, etching, carving, embossing, and moulding, in sundry matters.

The lapidary's art of knowing, cutting, and setting jewels.

Grinding of glasses, dioptrical and catoptrical.

Botanicks and gardening.

Making musical instruments.

Navarchy, and making models for buildings, and rigging for ships.

Architecture, and making models for houses.

The confectioner's, perfumer's, or dyer's arts.

Chymistry, refining metals, and counterfeiting jewels.

Anatomy, making skeletons, and excarnating bowels.

Making mariners' compasses, globes, and other magnetic devices.

And all for these reasons :

1. They shall be less subject to be cozened by artificers.
2. They will become more industrious in general.
3. They will certainly bring to pass most excellent works ; being, as gentlemen, ambitious to excel ordinary workmen.
4. They, being able to make experiments themselves, may do it with less charge, and more care, than others will do it for them.
5. The *respublica artium* will be much advanced, when such, as are rich and able, are also willing to make luciferous experiments.
6. It may engage them to be *Mecænates* and patrons of arts.
7. It will keep them from worse occasions of spending their time and estates.
8. As it will be a great ornament in prosperity, so it will be a great refuge and stay in adversity and common calamity.

As for what remains of education, we cannot but hope, that those, whom we have desired should make it their trade, will supply it ; and render the idea thereof much more perfect.

We have already recommended the study of the elements of arithmetick and geometry to all men in general ; but they being the best grounded parts of speculative knowledge, and of so vast use in all practical arts, we cannot but commend deeper enquiries into them. And although the way of advancing them, in particular, may be drawn from what we have already delivered, concerning the advancement of learning in general ; yet, for the more explicit understanding of our meaning herein, we refer to Mr. Pell's most excellent idea thereof, written to master Hartlib.

In the next place, for the advancement of all mechanical arts and manufactures, we wish that there were erected a *gymnasium mechanicum*, or a college of tradesmen, (or, for more expedition, until such a place could be built, that the most convenient houses, for such a purpose, may be either bought or hired,) wherein we would that one, at least, of every trade, (but the prime most ingenious workman, the most desirous to improve his art,) might be allowed therein a handsome dwelling, rent-free ; which, with the credit of being admitted into this society, and the quick sale, which certainly they would have of their commodities, (when all men would repair thither, as to a market of rare and exquisite pieces of workmanship,) would be a sufficient motive to attract the very ablest of mechanicks, and such as we have described, to desire a fellowship in this college.

From this institution we may clearly hope, when the excellent in all arts are not only neighbours, but intimate friends and brethren, united in a common desire and zeal to promote them, that all trades will miraculously prosper ; and new inventions would be more frequent, than new fashions of clothes and household-stuff. Here would be the best and more effectual opportunities and means, for writing a history of trades, in perfection and exactness ; and what experiments and stuff would all those shops and operations afford to active and philosophical heads, out of which, to extract that interpretation of nature, whereof there is so little, and that so bad, as yet extant in the world ?

Within the walls of this *gymnasium*, or college, should be a *nosocomium academicum*, according to the most exact and perfect idea thereof ; a complete *theatrum botanicum*, stalls and cages for all strange beasts and birds, with ponds and conservatories for all exotic fishes ; here all animals, capable thereof, should be fit for some kind of labour and employment, that they may as well be of use living as dead : here should be a repository of

all kinds of rarities, natural and artificial pieces of antiquity, models of all great and noble engines, with designs and platforms of gardens and buildings: the most artificial fountains and water-works, a library of select books, an astronomical observatory for celestial bodies and meteors, large pieces of ground for several experiments of agriculture, galleries of the rarest paintings and statues, with the fairest globes, and geographical maps of the best descriptions; and, so far as is possible, we would have this place to be the epitome or abstract of the whole world: so that a man, conversant within those walls, would certainly prove a greater scholar, than the walking libraries so called, although he could neither write nor read. But if a child, before he learned to write or read, were made acquainted with all things, and actions, as he might be in this college; how easily would he understand all good books afterwards, and smell out the fopperies of bad ones? As for the situation, model, policy, and economy, with the number of officers, and retainers to this college, and the privileges thereof, it is as yet time enough to delineate. Only we wish, that a society of men might be instituted as careful to advance arts, as the Jesuits are to propagate their religion, for the government and managing of it.

But what relish will there be in all those dainties whereof we have spoken, if we want a palate to taste them, which certainly is health, the most desirable of all earthly blessings; and how can we, in any reason, expect health, when there are so many great difficulties in the curing of diseases, and no proportionable course taken to remove them? We shall therefore pursue the means of acquiring the public good, and comfort of mankind, a little further, and vent our conceits concerning a *nosocomium academicum*; or an hospital to cure the infirmities both of physician and patient.

We intended to have given the most perfect idea of this *nosocomium academicum*, and consequently to have treated of the situation and fabrick of the house, garden, library, chymical laboratory, anatomical theatre, apotheca, with all the instruments and furniture belonging to each of them, as also of the whole policy and economy thereof. But since such a work could not be brought to pass without much charge (the very naming whereof doth deter men even from the most noble and necessary attempts), we are contented to portraiture only such a *nosocomium*, as may be made out of one of our old hospitals; without any new donations or creeping to benefactors, only with a little pains taken by the reforming hand of authority. For we do not doubt, but that we have so contrived the business, that there is no hospital, in its corrupt state, can be more thriftily managed than ours. For the number of our ministers are no greater than usual, and absolutely necessary; their pensions no larger than are allowed to those, who do not make the service of the hospital the sixth part of their employment and means of subsistence; and yet we give encouragement enough to able men to undertake it, without meddling with any other business, which we strictly forbid. For, as the salaries are but small, so the charge of the ministers is not great; they being all to be unmarried persons, their accommodation handsome, their employment (being a work of public and honest charity) honourable; and to philosophical men, who only are to have a hand in this business, most pleasant and delightful. Besides, when their respective times are expired, their profit and esteem in the world cannot but be very great: for their way of breeding will both procure them practice amongst such as are able to reward them, and give them a dexterity and ability, to manage and go through a great deal thereof.

Moreover, the smallness of the salary, the long servitude amongst poor wretches, and restraint from marriages, the great pains and natural parts required to perform duties, will, I hope, prevent all intrusions of those, whose genius doth not incline them to take pleasure in this way of life.

Wherefore, being not at leisure to frame Utopias, we shall only speak of the number and salary of ministers, the time of their service, with their qualifications in general, and duties in particular, which are to be employed in this *nosocomium academicum*.

The *nosocomium*, being fitted with all manner of necessities, shall be overseen by three or four curators, men of learning, honour, and worth; such as shall, out of charity and

goodwill to the publick, perform this trust; who are to be protectors and chancellors thereof, as also auditors of the steward's accounts.

Besides these, there shall be a mathematician for steward, a physician, surgeon, and apothecary, each well versed, both in the theory and practice of their respective professions. A young physician, capable at least of the degree of doctor, who may be called the vice-physician; and another of about five or six years' standing in the university, who may be called the student. There should be also a surgeon and an apothecary, who have served their apprenticeships in the said faculties, called the surgeon's and apothecary's mate; with two other young men, the one to serve the surgeon, and the other the apothecary; all understanding, at least, the Latin tongue, which may be called the apprentices. All these are to be chosen, at first, by the curators, but afterwards by the society itself; being such as they shall be certified are pious, ingenious, laborious, lovers of knowledge, and particularly of the faculty of physick, courteous, not covetous: and lastly, such amongst whom there may be an harmony of natures and studies, so as all fear of discords, envy, and emulation, may be taken away. There ought also to be entertained as many honest, careful, antient widows, to serve as nurses to the sick, as will be proportionable to their number; some whereof are to be ordinary, and some extraordinary, whereof the latter may be taken in, and dismissed again, as occasion of their help requires.

There should be allowed out of the revenues of the hospital to the aforementioned ministers, besides their diets, house-room, washing, firing, &c. and exemption from all taxes and employments in the commonwealth, the several sums following, viz.

To the Steward	-	-	-	-	-	-	80	} <i>per Annum.</i>
To the Physician	-	-	-	-	-	-	120	
To the Vice-Physician	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	
To the Surgeon and Apothecary, each	-	-	-	-	-	-	60	
To the Student	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	
To the Surgeon and Apothecary's Mate	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	
To each of the Apprentices	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	
To each ordinary Nurse	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	}
To an Extraordinary by the week,	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 Shillings.	

It should be granted by the state, that whosoever hath served his respective time in the *nosocomium*, and hath a certificate thereof from the society, shall be thereby licensed to practise his profession in any place or corporation whatsoever, notwithstanding any former law to the contrary.

The steward shall not be obliged to stay any longer, than from year to year. Each of the faculty of physick may serve five years in each degree thereof; each of the surgeons and apothecaries, but four.

These circumstances being premised, we now come to the very essence of the whole business; that is, to the description of each of the aforesaid ministers, their particular duty and function, which are as follow, viz.

The steward shall be a man of approved honesty, able to give order for all reparations about the house, garden, &c. to agree and bargain with workmen, and all that shall serve in any commodities into the house; he is to receive and pay all moneys, and submit the accounts thereof to the whole society, and they again to the curators. For which and other like duties, he ought to be skilled in mathematicks; chiefly in arithmetick and keeping accounts, measuring of land, timber, board, architecture, frugal contrivances, and the like. But, as to the advancement of physick, we desire he may be skilled in the best rules of judicial astrology, which he may apply to calculate the events of diseases, and prognosticate of the weather; to the end that, by his judicious and careful experiments, the wheat may be separated from the chaff in that faculty likewise; and what is good therein may be applied to good uses, and the rest exploded. He shall keep a journal of all notable changes of weather, and fertility of seasons, taking notice what fruits, &c. have abounded and what have failed; which have been good, and which bad, with the reasons thereof; whether the same were caused by mildews, blasts, unseasonable wea-

ther, caterpillars, or other vermin; he shall take notice of the several diseases, as staggers, murrain, rot, &c. which, in each year, have infested each species of animals, and what insects have most abounded; all which particulars, with the epidemical diseases befalling man, he may compare with the aspects of the celestial bodies, and so examine the precepts delivered unto us by the professors of that art.

The physician must be a philosopher, skilled at large in the phaenomena of nature; must understand the Greek tongue, be well read in good authors, and seen in the practice of all the ministrant parts of physick; willing to instruct and forward all that are under him. His work shall be twice every day deliberately to visit and examine all the sick; and, after due consideration of their condition, to prescribe them convenient medicines; and shall dictate, in Latin, to the vice-physician attending him, the history of their several diseases, excluding impertinencies: he shall see all patients in outward griefs (to whom he administereth any inward remedies) opened and dressed every now-and-then; to the end that himself and the surgeon may both have the same intention and scope in their practice. He must take care that the surgeon and student keep the history of their cures likewise, and that the apothecary and student do the same in their pharmacy and botanicks. He shall oversee the dispensation of all compound, and preparation of all chymical medicaments; giving the apothecary directions for the making of new enquiries and experiments in his way; and likewise to the surgeon and the rest, in theirs, when he seeth them not otherwise employed. In brief, he shall have an influence upon all the rest, and all the rest reciprocally upon him; so that he, being made acquainted with all the histories taken in the hospital, laboratory, anatomical chamber, garden, &c. may give the reason of the most notable phaenomena happening in either of them. All which he shall commit to writing, and, out of them, by the end of the term of his service, shall collect a system of physick, and the most approved medicinal aphorisms; taking notice by the way, where those of Hippocrates are deficient or true, and by how many several experiments he hath so found them. He shall either dissect, or overlook the dissection of bodies dying of diseases: and, lastly, shall take care that all luciferous experiments whatsoever may be carefully brought to him, and recorded for the benefit of posterity.

The vice-physician's proper charge is to see the history of the patient most exactly and constantly kept. He may now-and-then read some good author, but in all other things shall endeavour to assist, and be subordinate to the physician in all parts of his duty, still acting by his directions; but shall not prescribe any physick without the consent of the chief; nor, in his absence, upon emergent occasions, without the advice of the master-surgeon. He should be always walking up and down from bed to bed, feeling the pulses, and looking on the urine and other excrements of the sick; that no considerable punctilio, in any circumstance whatsoever, escape his observation. For the completing of the history, he shall apply himself to the making of luciferous experiments, and to take notice of such as shall be made by others.

The student shall assist the surgeon and apothecary in making the history of their practices; to the end he may have always occasions to instruct himself in these ministrant parts of physick: to read such authors as the chief physician shall appoint him, and compare all his reading with the things themselves, whereof he readeth; as herbs, drugs, compound medicaments, anatomy, chirurgical instruments, bandages, operations, &c. all which we call the real elements of the art. He shall, by leave from the physician, in cases of need, put his hand to help the surgeon or apothecary, and sometimes watch by night with the nurses; that the perfection of the history may by no means be hazarded on their ignorance or carelessness. He may serve the physician as an amanuensis, especially in such things, the transcribing whereof may tend much to the advancement of his own knowledge.

Of the Surgeons.

The master-surgeon shall dress every patient belonging to his care, the first time himself, in the presence of him to whom he shall commit the said cure afterwards; and, as it

were, read him a lecture thereupon. When the other surgeons under him are dressing, he shall, accompanied with the student, go from patient to patient, to give them directions *pro re nata*, in their proceedings on the cure; and dictate to the student the most pertinent passages happening from time to time, that he may keep a true and uninterrupted history of them. He shall make experiments, by dissecting sundry sorts of animals; shall teach his mates anatomy; expound good authors to them; shew them the manner of making bandages, and making all manner of operations; such as are the laryngotomia, cutting for the stone, hernia, dropsy, and applying the trepan, both upon living brutes and dead carcasses of men; to the end that, by practising upon these, the best places for making incision may be known, and all the dangerous parts in the way taken notice of; and upon the others, how to avoid the inconveniences of hæmorrhages, strugglings, and the like.

The mate shall dress all the more difficult griefs, apply cauteries, make fontanels, practise anatomy, and manual operations; make skeletons of the sundry rare animals which he shall have the opportunity to cut up; excarnate bowels, artificially dry the muscles, tan the ventricle, guts, &c. and do what else tendeth to the perfection of anatomy: he shall also, at leisure-times, transcribe the history of their practice, first and originally taken by the student.

The apprentice shall serve the master in spreading plaisters, letting blood in the arm, threading pease for issues, whetting instruments, scraping lint, and sewing together bandages, which he shall also learn to apply; he shall see dissections, read good surgery, and see the practice of operations made by his superiors. He shall also see the apothecaries make all such plaisters, unguents, balsams, &c. (learning to choose and know all the gums and other ingredients going into them) as are used in their practice.

Of the Apothecary.

The master-apothecary, being a most exquisite botanist, shall take care of the garden; that store of all useful plants be kept therein, and also that such as are for beauty or rarity be not wanting: he shall give order for all experiments of grafting, transplanting, meliorating the tastes, smells, &c. of plants, accelerating of germination and maturation in them, conservation of exoticks, so as in time to make them domesticks, to try the effect of all artificial composts: he shall see that all herbs, roots, &c. be gathered in their due seasons, and that all the most proper courses be used for conserving them: he shall write of the sensible and evident qualities of all drugs; as of their smell, taste, ponderosity, rarity, friability, transparency, colour, hardness, &c. omitting such as are not discernible by sense, or depreensible by certain experiments, and declaring the several operations, chymical or pharmaceutical, by which these drugs are usually, or may be best prepared: he shall set down all the experiments solitary or in consort, that he meeteth with, in the mixing or preparing any of them; as that camphire will of itself evaporate, turpentine washed in water becometh white, euphorbium in the beating will cause excessive sneezing; that the seeds of *cucumis asininus* will of themselves leap out with great impetuosity one after another; that spirit of vitrol, mixed with syrup of violets, turneth into a fair crimson colour, and others of the like nature. He shall with the student keep an exact history of all rare and unusual accidents, happening in his operations; he shall take care that all medicaments be made according to art, or the physician's particular directions. He shall ever now and then visit the *apotheca*, to cast out thereof all decayed drugs and compositions; shall read pharmaceutical and chymical institutions to his inferiors, and teach the plants to any of the society that shall desire to learn them.

The apothecary's mate shall transcribe the prescriptions taken by the vice-physician, and see them carefully made up; shall attend the hospital, in administering to each patient his physick according to directions, applying epithemes, cucuphas, embrochas, fomentations, frictions, unctions, giving glisters, applying leeches, &c. He shall transcribe the

history compiled by the master-apothecary, and the student; and at leisure-times, when he cannot study things, he may read good authors in his own art, without meddling either with physick or surgery.

The apprentice shall read some good pharmaceutical botanic and chymical institutions, shall be much conversant in the garden to see the curing of tender and exotic plants, where he shall observe the working of nature in their growing, flowering, &c. He shall see the herbs, roots, and seeds, gathered according to directions; he shall work in beating and picking drugs, and on all other operations belonging to the preparation of medicaments.

The nurses shall be always at hand in the hospital to help the sick; that, by reason of their absence, they may not be put to strain and offend themselves by often and loud crying and calling. They shall dress their diet and give them in quality, quantity, time, and order, according to the physician's directions; they shall see their linen conveniently changed so as to prevent all annoyance to the sick. They shall in watching endeavour to observe all remarkable accidents happening in the night; as whether they raved or talked much in their sleep, snored, coughed, &c. all which they shall punctually report to the physician, shewing him the urines and other excrements, telling him the time and manner wherein they were voided; and in brief, they being the lowest members of the house, they shall be in all things obedient to their superiors.

It is hard so to assign to every minister his particular duty, as that the business (which is the recovery of the patients, and the improvement of every man's knowledge in his proper way) cannot be done better than by this distribution. And it would be of ill consequence, if hereupon the apprentice, having done his own work, should refuse to help his fellow, being perchance at some time overburthened: wherefore, it is to be understood that this contrivance shall be no warrant to any man, not to help his fellow, in case of exigence; but chiefly to shew what we desire should be done amongst them all. For we hope that their common friendship and desire of helping the sick, and enabling themselves, will tie them enough to perform all these things in the most advantageous manner to these ends.

Having now, after a fashion, gone through the description of such societies and institutions, as we have thought most fit for the advancement of real learning, and among the rest, of the *ergastulum literarium* for the education of children; we now come to speak of such books, as, being well studied and expounded in those schools, would lay a very firm foundation of learning in the scholars.

We recommend therefore in the first place (besides those books of collection, by us formerly mentioned, and master Pell's³ three mathematical treatises) the compiling of a work, whose title might justly be, *Vellus Aureum; sive Facultatum Lucriferarum Descriptio magna*; wherein all the practised ways of getting a subsistence, and whereby men raise their fortunes, may be at large declared. And, among these, we wish that the history of arts or manufactures might first be undertaken as the most pleasant and profitable of all the rest, wherein should be described the whole process of manual operations and applications of one natural thing (which we call the elements of artificials) to another, with the necessary instruments and machines, whereby every piece of work is elaborated, and made to be what it is; unto which work bare words being not sufficient, all instruments and tools must be pictured, and colours added, when the descriptions cannot be made intelligible without them.

This history must not be made out of a farrago of imperfect relations made to the compiler, either by too rude or cozening workmen; but all things thereunto appertaining, must be by himself observed and attested, by the most judicious and candid of each respective profession, as well to make the work the more authentic, (it being to be the basis of many future inferences and philosophations,) as the more clearly and distinctly to in-

³ [See an account of this celebrated mathematician in Wood's *Athenæ*, Gen. Dict. and Biog. Dict.]

form the compiler himself, by whose judgment as the alembick, and industry as the fire, it is hoped that the quintessence and magisteries of all present inventions may be extracted, and new ones produced in abundance.

Although it be intended to teach the making of all artificials, yet it is not to be understood, that when there hath been taught how to make a stool, or a nail of one fashion, that the art of making a chair or a nail of another fashion should be long insisted on; but the compiler should strive to reduce the making of all artificials in each trade to a certain number and classes of operations, tools, and materials: neither need he to set the figures, or mention the names of all artificials that ever were made, but only of such as are most known, and of common use amongst men. He needeth not to describe every punctilio, in making all the aforementioned particulars, and yet leave no more defects, than may be supplied by every common understanding. For we question whether (if he should engage himself in such an endless labour) a man by the bare light and instruction of the book could attain to a dextrous practice of trade, whereunto hath been required seven years *autopsia*: but are confident that the help of this book will lessen the former *tædium* by more than half. He should not so abridge the work as not to distinguish between instruments of the same name; as between a loom, to weave kersies, and another, wherein to weave silk ribbans or stockings.

He should all along give the mechanical reason of every instrument material and operation, when the same is sensible and clear. He should all along note his own defects in setting down these histories, in case he had not at the time of writing thereof sufficient information, and withal the deficiencies of the trades themselves.

Now, whereas there be divers ways and methods of working most manufactures, he should in each thing stick close to the way of some one master, but note all the diversities he knoweth, and give his opinion of the use and goodness of each.

Moreover the œconomy, *sive ars augendæ rei familiaris*, in all professions ought to be enquired into, *viz.* What seasons of the year are most proper to each work, which the best places and times to buy materials, and to put off the commodities when finished; how most thriftily to hire, entertain, and oversee servants and workmen; how to dispose of every excrement and refuse of materials, or of broken, worn, or otherwise unserviceable tools and utensils; with all cauteles, impostures and other sleights good or bad, whereby men use to over-reach one another.

There ought to be added to this work many and various indexes, besides the alphabetical ones; as namely, one of all the artificials mentioned in the whole work.

Another, of all the natural materials or elements of artificials, by what artificers used, from whence they come, where to be had, and what are the ordinary and middle prices of them.

Another, of all the qualities or schemes of matter; as of all liquefiable things, viscid, friable, heavy, transparent, abstersive, or otherwise qualified according to all the classes of 1, 2, and 3 qualities; to the end that materials for all intentions and experiments may be at hand and in sight.

Another, of all operations mentioned in the whole work; as sawing, hewing, filing, boring, melting, dissolving, turning, beating, grinding, boiling, calcining, knitting, spinning, sewing, twisting, &c. to the end that they all may be at hand for the purposes aforesaid. Another, of all tools and machines, as files, saws, chissels, sheers, sieves, looms, shuttles, wheels, wedges, knives, screws, &c. for the same purpose also.

The compiler ought to publish all his conjectures, how old inventions may be perfected and new ones produced, giving directions how to try the truth of them. So that by all those unto whose hands these books shall come, perchance, all the said suppositions may be tried, and the success reported to the compiler himself.

The compiler's first scope in inventions shall be, how to apply all materials that grow in abundance in this kingdom, and whereof but inconsiderable use and profits are as yet made, to more advantage to the commonwealth. And also, how all impotents, whether

only blind, or only lame ; and all children of above seven years old might earn their bread, and not be so long burthensome to their parents and others.

There should be made a preface to the work, to teach men how to make the most of experiments, and to record the successes of them whatsoever, whether according to hopes or no ; all being equally luciferous, although not equally lucriferous.

There ought to be much artifice used, that all the aforementioned indexes may hand-somely refer one to another, that all things contained in the whole book may be most easily found, and most readily attend the seekers of new inventions.

The way to accomplish this work must be, to enquire what to this purpose is already done, or in hand, in all places, and also by whom ; so that communication of counsels and proceeding, may (if possible) be had with those undertakers.

All books of this subject, already extant in print, must be collected and bought, not to transcribe them, but to examine them *per autopsiam*, and re-experiment the experiments contained in them ; and withal, to give hints of new enquiries.

The compiler must be content to devote his whole life to this employment ; one who, as we said before, hath the fire of industry, and the alembick of a curious and rational head, to extract the quintessence of whatsoever he seeth.

He shall be as young as sufficient abilities will admit ; to the end that he may, with the concurrence of God's ordinary Providence, either finish, or very far advance the work, while he liveth ; and also, that living long in that employment, he may heap up the larger stock of experiments, which, how much the greater it is in one man, affordeth so much the more hopes of new inventions.

The nature, manner, and means of writing the history of trades being so far expounded, before we proceed further therein, for the better encouragement of undertakers, we shall now represent such profits and commodities thereof, to the commonwealth, as we at present more nearly reflect upon. For to enumerate, or evaluate them all, will be much above our capacity.

1. All men whatsoever may hereby so look into all professions, as not to be too grossly cozened and abused in them.

2. The mysteries of trades being so laid open, as that the professors of them cannot make so unlawful and exorbitant advantages as heretofore ; such as are cunning and ambitious will never rest until they have found new ones in their stead ; so that the *respublica artium* will be so much the more advanced.

3. Scholars, and such as love to ratiocinate, will have more and better matter to exercise their wits upon ; whereas they now puzzle and tire themselves, about mere words and chimerical notions.

4. They will reason with more alacrity, when they shall not only get honour by shewing their abilities, but profit likewise by the invention of fructiferous arts.

5. Sophistry shall not be in such esteem as heretofore, when even sense shall be able to unmask its vanity, and distinguish it from truth.

6. Men, seeing what arts are already invented, shall not need to puzzle themselves to re-invent the same again.

7. All men in general that have wherewithal, will be venturing at our *vellus aureum*, by making of experiments : and whether thereby they thrive or no, the directions in the preface being followed, they shall nevertheless more and more discover nature.

8. Nay, all nations, sensible of this *auri sacra fames*, will engage in this hopeful business ; and then certainly many hands will make light work in the said business of discovering nature.

9. All ingenious men, and lovers of real knowledge, have a long time begged this work ; wherefore it can be no small honour to him that shall satisfy them.

10. A vast increase of honourable, profitable, and pleasant inventions must needs spring from the work, when one man (as the compiler thereof) may, *uno intuitu*, see and comprehend all the labour and wit of our ancestors, and be thereby able to supply the defects of one trade with the perfections of another.

11. We see, that all countries, where manufactures and trades flourish, as Holland, &c. become potent and rich: for how can it otherwise be? When the revenues of the state shall be increased by new and more customs; all beggars, feeding upon the labours of other men, and even thieves and robbers (made for want of better employment) shall be set on work; barren grounds made fruitful, wet dry, and dry wet; when even hogs and more indocile beasts shall be taught to labour; when all vile materials shall be turned to noble uses; when one man, or horse, shall do as much as three, and every thing be improved to strange advantages.

12. There would not then be so many fustian and unworthy preachers in divinity, so many pettifoggers in the law, so many quack-salvers in physick, so many grammaticasters in country-schools, and so many lazy serving-men in gentlemen's houses; when every man might learn to live otherwise in more plenty and honour: for all men, desirous to take pains, might, by this book, survey all the ways of subsistence, and choose out of them all one that best suits with his own genius and abilities.

13. Scholars, now disesteemed for their poverty (whatever other thing commends them), and unable, even for want of livelihood, to perfect any thing even in their own way, would quickly help themselves by opening treasures with the key of luciferous inventions.

14. Boys, instead of reading hard Hebrew words in the Bible (where they either trample on, or play with mysteries), or parrot-like repeating heteroclitous nouns and verbs, might read and hear the history of faculties expounded; so that, before they be bound apprentices to any trade, they may foreknow the good and bad of it, what will and strength they have to it, and not spend seven years in repenting, and in swimming against the stream of their inclinations.

All apprentices, by this book, might learn the theory of their trades, before they are bound to a master, and consequently may be exempted from the *tadium* of a seven years bondage; and, having spent but about three years with a master, may spend the other four in travelling, to learn breeding and the perfection of their trades.

As it would be more profitable to boys to spend ten or twelve years in the study of things, and of this book of faculties, than in a rabble of words; so it would be more easy and pleasant to them, as more suitable to the natural propensions we observe in them. For we see children to delight in drums, pipes, fiddles, guns made of elder-sticks and bellows-noses, piped keys, &c. for painting flags and ensigns with elder-berries and corn-poppy; making ships with paper, and setting even nut-shells a-swimming; handling the tools of workmen, as soon as they turn their backs, and trying to work themselves; fishing, fowling, hunting; setting springs and traps for birds and other animals; making pictures in their writing-books; making tops, gigs, and whirligigs; quilting balls; practising divers juggling tricks upon the cards, &c. with a million more besides. And, for the females, they will be making pyes with clay, making their babies clothes, and dressing them therewith; they will spit leaves on sticks, as if they were roasting meat; they will imitate all the talk and actions, which they observe in their mother and her gossips, and punctually act the comedy, or tragedy, (I know not whether to call it,) of a woman's lying-in. By all which it is most evident, that children do most naturally delight in things, and are most capable of learning them; having quick senses to receive them, and unpre-occupied memories to retain them. As for other things, whereunto they are now-a-days set, they are altogether unfit, for want of judgment, which is but weak in them, and also for want of will, which is sufficiently seen both by what we have said before, by the difficulty in keeping them at schools, and the punishment they will endure, rather than be altogether debarred from this pleasure, which they take in things.

This work will be an help to eloquence, when men, by their great acquaintance with things, might find out similitudes, metaphors, allusions, and other graces of discourse in abundance.

To arithmeticians and geometricians, supplying them with matter, whereon to exercise those most excellent sciences; which some having with much pains once learned, do, for want hereof, forget again; or unprofitably apply about resolving needless questions,

and making of new difficulties: the number of mixt mathematical arts would hereby be increased. For we see, that opticks are made up of pure mathematicks, the anatomy of the eye, and some physical principles, concerning the nature of light and vision, with some experiments of convex and concave glasses; astronomy is constituted again of them, and some celestial phænomena. Enginery again of them, and some propositions *de cochleâ et vecte*. And so certainly, as the number of axioms concerning several subjects doth increase by this work, so the number of (their applications to pure mathematicks, *id est*,) new mathematical arts will increase also.

Divines, having so large a book of God's works, added to that of his word, may, he more clearly from them both, deduce the wisdom, power, and goodness of the Almighty. Physicians, observing the use of all drugs, and operations in the production of artificials, may, with success, transfer them to better uses in their art. And lawyers, when they plead concerning trades and manufactures, would better know what to say on such occasions.

A young beginner may know by this book, how much stock is needful to set him up in his trade. Gentlemen, falling sometimes accidentally into tradesmens' and handicrafts' company, would know how to make use of such occurrences to advantage.

Lastly, this history, with the comments thereupon, and the indexes, prefaces, and supplements thereunto belonging, would make us able, if it be at all possible, to demonstrate axioms in philosophy, the value and dignity whereof cannot be valued or computed.

The next book, which we recommend, is the history of nature free: for indeed the history of trades is also an history of nature, but of nature vexed and disturbed. What we mean by this history, may be known by the Lord Verulam's most excellent specimen thereof; and, as for the particulars that it should treat on, we refer to his exact and judicious catalogue of them, at the end of his 'Advancement of Learning.'

A further Discovery of the Office of Publick Address for Accommodations¹.

London; printed in the Year 1648.

[Quarto; containing thirty-four pages.]

An Advertisement to the favourable Reader.

IN the foregoing discourse we have discovered the things, which concern the addresses for outward accommodation, which is but a momentary part of human felicity. The main and principal thing whereat in this Office we do aim at, and which we intend, if God enable us to prosecute, is, the work of communication for all spiritual and intellectual advantages, towards the advancement of piety, virtue, and learning in all things divine and human, as they are subordinate unto the glory of God; for whose sake alone we cast ourselves upon these endeavours, and from whom we shall expect our encouragements.

¹ [By Mr. Samuel Hartlib, to whom the preceding tract is addressed. This remarkable person was the friend of the poet Milton, who published the 'Tractate on Education' at his particular request. A memorial of Hartlib, written by himself, will be found in Kennet's Political Register, p. 868, and an abstract of it by sir Egerton Brydges, in Gent. Mag. vol. LXXII. p. 12.]

L. Montague's Essays, the fourth book, the twenty-fourth chapter.

' Of a Defect in our Policies.

' MY late father, who had no help but from experience and his own nature, yet of an
' unspotted judgment, hath heretofore told me, that he much desired to bring in this cus-
' tom, which is, that in all cities there should be a certain appointed place, to which who-
' soever should have need of any thing might come; and cause his business to be regis-
' tered by some officer appointed for that purpose. As for example: If one have pearls
' to sell, he should say, I seek to sell some pearls; another, I seek to buy some pearls:
' such a man would fain have company to travel to Paris: such an one enquireth for a
' servant of this or that quality: such a one seeketh for a master, another a workman;
' some this, some that; every one as he needeth. And it seemeth that this means of in-
' terwarning one another, would bring no small commodity unto common commerce and
' society: for there are ever conditions that interseek one another, and, because they un-
' derstand not one another, they leave men in great necessity. I understand, to the in-
' famous reproach of our age, that, even in our sight, two most excellent men in know-
' ledge have miserably perished for want of food and other necessities, Lilius Gregorius
' Giraldus in Italy, and Sebastianus Castalio in Germany². And I verily believe there
' are many thousands, who, had they known or understood their wants, would either have
' sent for them, and with large stipends have entertained them, or would have conveyed
' them succour where-ever they had been. The world is not so generally corrupted, but
' I know some that would earnestly wish, and, with hearty affections, desire the goods,
' which their forefathers have left them, might (so long as it shall please God they may
' enjoy them) be employed for the relief of rare, and supply of excellent men's necessi-
' ties, and such as for any kind of worth and virtue are remarkable; many of which are
' daily seen to be pursued by poverty, even to the utmost extremity, and that would take
' such order for them as, had they not their ease and content, it might only be imputed
' to their want of reason, or lack of discretion.'

BEFORE we fell into these last fears and troubles³, a brief discourse was presented
unto the high and honourable houses of parliament, concerning the means to accom-
plish the work of our reformation; tending to shew that, by an office of public address
in spiritual and temporal concernments, the glory of God and happiness of this nation
may be highly advanced.

This discourse hath fully approved itself unto the judgment of all those that have seen
it hitherto, and hopefully it would have wrought some effect upon those that manage the
affairs of this state, if the danger of this last commotion had not employed all their
strength and attention, to save us from sudden shipwreck. Nor is the sea yet quieted
after so great a storm; but the fears and expectations of what will follow, do keep the
minds of most men in suspence, till they see a safe harbour; that is, what the way of our
future settlement will be. And truly this consideration might also suspend our thoughts
and solicitations in this matter; if we would look only to the outward appearance of af-
fairs, and make ourselves, as many do by their conjectures, fearful. For ' he that ob-
' serveth the wind, shall not sow; and he that regardeth the clouds, shall not reap⁴. But
we have learned to ' cast our bread upon the waters,' in hope that we may ' find it after
' many days;' and we are willing to ' give a portion unto seven, and also to eight, be-
' cause we know not what evil shall be upon the earth.' So then, even that, which
maketh others less careful of the publick, doth increase our care for it. For most men
will not intend any public aim till they can secure their own interests, and see a way to

² [The decease of these two eminent but ill-fated scholars took place in 1552 and 1563.]

³ [The national rebellion, *temp. Car. I.*]

⁴ Eccles. xi. 4.

get advantage by that which they call the publick. But we shall never aim at this: our delight shall be, that all may be advantaged, and the public interest of the commonwealth settled, although it should be to our cost and disadvantage. For we know the promise, that 'if we faint not, and become not weary in well-doing, we shall reap in due time the fruit of righteousness.' Therefore, on the grounds laid in the former discourse, we shall endeavour now to proceed to offer some particulars; which, perhaps, will take more with most men, than that which we aim at principally. For our aim is mainly to lay the grounds of that reformation in this change of our affairs, which may reach the spirits of men to affect them with a gospel-frame. But, if we therein cannot come near them immediately, yet we shall endeavour to come as near as we may, by the things whereof they are capable; because we are resolved rather to venture the losing of our labour, than to sit still, and not give ourselves this satisfaction, that we have discharged a good conscience, in performing our duty.

We shall declare then, with that simplicity which becometh a good conscience in the presence of God, that our desire is to serve all men freely in the public interest, so far as God doth enable us; and that by this design we aim at a special advantage to the Gospel of Christ, rather than at any thing else: and if we can but awake those that are in places of power and authority, to take notice of the means whereby all men's talents may become useful to each other in this commonwealth, that, for their own temporal ends, they would countenance and promote the same, we shall have our end at this time in this undertaking.

Therefore, now we make our application, as to all indifferently, that love the prosperity of Sion, and the welfare of this state; so more particularly to those whom God hath appointed to be our leaders in every good work, and encouragers of those that apply themselves thereunto; that whether they lay the matter to heart or no, they may not be without a witness before God and the world, that this is a duty belonging to their charge; which without any charge, trouble, or difficulty, may be most easily brought to pass, by a few words in the way of order; to authorize the undertaking of such an office, for the unspeakable benefit of all, and without the least imaginable inconveniency unto any. And, that the thing itself may manifest the truth of this, we shall come to a more particular discovery of the office, in matters of temporal accommodation; which, unto the men of this world, are sensible inducements towards all enterprises.

Let us then consider, what it is that maketh a commonwealth, and all those that are in it happy, as to the life of nature. The chief end of commonwealths is society: the end of society is mutual help, and the end and use of help is to enjoy from one another comforts; that is, every thing lawfully desirable or wanting to our contentation. Wheresoever then, in a commonwealth, such a constitution may be had, whereby the members thereof may be enabled to enjoy from each other all the helps which nature doth afford unto them for their mutual contentation; there the state, and all those that are in it, may be said to be as happy as this world can make them. For no man can be more happy in nature, than to have all his lawful desires supplied, so far as they are attainable. But in this commonwealth such a constitution may be had, and that easily, which will do this: therefore this commonwealth, and all the members thereof, may be as happy as this world can make them; if their rulers will either assist them, or at least suffer them to become so.

Now this constitution whereof we speak, is nothing else, but the designation of a certain place, whereunto it shall be free for every one to make his address upon all occasions; as well to offer unto others, as to receive from them, the commodities which are desirable, and the informations of things profitable to be taken notice of, in a private or a public way. In this place an officer is to be appointed, who should have power to direct and order the work of the constitution. He should have certain men under him, so many as he should think fit to keep registers, and make extracts thereof, to give to such as should desire the same for their information. These registers should be of all things, which either may be any way offered by one man to any or to all, and desired by another from

any or from all; or which otherwise may be of public use, though not at all taken notice of by any to that end. And the end, wherefore these registers are thus to be kept, is only, that therein may be settled a centre of encounters to give information to all of all useful matters: for one of the great causes of our misery in this present life is this; that we are not only in the dark, not knowing what good things are extant in private, or publicly attainable for use, but we are in disorder and confusion; because, when we know what things are attainable, yet we have no way contrived how to encounter readily and certainly with them ourselves, when we have need of them; or, when we have them, to impart them to such as want them. Now, to remedy both these evils, this office may be an instrument, by being made a common intelligencer for all; not only of things actually offered, or desired by some to be communicated, but also of things by himself and others observable, which may be an occasion to raise matter of communication for the information of all.

The multitude of affairs in populous places doth naturally run into a confusion, except some orderly way be found out to settle times and places, wherein those, that are to attend them, may meet together for the transaction thereof. If there were no exchanges, nor set hours thereof for merchants to meet and transact matters; what a disorder and obstruction would there be in all trading! And, if a man, that hath to do in the Exchange with five or six men, doth come to it when it is thronging full, and knoweth not the ordinary walks of those several men, nor any body that can tell him where their walks are, he may run up and down, here and there, and weary himself out of breath, and not meet with any of them, except by great chance he light upon them; but, if he doth know their constant walks and hours, when they come upon the Exchange, he may be able to meet with them in an instant. So it is with all other men, in respect of all other conveniences, in great and populous cities, or kingdoms: they run up and down at random to seek for their accommodations, and when they have wearied themselves a long time in vain, they sit down oft-times unsatisfied; but, if there were but a place of common resort appointed, like unto the Exchange, where they should be sure to receive information of all that which they would desire to know; they might, without any loss of time, come instantly to the enjoyment of their desires, so far as they are attainable. This place, then, is that which we call 'the Office of Address:' here sufficient registers should be kept of all desirable matters of human accommodations, shewing where, with whom, and upon what conditions they may be had; and this would be, as it were, a national exchange for all desirable commodities, to know the ready way of encountering with them, and transacting for them. This, then, is the proper end and use of this office; to set every body in a way, by some direction and address, how to come speedily to have his lawful desires accomplished, of what kind soever they may be.

This constitution will be a means mightily to increase all trade and commerce amongst merchants and all sorts of people, but especially to relieve the necessities of the poor; for whose sake alone it doth deserve to be entertained, although there were no other conveniency in it. But, to shew that by the advantage of such an address, as is intended by this office to be set on foot, all trade will be mainly advanced; consider how, for want of it, occasions of trading and transacting of businesses are hindered between man and man, to their mutual disadvantage, and the detriment of the commonwealth. As for example: I am desirous to let out a parcel of ground and an house upon it to be rented; another is desirous to have some ground with an house upon it to farm; we, for want of knowing each other's desires, do not meet to treat upon the business, and cannot find our accommodations, perhaps in a year or two, to our content. Here, then, the commerce which we might have with each other is stopped, the public-notary is not employed between us, the counsellor whose advice is to be used in drawing the leases is not employed, I want money, which I might trade withal another way, to my great profit and the public benefit, the farmer is idle, the house not inhabited, and out of repair, the ground either not at all, or not so well cultivated, as otherwise it would be, the inheritance doth go to decay, less fruit is reaped off the ground, less employment for labouring men, less

works and manufactures of tradesmen and shop-keepers used, fewer customs and duties paid to the publick, and consequently, in every respect, both to myself, and others to whom I am associated, a disadvantage doth befall, because I cannot encounter with the conveniency whereof I stand in need, nor the farmer with his accommodation; but if we could have met with each other, and transacted our business to our mutual content, all these inconveniences would have been prevented, both to us and the publick. It is undeniably true, that the multitude of people doth beget affairs, and the ready transaction of affairs in a state is the only means to make it flourish in the felicity of the inhabitants; and that nothing can advance such a ready transaction so much, as a common centre of intelligence for all such matters, is quite out of doubt.

As for the benefit of the poor, and the relief of their necessities, (which alone might move us to the prosecuting of this business,) there is nothing imaginable that can be more beneficial unto them. For consider, amongst all the causes of human poverty, which are many, this main one: namely, that most men are poor for want of employment, and the cause why they want employment is, either because they cannot find masters to employ them; or, because their abilities and fitness to do service are not known to such as might employ them; or, lastly, because there is perhaps little work stirring in the commonwealth for them. All these causes will be clearly remedied by this constitution: for here not only the master shall be able to encounter with a servant, or a servant with a master, fit for each other; when both have given up their names, and the tenour of their desires, with the places of their abode, to the registers of the office; but, by the collection and observation of all things profitable to be improved for the public use, much matter of employment will be produced and found out, which now is not at all thought upon. When poor workmen or tradesmen come to a great city, such as London is, in hope of getting employment; if they fail of their expectation, or meet not with the friends upon whom they did rely, they betake themselves to begging, or sometimes to far worse courses, which brings them to a miserable end. But if, instead of their particular expectation and friends, they can betake themselves to one, that can give them address to that employment which in the commonwealth can be found for them; they not only may be preserved from beggary and misery, but become useful unto their neighbour.

Hitherto we have spoken of the office, and the usefulness thereof in respect of the end. Now we shall come to the matters whereof registers should be kept in the office for information and address, to satisfy all men's desires.

The desires of men are infinite, in respect of the circumstances; and therefore it is not to be expected that a particular enumeration thereof should be made. We must reflect upon the principal heads whereunto all may be referred, that when particulars are offered, they may be brought into their proper places in the registers, where they may be found in due time for information and addresses of one towards another.

There be two kinds of registers or inventories of address: some are of things which are perpetually the same, and always existent in the society of mankind in general, and in a distinct commonwealth, kingdom, province, and city in particular; and others are not perpetual, but changeable registers, containing all matters of daily occurrence between man and man to be imparted. The matters, whereof the perpetual and unchangeable registers should give information to such as may enquire after the same, are chiefly these:

1. For such as would know concerning any thing extant in the world, what hath been said or written of it, the standing register should contain a catalogue of all catalogues of books, whereunto the inquisitor may be referred to seek out whether or no he can find any thing written of the matter whereof he doth make enquiry in any of those catalogues; and the office should have one or more copies of each of those catalogues, to which the register of catalogues should refer them to make their search.

2. For such as should make enquiry concerning this kingdom, to know the situation of any of the provinces, shires, counties, cities, towns, villages, castles, ports, and such like places; the office should have Speed's description of this kingdom, and Mercator, or others, to refer them thereunto.

3. For such as would desire to know, what public officers and employments, and what particular trades are of use in this state; the office should shew a register thereof.

4. For such as would know what families and persons of eminent note and quality are in the kingdom, for birth, or for place and employment, or for abilities and singular personal virtues; the office should shew who they are, and what their property is, and where to be met withal.

5. For such as desire to know the standing commodities of the kingdom; what they are in the whole, and what peculiar to every place? How they are transported from place to place? Where and when the markets thereof are kept? And how to get intelligence of the particular prices thereof? The office should have registers for information of all this.

6. For such as desire to know what commodities are imported from foreign parts constantly into this kingdom? Where, and at what times to be found? With information concerning the prices thereof; the office should be able to give notice hereof.

As for the matters of daily occurrence, which, by reason of circumstances, are changeably to be taken notice of, and differently to be proposed, as offered from one man to another, or desired by one from another, for mutual accommodation; the registers thereof must be divided into several books, and the books into chapters, to whose heads all matters of that kind should be referred. The titles of these books should be at least these four: one for the accommodation of the poor; another, for the accommodation of trade, commerce, and bargains for profit; a third, for the accommodation of all actions, which proceed from all relations of persons to each other, in all estates and conditions of life; a fourth, for ingenuities, and matters of delight unto the mind, in all virtues and rare objects. These four registers may be distinguished and intitled, from the properties of their subjects, thus: the first should be called the register of necessities, or of charity; the second, of usefulness, or of profit; the third, of performance, or of duties; and the fourth of delights, or of honour. And to these heads all human occurrences, wherein one man may be helpful to another, may be referred, if not very directly, yet in some way, which will be without difficulty understood, and fit to avoid confusion in the matters of the registers.

Now we shall come to each of these books in particular, to shew the matters of accommodation which shall be contained therein, for public and private service.

I. The Register for the Poor.

THE heads of chapters, unto which all matters of accommodation for the poor may be referred, are these:

1. Counsels and advices to be given concerning the means, whereby the poor may be relieved, by being set at work, and employed, if they be strong; or in case of sickness and want of employment, how to facilitate the provision of lodging, clothing, food, and entertainment for them. Here, with the particular expedients which shall be suggested, a note of the names of those that do suggest them shall be registered; and, if they desire it, a certificate given unto them to attest what they have suggested.

2. The list of the names of the poor. First, the number of those that are entertained, and how they are provided for already in several places. Secondly, the names of such, as have no provision made for them, shall be enrolled in the list of the poor to be entertained when they come with a certificate of their condition to the commissioners for the poor, and have made their case known unto them: where a special respect is to be had to the poor that are shamefaced, and want confidence to put forth themselves to be objects of public or private charity.

3. The list of names of benefactors to the poor, whether in public or private; that the poor who are enrolled, may receive address, and go unto them for relief, or employment, as the way of their charity shall fall out, to be bestowed by themselves, or those whom they shall appoint to distribute it: for the office of address shall not meddle with the re-

ceipts or distribution of any money in this kind; but only with the names of the givers and receivers thereof, to notify the one to the other.

4. The names of physicians, apothecaries, and surgeons, who shall offer themselves to visit the poor in their sickness, to bring them some remedies, or give them advice what to do in point of diet, or otherwise for their health.

5. A list of experiments and easy remedies of diseases, which any shall be willing to impart for the good of the publick and speedy relief of the diseased and poor; chiefly by the discoveries of the admirable effects of simples, shall be enrolled with the names of those that impart the same unto the physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, who shall offer themselves to give attendance upon the poor in their sickness.

6. Because all persons, though otherwise never so rich in possessions, if they be under any grievous sickness or affliction, and can find no relief for it, are to be counted poor, and are objects of charity, if they will not be known by name, to be in such a case: the *factum* or circumstantial description of their case may be sent unto the office; and a memorial adjoined of some place, or body, who is to receive the answer of advice to be procured upon it; and the officer of the office of address shall cause an advice to be given by the physicians, who shall offer themselves for the assistance of the poor; and it shall be written at the bottom of the *factum*, or the description of the case.

7. In case any would have, in matters of difficulty in law-business, the impartial advice of eminent counsellors upon the case, which by word of mouth they themselves are unwilling to declare; they may take the like course: or, if they would know the judgment of other advocates and counsellors not formerly interested in the matter, whether it doth agree with that which hath been given to them, by those whom they have made use of; they may without expressing of their own, or others' names, make use of the address which the office shall be able to give them in like manner.

8. And in case (either for want of judgment or experience) they know not how to set down their cases and *factums* circumstantially; the office will be able to give them address to such as shall do it for them, with all secrecy and faithfulness.

9. In case there be any who (by reason of poverty or other necessities and unavoidable hindrance) cannot pursue their rights and just interests in law; the office will be able to address them unto some, that shall undertake the pursuit of the business for them by right; or else make an amicable composition and transaction of the matter, for their best advantage, with their adversary on their behalf.

10. The list of poor scholars, who have made some beginning in learning, and with a little matter of assistance might be enabled to perfect their course, and become useful in their way to the publick, shall be kept by itself; that, when the names of such as shall offer to be helpful unto such shall be notified, they may be addressed unto them.

11. The list of strangers, who are going to their country, and are objects of charity here; as also of our own countrymen, who being strangers in distress elsewhere, or captives under the Turks, are objects of charity; and may by their friends here seek for help upon good certificates of their condition, and of the means of sending the relief which shall be procured unto them.

12. Because the public state and society of a commonwealth, is oftentimes in a course of poverty, and want of many things, and is an object of great charity in several respects; a list shall be kept of all the memorials or offers, which may be made by any for the ease of inconveniences befalling thereunto, or for the advantage and benefit, which may be procured thereunto in a public way; and, the authors' names and places of abode being known, they shall by the means of the officer of address be directed to such as will be most able to promote the execution thereof; and if they be absent a great way from London, or from the place of supreme government, where all proposals of that kind are to be considered, without putting themselves to the charges of a great journey at adventure, the matter may be prosecuted in their name by some in whose hands the officer of address may put it; and a deserved recompence may be by him procured unto the author of the advice and proposal, out of the benefit, which thence may accrue unto the publick.

II. The Register of Commerce and Bargains.

THE heads of chapters, whereunto matters of commerce may be referred in the way of trading, are distinguished into the kinds of commodities whereof bargains are made, and into the cases and ways of making bargains about these commodities.

The Chapters of Commodities.

1. The chiefest of all commodities, because it doth give a common valuation to all other things, is money; the office then shall give information and address: First, what the species and sorts of coin extant here and elsewhere are in silver and gold? What their weight, and valuation is? Secondly, What the course of exchange is, amongst merchants for all places of trade; and how it doth change from time to time, towards Holland, France, Spain, Germany, &c.

2. The most necessary of all commodities is food; to this head the office doth refer for information, and address, all particulars of meat and drink. First, of meats, the list doth contain all vegetables serving for that use; as wheat, barley, rye, oats, pease, beans, rice, and all corn and grains, and pulse, and every thing of that kind; and all fruits and roots fit for food; to shew what the rates thereof are, and where they are to be had. Secondly, all living creatures in the earth, air, and waters, beasts, fowls, and fishes; the office shall give the address to the place, where they are to be bought; and shew the ordinary rates thereof in the several parts of the kingdom. Thirdly, of drinks, as wine, beer, ale, cider, perry, mead, strong waters, and what else is of this kind, the office will let you know where to have your choice, and at the best rates. Fourthly, the list of the places and rates, at which men may diet themselves; either wholly, or by meals, as an ordinary.

3. Next to food is physick, and all drugs and wares which are used as ingredients thereunto, as spices and herbs; and all apothecaries' wares, whether simples or compounds; and all grocers' commodities, serving either for food or physick, the office shall let you know, where, and at what rates they are to be had.

4. Unto the preservation of life and health, doth belong also clothing of all sorts of cloth and stuff, silks and woollen, linen, and cotton of each kind: the list of ordinary rates, and the place where they are to be found, is to be shewed.

5. Houses in the city or country to be let or sold, and lodging-chambers furnished or unfurnished, with their rates, are to be shewed also⁵.

6. The commodities of lands and inheritances, and leases of farms and manors, which are to be bargained for in any kind, are to be brought to their proper places; for information to such as would enquire after them.

7. All manner of moveables and household-stuff, for the ease and convenience of life, are to be listed; with the rates at which they are to be sold, for such as shall desire present accommodation.

8. Whole shops of goods or such commodities as are not to be found in shops, as coaches, litters, carts, with all their furniture; ships, boats, woods, and such like, which the owners would not put to sale, should be found in their proper places for the information of buyers.

9. Libraries, and booksellers' shops, according to their several kinds; shops of paper and parchment, and all wares of this kind, with their rates, are to be found under this head.

The Chapters of the Cases and Ways of making Bargains.

1. If any desire to let out money upon interest with security, or desire to receive it upon interest in giving security; the office shall be able to give address thereunto.

⁵ [Offices of this nature have been instituted in various parts of the metropolis, and its vicinity, within these few years.]

2. If any will deposit money for annuities or estate in reversion; the office shall address to such as will receive it.

3. If any will borrow or lend money upon any other conditions whatsoever, as upon lands, houses, leases, rents, &c. the office shall give information and address thereunto.

4. If travellers desire to change money from one species to another, or to be furnished in all places where they shall come; the office shall be able to address them to their accommodation.

5. If any desire to transport himself or his commodities by land or water, from one place to another; the office shall shew him where horses, coaches, carts, waggons, boats, ships, and barks are to be had for all places, and what their hire is, or what the hundred-weight, or the ton, and last, doth come to for transportation.

6. The rates of all customs, taxes, impositions, and duties, to be paid for all commodities; should be found in the office for information of such, as desire to know the same.

7. If any desire to know upon what terms apprentices are to be admitted in all trades and manufactures; the office shall give them information.

8. If any should be willing to transplant himself or others from these parts into any of the Western or Southern Islands; or desire any thing from thence to be brought hither, or carried from hence thither; the office should be able to shew him upon what terms his desire may be accomplished.

9. The proportion and disproportion of the several weights and measures, throughout the kingdom, the office should shew.

10. The rates of insurances of all manner of commodities; and

11. The weekly course of negociation to be made, as the custom is at Amsterdam, for all commodities, shall be known by the means of the office.

12. If any desire an association for trading, or a factory, the office shall address him unto it.

III. The Register of Persons, and Actions, in all Offices and Relations.

IF any one should desire to know men out of employment, who would gladly be set to work in their faculty; the office shall be able to make them known: therefore, unto this head of persons, the register shall refer in their proper places all such as shall offer themselves to be listed for any employment whatsoever; that, when enquiry is made after them, they may be found out. Here then a place must be: For,

1. Ministers that want employment, for lecturers and professors of all sciences, for such as offer themselves to be tutors to children: all sorts of school-masters in all languages, and all school-mistresses; all masters of bodily exercises, as fencing, vaulting, dancing, &c.

2. Physicians and surgeons, and such as depend upon them to do any service in that kind.

3. Secretaries, advocates, counsellors at law, clerks, copiers of writings, scriveners, solicitors of business, and all such as depend upon the courts of justice, as the Chancery, Common-pleas, the King's-bench, &c.

4. Here also, all such as are officers or servants in the families of the king, queen, prince, or great noblemen, to know where they are to be found; or such as may be fit to do noblemen service, as stewards, riders of the great horse, and all such as may do service in the stables or the kitchen, comptrollers, clerks of the kitchen, cooks, butlers, confectioners, &c. waiting gentlemen; grooms of the chambers, or of the stables; porters, gardeners, coachmen, falconers, footmen.

5. Messengers for all places, who serve the publick as foot or horse-posts, to carry letters or other packets of small burden.

6. Here also such as are masters of any trades or manufactures, or journeymen and apprentices that seek masters, are to be registered; to give them the address fit for their conveniency, when any is to be had.

7. Husbandmen and seamen, pilots, and all that belong to the employments by water.

8. Soldiers of all degrees; drummers, trumpeters, pipers, &c.

2. As for the female kind, their memorials are to be brought into the office by some men whom they should employ to that effect; and the office shall have some grave and pious matrons to be employed about the direction of all addresses in that nature; to whom the cases of women (as well as the inspection of the affairs of the poor, as the accommodation of others in their lawful desires and offers) may be referred.

3. Matters of marriage, and all memorials for information in that kind, are to be brought into this head; whether of children to be disposed of, or of free persons who have power to dispose of themselves.

4. If any be towards any journey, and want company to travel withal and seek society, their memorials are to be registered under this head. And if any want instruction and intelligence of the distances of places, or of the ways and of the conveniences to be had in several places, of coaches, horses, waggons, &c. the office shall be able to furnish them with their information of all this; and how to be accommodated so far as the places do afford every kind of conveniency; and by this means travellers also will be more secured in their ways, and better provided for.

5. Suits in law, to commence or end them without trouble, to which effect such address shall be shewed, as may ease those that cannot attend their suits themselves (by reason of their distance from the places where the courts are kept) by the means of faithful agents and impartial transactors.

6. In case rents are to be received by any in places far distant from their residence, the office shall be able, by the correspondency which it shall keep in all places, to procure the payment thereof nearer at hand unto them; or in the place of their residence itself, without trouble.

7. Such as shall desire the common intelligence of public state-affairs, or occurrences of matters of more special concernment at home, or abroad; shall find address how to come by it, to their content.

8. Such as expect rewards for services done to the king or state, and know not where to pitch and what to desire, answerable to what is due unto them, a discovery of degrees may be found by the office to accommodate their just desires.

9. In case sentences or obligations be to be executed, the office shall be able to shew in all places of the kingdom some body, that may be employed to that effect.

10. Persons expert to attend the sick; also the places where sick persons may be accommodated for all manner of diseases better than at their own homes; with baths, and places to sweat in, or for good air and healthful walks, &c.

11. In case any matter is to be notified to a friend, whose abode is uncertain; as the marriage of any to be contracted, or the birth and death of any, or the arrival of any to the city, or the change of his own abode; or, suppose a paper, or writ, or obligation be lost by any which another hath found; which, to him that hath lost it, is of great importance, and is not safe to be published by a cryer, for fear of giving notice thereof to an adverse party; in all such cases, the office should serve as a common centre of advertisement and intelligence.

12. The hours and times of all carriers' and messengers' departures to all places; and in case strangers should desire to address any thing by them, (chiefly letters or small packets,) a trunk or box should be in the office kept for every one of them, wherein it should be found at their return, to be carried with them.

13. Such as would quit any office, or charge of benefit, for some present profit, or other consideration; may here find address how to compass their desires, by giving the memorial thereof to the office, that it may be notified to all, that may incline to entertain any such motion.

14. Such as would inform the state of any thing to be taken notice of, whether they will have their names taken notice of or not, they may be sure by the means of this office to have it made known over all the kingdom, by the correspondency of one office to ano-

ther in every principal city: for the design is to have a commissary of address placed at every great and eminent city, who shall correspond with him of London, and with whom the London officer shall correspond in all cases, to receive and give notice of matters, and to address persons and things from one to another; and to commit the procurement of affairs to their trust, and to such as they may employ able to effect the same in their several quarters: so that from any place in all the kingdom, a business may be dispatched to any place or person, by the procuration of the correspondent officers of address in several places.

15. Strangers who desire to visit a country, and have no acquaintance in any places, may be addressed from one commissary of address unto another, throughout the whole kingdom; and in every place provided for at the easiest rates, and by the way directed unto the safest abodes and lodgings, without hazard of being robbed or killed, when they shall not need to carry any sums of money about with them, but only certain bills or tickets from the officer of address to his correspondents, where he shall receive his accommodation according to his desire. By which means also, they shall come to the acquaintance of all persons of note in all trades and employments; with whom they may have converse instantly, without loss of time and needless expences.

16. If any hath a house to build, and would know the best master-builders, and where all the materials necessary thereunto are to be had; the office shall be able to give him information and address thereunto, with the prices, &c.

IV. The Register of Ingeniities, and Matters commendable for Wit, Worth, and Rarity.

TO the chapters of this register are to be referred the memorials of all things, wherein men put some excellency, whether it be settled in the soul, or body, or subordinate to the manifestation or purchase of that, wherein men study to be beneficial unto, or to appear before others, in any thing whatsoever.

1. Here then, if any hath a feat in any science, which is extraordinary; either a new discovery of a truth, or an experiment in physick, mathematicks, or mechanicks; or a method of delivering sciences or languages, not ordinarily known, and very profitable; or some intricate question and difficulty, which he would have resolved by the most experienced in any, or all arts: in any such case, if the matter be notified to the office, with the tenour of his desire concerning it; by the means of the office, he shall be able to receive satisfaction therein, so far as it is attainable.

2. If any is desirous to know the ways by which all degrees of honour are obtained, or conferred in all states and conditions of men, with all the ceremonies and ritualities belonging thereunto, and the privileges, for which in all states they are sought after; the office shall be able to give information thereof.

3. If any would purchase rare books out of print, or manuscripts of any kind, or would impart that, which he hath purchased, unto others, freely, or upon equitable terms; by the means of the office, it may be speedily notified unto all what his desire is, and what the things are, which he either hath to be imparted to others, or would have imparted by others to himself.

4. The rarities of cabinets, as medals, statues, pictures, coins, grains, flowers, shells, roots, plants, and all things that come from far, which nature or art hath fully produced in imitation of nature: if any hath desires to be rid of them, or to gather some of them together that hath none; the office will be either way serviceable, to compass men's ends in them.

5. Mathematical and astronomical instruments, and new inventions to discover the secret and hidden things of nature; if they are to be notified to others, the office will do it.

6. The anatomies of creatures, or the living or dead strange creatures, dogs, cats, apes,

fowls of rare qualities, and such like; if they be offered to be seen or sold, by the office this may be notified.

7. Memorials of all things left by any for public use, and for posterity; with the places where, and the persons to whom they are left.

8. Rare goldsmiths' works, with all manner of jewels and precious rare stones, where to be found, seen, or purchased, at equitable rates, or otherwise to be made use of for the satisfaction of curiosity, and observation of art; by the means of this office it may be known, &c.

Hitherto we have, with as much brevity as could be (for, if we would have been large, a volume might have been filled with them) ranked these heads of matters in some order; to shew how, by the means of an office, wherein all things may be registered, which by any are either offered or desired for their accommodation, the society of mankind, in a well-ordered commonwealth, may be made flourishing, and as happy in the life of nature, as the satisfaction of their lawful desires can make them. For therein, as in one magazine or market-place, all things necessary, profitable, rare, and commendable, which are extant in several places, and scattered here and there, are brought together; and exposed to the view of every one that shall be willing to see them; that, according to his reach and capacity, they may be made serviceable unto him, and he thereby, in his degree and station, more useful unto the publick a hundred-fold, than otherwise he can be without the help of such an address. For it is very apparent to any that will take it into consideration, that, besides the private satisfaction of any one in his particular desires, which may be had by this means, (so far as it is attainable in an orderly way,) the public aims also of those that are over the affairs of state, to reform and direct them towards the good of all, may be infinitely proved, if they know but how to make use of such an engine. He that can look upon the frame of a whole state, and see the constitution of all the parts thereof, and doth know what strength is in every part, or what the weakness thereof is, and whence it doth proceed; and can, as in a perfect model of a celestial globe, observe all the motions of the spheres thereof; or, as in a watch, see how all the wheels turn and work one upon another for such and such ends; he only can fundamentally know what may and ought to be designed, or can be affected in that state for the increase of the glory, and the settlement of the felicity thereof with power according to righteousness. And it is very credible, that the statesman⁶ of our neighbour nation, who raised himself from the condition of an ordinary gentleman, to become the ruler of princes; and who, by the management of the strength of that state wherein he lived, hath broken the whole design of the house of Austria, in the affectation of the monarchy of Europe, and did make himself, and the kingdom which he did rule, the only considerable power of Christendom, whilst he lived in it: we say, it is very credible, that this man was enabled, from so mean beginnings, to bring so great designs to pass, chiefly by the dexterity of his prudence in making use of this engine, which never before was set a-work in any commonwealth, to reflect upon a whole state, till he did set it a-foot to that effect. He, that is not blind, may easily perceive this, that it was not possible that his intelligence could be so universal in all things, as it was; and his designs so effectually carried on, in all places, as they were; without an exact insight of all circumstances, and a speedy and secret correspondence with all parts: and that to have such an insight in all things, and maintain such a correspondence with all parts, nothing is so fit as such a way of address, erected in all the chief cities of every province of a kingdom, is altogether undeniable. Therefore it may be lawfully concluded, that by this means chiefly, he was enabled both to contrive and execute all his undertakings.

Hence also must be observed, that to have such an office, in one place, is not enough; but that there should be one in every principal place of resort, where there is the greatest concurrence of men for mutual society and negotiation in every province; that all the

⁶ [Qu. Cardinal Richelieu?]

commodities or conveniencies, which are offered or desired in any place, may be conveyed or made known unto all places, unto which they are by any means communicable.

Now that such registers in those places, and chiefly in London, may be kept for all these, both private and public advantages; nothing is wanting, but the countenance of authority, that the matter may be regularly and orderly carried on; because it is not enough to intend a good work, but the way of carrying it on must be good also; therefore the business is to be ordered by those that are in place of supreme command: that as the motion doth aim at the public good of all, by the benefit and profit of every one in particular; so all respect may be shewed towards those that are over the whole body, that nothing may seem to be attempted to their prejudice. As for that which remaineth to be certified further in this business, it is not much; only this may be added, that these registers must be again and again subdivided, and especially that some must be kept secret, and some exposed to the common view of all. In the secret registers, the particularities of the memorials are to be kept; specifying things circumstantially, by the names and places of abode of them, that do offer or desire the same; with all the conditions, upon which they are offered and desired. And in the open or common register, the same memorial is to be kept under a general intimation of the matter only; with a reference unto the particular and secret register; that such as shall see the general intimation, and shall desire the particular information thereof, may be accommodated therein by an extract thereof for their address, where to find their conveniency; and for this extract some small and very inconsiderable duty (as a penny, or at the most, two-pence) may be paid. As for those that are to bring memorials unto the office, some patterns or forms are to be made, and shewed unto them hung up in the office, to teach such as are not acquainted with the way: how to draw up their memorandums, which they would bring in.

Those, then, that will make use of the office, shall be directed to come, with an exact memorial, of that whereof they desire either to give or receive advice, and upon what conditions. When therefore they shall come with their memorial; if they be poor, it shall be registered, or an extract shall be given them out of the register-book for nothing; but, if they are not poor, the duty is to be paid for the registering, or for the extract, which may be taken out of a memorial; and when they have found the persons to whom the extract shall give them address; if the bargain, whereof the memorial doth give information, be concluded, or the effect of the memorial be otherwise made void; the register is to be discharged of it within twenty-four hours; and, for this discharge of the register, nothing shall be paid. Now the register should be discharged of the memorials which are made void, lest fruitless addresses be made to any concerning a matter already dispatched; and, lest those that have received satisfaction which they desired by their memorials, be troubled with new visitors which the office may send unto them, if this be not done.

Lastly, By all that hath been said, this is very evident; that this way of address will be the most useful and advantageous constitution for the supply of all men's wants, and the dispatch of all businesses, that can be thought upon, in this or any other commonwealth. And that this way may easily be set on foot is apparent from this; that to settle it nothing is wanting, but the designment of a place, in which the office should be kept, and an act of authority to be given to the solicitor of public designs, whereby he should be ordered to prosecute this matter. This act, then, might run in such terms as these, or the like:

'Seeing the provision for the poor, to supply their necessities, and give them and others address unto some employments, is not only a work of Christian charity, but of great usefulness to a well-ordered commonwealth: It is therefore ordered and ordained, by both Houses of Parliament, that *N. N.* shall be a superintendant-general for the good of the poor of this kingdom; to find out and propose the ways of their relief, and give to them, and all others, such addresses as shall be most expedient to supply their wants, and to procure to every one their satisfaction, in the accommodation of all their commendable or lawful desires. To which effect, the said *N. N.* is authorized hereby to appoint, first in London, and then in all other places of this kingdom,

‘wheresoever he shall think it expedient, an office of encounter or address in such place or places, as by authority shall be designed to that use. In which places he shall have power to put under-officers, &c. who shall, according to his direction, be bound to keep books and registers, wherein it shall be free for every one to cause to be written and registered, by several and distinct chapters, every thing whereof address may be given concerning the said necessities and accommodations; and likewise it shall be free for every one to come to the said offices, to receive addresses by extracts out of the registers, upon condition that the rich shall pay for such an extract, or the registering of a memorial, but two pence, or three pence at the most; and that the poor shall have this done on their behalf for nothing; nor shall any be bound, or obliged to make use of this office, by giving, or taking out memorials further than of their own accord they shall be willing.’

Cornu-Copia: A Miscellaneum of lucriferous and most fructiferous Experiments, Observations, and Discoveries, immethodically distributed; to be really demonstrated and communicated in all Sincerity.

[Quarto; containing sixteen pages.]

To the generous Reader.

SIR,

IF any thing in my discoveries, &c. happen to be destructive to your credency, I crave the candour of your mild and gentle censure, and so much favour, that I may, by your fair leave, illustrate all dubiums; the clouds of which obstruction I shall, by your admission, most apparently dispel, both by rational confirmations, and experimental attestations. *Et quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne facias.*

Imprimis, **T**O discover a certainty to raise two-thousand pounds *per annum de claro*, with less than two-hundred pounds stock, unhazarded, and beyond contradiction; without the least aspersion of usury, extortion, oppression, engrossing, or any monopolizing, unconscionable or dishonourable way whatsoever. This design may be advanced to a far greater proportion, and exceedingly to the good of the publick; and may be fortified with firm and convincing reasons, to any that shall waver in their belief.

Item, A certainty another way, with five-hundred pounds stock unhazarded, to raise, *de claro*, two-thousand pounds *per annum* and upwards, without aspersion, as above; and without the least imaginary inconvenience or prejudice whatsoever, but to the general good, especially to the poor, with the free allowance of all the country; which hath been found true by the unquestionable testimony of experience, and will sound consonant to reason, and be undeniably satisfactory as the other.

Item, A certainty, with less than five-hundred pounds stock, unhazarded, to raise, *de claro*, one-thousand pounds *per annum*, and upwards; and so with less or greater sums proportionably, by even, honest, and generous courses as above: which may be made conspicuous, valid, and most complete.

Item, To discover a credible way without charge, more than ordinary expences,

whereby an industrious man, but of a reasonable capacity and fortune, may contrive to himself five-hundred pounds *per annum*, and upwards; without prejudice to any, or dishonour in the least kind unto himself: which may be made easy and familiar to our reason, by evidence strong enough to silence doubt, and procure credency.

The like, but with small charge more than conveniency of livelihood, whereby a man, of an ingenuous and generous condition, may, by compendious, facile, and conscionable ways, gain a thousand pounds *per annum* and upwards; with as much freedom, sincerity, and regularity, as with the particulars above written: being a meridian truth, too clear to be eclipsed by contradiction.

Item, With less than fifty pounds stock constantly visible, and no way endangered, to advance *de claro* one-thousand pounds *per annum*, with all claritude and uprightness. This may be confirmed to the observation of any, whose curiosity shall incline him to the easy trouble of experience.

Item, To make in all probability with two-hundred pounds stock in three years four-hundred pounds, and in three years more to make the four-hundred pounds eight-hundred pounds, and in three years more to make the eight-hundred pounds sixteen-hundred pounds, without adventure by sea; and so with less or greater sums proportionably, by even, honest, and charitable ways. This will result a serene and unrefutable truth to the nicest observation, and may be made indubitable by arguments of reason and experience.

Item, Divers other feasible and confirmable transparencies and expedients, of very great consequence and transcendency, to be performed by active and public spirits, without any stock adventured, but secured as before, and to be enjoyed by those that will use the means.

The following relate to the exceeding great Advantage of Husbandry.

Imprimis, A seed to be sown without manuring, in the coarsest, barren, sandy, and heathy grounds, which will be very much improved thereby, that will afford three crops a year, and will cause kine to give milk three times a day constantly, with full vessels, and to become fat withal, and to feed all other cattle fat suddenly; together with calves, lambs, and swine, without either hay, grass, or corn, or any thing in relation to corn; and likewise to preserve and feed all sorts of poultry and fowl fat in a very short time, as geese, turkies, pheasants, &c. and to make them lay and breed extraordinarily, and to continue all sorts of cattle and fowl exceedingly healthful, and all without any considerable charge; one acre of wheat being most commonly worth but five or six pounds with the charge, and an acre of this but one crop in three worth twelve pounds and upwards, and in a manner without any charge. This (besides what is specified before) may be so disposed of, that it might advantage every housekeeper throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, eight pence *per week* constantly; and the better sort, a double, treble, and a quadruple proportion, and upwards.

Item, Another kind of seed to be had, which will likewise afford three crops a year, and two loads and a half in one acre (one load thereof being worth two loads of ordinary hay) besides an excellent winter-pasture till March; it will cause kine to give milk as before, and will feed and preserve all sorts of four-footed beasts, and cause them to become fat in a very short time, without any other grass or pasture; and the seeds thereof will feed all sorts of poultry fat, and make them lay as before: and this may be performed in barren, sandy, and heathy grounds, and must be sown but once, and will continue so four or five years; and then this grass will so improve the ground for four or five years more, without manuring, that it will afford excellent crops of wheat and barley; and afterwards you may sow the ground with the same seed again, which will hold on that course, both for grass and corn, constantly: and an acre of this grass will keep three cows winter and summer in the highest condition; and the seed of one acre may be justifiably worth about seventy pounds, besides the winter-pasture, and about seven loads and a half of hay, which no man will part with under five pounds the load, that rightly understands the benefit thereof. You may keep your swine constantly in a yard, or in an orchard, which

will mightily advantage the fruit-trees; and by giving them only a liquor to drink, made of what is before specified, with a little of this hay, they will become fat in a very short time, and with this liquor only you may keep as many swine as you please. And, as for your kine, you need not turn them into any grass at all, but keep them in a yard, or some little parcel of ground: so you may save all your muck, and they will thrive the better, being kept from the flies, which cause them to waste themselves and their milk, and, in some grounds, to spoil as much grass as they eat, by running about. I know a gentleman that keeps them tied up all the summer, as they do in winter, and finds greater benefit thereby; and in that manner likewise he keeps his feeding cattle all the summer; and feeds them off presently, without any considerable trouble, and with very little charge.

Item, A most excellent discovery, with one slight plowing and harrowing, or but raising the ground in the least kind, to enjoy six crops in one year, proportionable to the fruitfulness of the grass, and so constantly every year, without any further trouble or charge at all; which is so wonderfully fruitful for milch-kine, that, besides the double increase of milk, and better by far than any other milk, it will afford two skimmings of excellent cream, such and so good, that the like was never heard of; this exceeds all other food for cheese; and when all the cream is taken off, the milk will be as good again as any other in that kind. This seed will cost nothing, and will sow itself after the first year, and will afford, in seed, above a thousand for one.

Item, Another seed, that when grounds are laid down, and quite out of heart, the grass thereon will maintain the greatest sheep very lusty and fit for slaughter, and yet there hardly appears any thing they can eat. This seed, being provided and sown upon meadows and pasture, would mightily advantage the grass to very great perfection, with the application of the way for growthsomeness but newly devised.

Item, Another seed to be had, the grass whereof causeth cattle to give milk in abundance: you may sow your dry, heathy, and barren grounds therewith; and such land as you intend to let lie, being out of heart, and not in a place convenient for muck, and, sowing but once with this seed, it will last good seven years, without any further trouble. The ordinary burthen is a load and a half *per* acre; and after seven years you may break it up, and sow it with corn, without manuring, till it be out of heart, and then sow it with the same seed as formerly: for it doth very much fatten the ground, and enrich it, and will thrive extraordinarily well upon dry land, where nothing else will grow; and when the grass and plants are destroyed with the parching heat of the sun, this flourisheth very much; and after seven years, if not with corn, you may sow the land again with the same seed, and all with little charge: the truth is, it will last ten or fifteen years. Sir Richard Weston saith, it will be cut seven or eight times in a summer; but then the rich and fat grounds are best, and those that are high and dry.

Another seed to be sown without manuring upon good land, but somewhat loose and light, not very dry, nor over moist, one bushel to six corn will serve: it is to be cut twice a year, and affords excellent winter-pasture till March; and it is exceeding good for all kinds of cattle, as well young as old, and exceedingly fatteneth all sorts of cattle, and lean beasts especially; and horses will grow fat therewith in eight or ten days, and to milch-kine it procureth exceeding great store of milk; after once sowing, it will last near fifteen years, and the hay will continue good three years.

To discover a grass growing here in England in its natural soil, that, being orderly husbanded, will transcend clover-grass, saint-foyné, lucerne, or any other outlandish grasses whatsoever.

Item, A root ordinarily to be had, which will increase wonderfully with little charge or trouble: it will feed all kinds of cattle, horses and swine especially, very fat, as those formerly, without either grass or corn; and will feed poultry likewise, as before; it will make very good bread, cakes, paste, pyes, and both crust without, and food within; and will hardly be destroyed, once planted, but will constantly increase of themselves: they will likewise grow, being cut in slices, and so put into the earth.

Item, A seed, which may likewise be disposed of, without plowing, upon very poor ground, deemed incapable of any fertility at all; which will advantage the ground very

much, and afford at least thirty pounds an acre *per annum*, or perform what was professed before for all sorts of cattle, poultry, &c.

Item, Another seed, the fruit whereof, upon the same sort of ground, though very mean, will feed all kinds of cattle, especially milch-kine, increasing their milk exceedingly, as before; and will afford two crops a year.

Item, Another seed, that being tilled but once, will last, without any further labour, trouble, or charge, four years; and will mightily enrich, improve, and fatten the ground for goodly corn four years after, without manuring; and is excellent for horses, hunting-dogs, poultry, and swine; and may be very well rated at an hundred pounds *per annum*, and upwards; the benefit and great increase thereof truly considered.

Item, Another great experiment in ordinary grounds without muck; which by a new invention, five acres thereof have this last year afforded above two-hundred pounds benefit in one acre, rent and all charges defrayed; and being still ordered according to directions, will continue no less advantageous, and enrich the ground very much.

Item, Trees to be had here in England but in one place, which being rightly planted, though in ordinary grounds, one tree will in a short time afford out of the root thirty plants, and every one of those thirty will in a short time afford thirty more; and these trees are at their full growth in twenty years; and after seven years every tree improveth yearly worth one shilling a tree, until its time be up. For pleasantness and use, this tree hardly hath its parallel; they need be planted but ten feet distant, and they much advantage the grass. Besides, there is another seed to be sown amongst them, that will, in some places, far exceed the benefit of the grass, the trees being very tall and straight, useful for timber, carts, trays, bowls, &c. being very white and tough. By thirty pounds, deposited in a way concerning these trees, may be returned, at twenty years end, ten-thousand pounds benefit.

Item, To raise wood more in twenty years, by new ways lately discovered, than in forty years naturally.

Item, Experienced ways lately in practice by divers gentlemen, and a long time continued by some of them, to preserve and feed horses, for labour and travel, in the best condition, without hay or corn, several ways, and neither of them instanced before.

There is a knight in the country that hath advanced his estate above a thousand pounds *per annum*, by planting of one ordinary commodity in the country, on the coarsest sort of ground, which may be performed in some places by others.

A gentleman, by planting an acre and a half of ground, received lately near two-hundred pounds profit in one year, without tillage. These two not hinted before, and to be practised by others, and the last with an additional benefit.

Item, By two sorts of creatures ordinarily to be had, may be gained, *de claro*, above five-hundred pounds *per annum*; and by another there hath been, and may be got, above five-hundred pounds *per annum*; and either of them with very little trouble, and the charges of all three not considerable, and all to be acted within doors.

A gentleman in Norfolk made lately ten-thousand pounds of a piece of ground, not forty yards square, and yet neither mineral nor metal; and as beneficial places may be discovered elsewhere in England.

To advance ground from five shillings an acre to fifty pounds an acre *per annum*, by ways apparently maintainable, and not by tillage.

Item, After seven years to make twenty pounds an acre *per annum* constantly, without tillage, as the other, with very little charge, and with the ordinary sort of ground not limited before.

Item, A ground in Kent, of thirty acres, did lately produce, in one year, a thousand pounds benefit, without tillage.

To make grapes grow upon oaks, more plentifully, as pleasantly, and as full of juice as any other grapes whatsoever.

Item, To make grapes ripe, as soon as cherries.

Item, Perfect directions for a vineyard, there having been many planted here in England, till most abusively put down, for the benefit of custom; the increase of a vineyard

being by computation four tuns *per acre*, an old vine lately in Kent producing near a hogshead of pure wine.

Item, There is a root ordinarily to be had, that will grow as plentifully as carrots, that hath been formerly sold for one shilling the pound, and will now sell for at least sevenpence the pound, not instanced before, being a staple commodity.

Item, Seven several sorts of seeds, that will yield either of them constantly above twenty pounds an acre, *per annum*, not hinted before.

Item, Another seed that will afford twenty pounds, and upwards, an acre, *per annum*; nothing thereunto belonging being edible or applicable for health.

Item, Fifty pounds an acre offered this year, in Gloucestershire, and so for many acres, these nine being neither of the five sorts following, *viz.* oade, osiers, rape-seed, fennel-seed, or saffron.

Divers excellent and new discovered experiments, to avoid the smuttiness of corn, and mildews.

Out of land worn out of heart, and naturally poor, to have a crop of oats, and a full crop of excellent fruitful hay after it, the same year; and to advantage the ground for crops of grass afterwards exceedingly.

Item, To enrich meadows in a very high nature without muck, or any course of watering, and to make them yield five times more grass than formerly.

Item, To make rushy ground to bear very good grass, and to destroy rushes, fern, &c.

Item, Another way to make an acre of meadow, every year, as good as two acres, only by casting a seed amongst it, which may be ordinarily provided for other meadows.

Item, A seed that affordeth, being sown in Yorkshire, out of two pecks and a half, as much as was sold for near forty pounds, which may be performed elsewhere.

Item, By laying out five shillings *per acre*, to reap it in the pounds.

Item, When lands are tilled till they will bear no corn, and mowed till they yield no grass, to restore them both to good heart and strength, and to far greater fruitfulness than ever they yielded before, without laying so much as a load of muck thereon, or without any considerable change or trouble. And, by a way likewise newly experimented, to make a barren field quite out of heart, or, being the last year of a lease, to yield an extraordinary good crop of corn, without muck, and with no charge, and but little trouble.

Item, A late experiment, no way repugnant to the dictates of common reason, to cause lands, by God's permission, they being capable of improvement, to return twenty, haply one-hundred for one, either in wheat or barley; and to make it most apparent by luculent demonstrations, that there hath, and may be made a greater return by far of either.

Item, After a man hath tilled and sowed a parcel of ground, at the full height and charge, according to his uttermost skill and experience in husbandry, to undertake to dispose of the one half part of the same parcel, so that, with the blessing of God, it may happily quadruple the benefit of the other part; and to make the same advantage of any other field of corn, and much more, if I may have the total disposal thereof.

Item, Directions concerning the great variety of compost for the several conditions and capacities of grounds, with divers new discoveries relating thereunto. The true understanding and practice thereof will, under God, enrich any industrious man whatsoever.

Item, A clear demonstration (by ways consonant to reason, and not formerly known or thought on) to make exceeding rich muck in abundance, a thousand loads and upwards, if you please, for all sorts of grounds, according to the capacities they lie under, several ways, with little charge; wherewith any man may be sufficiently furnished, and so good, that the world cannot afford better, without the use of sheep.

Item, A very late, but a most certain and infallible experiment, to be confirmed by principles of sound reason, visible to any dubious and unbelieving mind whatsoever, to draw forth the earth to her utmost fruitfulness; and to moisten, fatten, and fertilize san-

dy, dry, and hilly grounds, and to water them sufficiently in times of drought, and to make them capable of vast advantages both for grass and corn; and to continue them in the highest condition, without carrying a load of muck thereunto; which way may be enjoyed in a plentiful manner, the charge not considerable. This will likewise produce much fertility to all manner of quicksets, all sorts of plants, all kinds of trees, and to gardens likewise, being seasonably applied; which may be made out clear, easy, and no ways obstructive to ordinary apprehensions. And these two last may be performed accordingly throughout England.

Item, To make the tenth part of seed-corn to serve with far greater advantage than with the usual proportion.

Item, A late rare invention, to make five loads of dung more effectual than twenty loads of the usual compost, and one acre of ground generally to extend as far, and to be as beneficial for corn as three acres, and to last so constantly.

Item, Whereas there hath been a very great destruction of beans and pease these late years, by worms and other creeping things, men being ignorant of any remedy there for to discover a rational and an experimented easy way, generally to destroy them, both in corn-fields, gardens, and at the roots of trees; and very much to advantage and fertilize the grounds and trees thereby.

To make grounds free from rotting of cattle, and to prescribe remedies to cure the rot, if not too far gone, and to prevent the same.

Item, An excellent experiment to make trees bear much and exceeding good fruit.

That I know where there is now to be had five-hundred acres of ground entire, at eight shillings the acre, within fifteen miles of London, whereby there may be justifiably raised eight-thousand pounds *per annum*; and so proportionably with less parcels, which may be performed in other places accordingly.

Item, To make cattle, swine, and poultry fat with water only, mingled with earth.

Item, Several excellent experiments to help maturation.

Item, A sort of ducks now to be had, that will lay two eggs a day constantly.

Item, A sort of rabbits to be now had (not mingled), which have been in request formerly, but such as their skins are, now are worth two shillings and three shillings the skin, which begin nearly to come in estimation equal to beaver: and another breed thereof, that are as big again as the ordinary rabbits.

Item, Directions how a cart may be made to draw with one horse as much as five horses; this king James beheld with his full approbation; and for the putting the same in practice throughout England, I had a patent from him in my disposal.

To make clay burn like other fire, and to be equally useful upon all occasions.

Item, A way to convey water under the ground, up a steep hill to the uppermost part of a very high house, and to be useful at all times, in all offices about the house, and near the house, &c.

Item, To empty and cleanse rivers and moats of all mud, without going into the water, use of boats, diverting the stream, or letting out the water by ditches, sluices, &c. and with great facility and little charge.

Item, To make perfect iron with sea-coal, or pit-coal, and to charcoal pit-coal to dry malt, and for divers other necessary conveniences, and to make charcoal last long.

Item, To keep cabbage, artichokes, and all sorts of roots, in the house all the winter.

Item, Most certain directions to discover salt springs, with the degrees of the brine, and how to order the liquor, and to divide it from the fresh springs according to experience.

An approved way to make old cattle fat in a very short time, and to make their flesh eat as tender as the youngest.

Item, To make heifers larger, fairer, and more proportionable than their ordinary breed.

Item, To make starch, without the use and abuse of corn.

Item, To make a composition without charge, which will perform all things equal to soap.

To make flax like silk.

To bring all the fishes in a pond together, &c. and to increase store, and preserve fishponds several excellent ways.

To store a pigeon-house, and to cause them to stay, and not to stray to other houses, and to make them breed most part, if not all the year; the charge of food not considerable.

To take red or fallow deer, especially the best and fattest in a forest, park, or straggling abroad, as easily as you may take fish with a bait; or, to make them fall down as if they were dead, and yet no harm, so that you may approach and dispose of them at pleasure.

Several excellent new inventions, to take both foxes, pole-cats, and other vermin.

Item, To avoid crows, rooks, and daws from corn in the sowing, or in the ear.

Item, To cause all the moles in a field to resort to one place, and to take them very easily.

To preserve timber from rotting.

To make glue for the joining of boards, whether green or dry, that shall hold faster than the boards themselves.

That by travelling several years for the discovery of many rare experiments, &c. amongst many admirable collections for several infirmities happening upon four easy ways for the perfect curing of the king's evil, and neither of them with the seventh child, which are so excellent and (by the blessing of God) so exceedingly successful, that I desire to impart them to such as shall have occasion thereof.

Item, An infallible experiment for the gout and scurvy, which hath perfectly cured above a hundred.

Item, For the stone and strangury; which hath saved many men's lives.

Cum multis aliis, &c.

Having many other rarities of most admirable consequence, which would grow so voluminous, that I am resolved to reserve them for an additional impression. In the mean time, I shall willingly demonstrate and impart of them, by way of exchange, or otherwise, to any that shall be desirous thereof.

General Accommodations.

WHOSOEVER shall have moneys to let forth upon interest, may have sufficient security to his desire, and such present and positive directions for the more secure disposing of his moneys, so far transcending all manner of adventure, that the result thereof may, by many degrees, be more satisfactory, and may more advantageously extend and conduce to his content.

Whosoever shall be provided for a purchase, of what proportion soever, either of lands in the country, or houses here in the city, may have several particulars presented to his consideration, and full satisfaction to his desire.

Whosoever hath occasion to sell lands, houses upon lease, &c. or to borrow moneys upon lands, houses, leases, rents, &c. may be timously supplied to his desire, from fifty pounds, to five-thousand pounds.

Whosoever shall desire to increase the talent Divine Justice hath put into his hands, and will deposit moneys upon present annuities, or for estates in reversion, that shall appear, to the eye of judgment, exceeding advantageous, may have satisfactory compliancy to the full accomplishment of his expectation; or whosoever will give reasonable satisfaction, for moneys during life, may have considerable sums seasonably parted with, upon honest and conscionable terms.

Whosoever hath occasion for a necessary house, or shall desire to be provided with convenient lodgings, furnished, or otherwise ; or shall be minded to be dieted, either wholly, or at meals, as an ordinary, of what condition or degree soever ; they may have full information and satisfaction, with as much content as may be expected or desired : or whosoever shall desire to take a convenient mansion near London, or within twenty miles thereof, or part of an house, or lodgings, with their diet or otherwise ; they may have such information and intelligence, as cannot but abundantly correspond with their expectations : Or whosoever shall have an inclination to take a convenient house or farm in the country, by lease for years or lives, whereby they might continue to themselves a convenient competency for their support and livelihood ; they may, in pursuance of their desires, have plenary intelligence from most parts of England or Ireland ; and may further, according to their capacities, be directed and furthered to more fructiferous employments under some eminent neighbouring gentleman, that may, by virtue of their relation and recourse, happily become their landlord, &c. or whosoever shall be willing to part with such habitation or place of residence, of what proportion soever, or in what part of England or Ireland soever ; by hinting their pleasures, all industry will not be wanting, at least, so much as may occasion them to be inheritors of their desires.

Whosoever shall be minded to buy any goods, that London doth afford, either for apparel or otherwise, may be furnished at the first and best hand, at equitable rates, with all clarity and serenity, and with forbearance of their moneys for the present or otherwise ; or shall desire to have their wants supplied with any kind of household stuff, at the first or second hand, as linen, pewter, brass, all sorts of hangings, or other requisites appertaining to household affairs ; they may have their choice either by parcels, as they have need : or the full furniture of an house from executors, or from such, as have occasion to give up house-keeping, &c. and constant information, where, with whom, and upon what conditions they may be had. Or whosoever shall have commodities to sell, or what vendible commodities soever, shall come from beyond the seas, or out of the country, either in great parcels or otherwise, upon information thereof, at my lodgings ; they may have divers make address unto them, and may instantly vend whatsoever they shall have remaining by them.

Whosoever shall lose any papers, books of accompt, or any other considerable thing ; whereas the finder may desire restitution to the owner, by leaving notice thereof, at my lodgings, there may happen a reciprocal accommodation between them. Or whosoever shall have goods stolen, as horses, or any other cattle, may by describing the marks, &c. with other necessary explanatory observations, have such an expeditious course taken, by posting of bills throughout the city, the market-towns and fairs, within a considerable distance, and by other scrutinies for suspicious persons about the city, together with such other probable and imaginable expedients, effectually prosecuted and pursued, as may consequently render responsible inferences of discovery, how to recover their goods again.

Whosoever shall desire to be entertained as a gentleman's chaplain, tutor, secretary, steward, &c. or shall be capable of preferment, especially youth, of what degree soever, may have such directions and furtherance as may very much tend to their advancement ; or whosoever shall need any such servant, of what quality or condition soever, or any that would be set a-work in their faculties, &c. they may be sufficiently accommodated to their desires : or if they need any that are expert and excellent in teaching musick, short writing, &c. or any artist whatsoever, or masters of bodily exercise, as dancing, fencing, &c. they may have such that will (according to the dispensations, God hath conferred upon them) endeavour to ingratiate themselves to their esteems, and some of the same qualifications, that will occasionally evidence their willingness by their industrious observancy to conform themselves as domestic, that are men of known trust, government, and integrity.

Whosoever shall have suits in law to commence, or shall happen into any kind of litigious controversies, discordances, and competitions, of what nature soever ; or shall be prisoners, &c. they may have their doubts explained, matter of fact stated, substantially

proposed, and methodically digested with seasonable directions upon easy terms, without retarding or remora's, and with the contribution of the concurrent opinions and free advice of the most candid and ingenuous judgments, that will stand by them in their just rights, and may happily address them unto some that shall, without partiality, resume the pursuit of the business for them by right; or else as referendaries, &c. make an amiable and an amicable composition and transaction of the matter for their best advantage with their adversary in their behalf.

Whosoever shall have debtors, that skulk and are latent in any part of England, Ireland, &c. they may have such real and pertinent courses observed and pursued for their discovery, and for recovery of their debts, whereby they may be made willing, if able, for all conscionable performances.

Whosoever shall need an agent or solicitor, and shall desire the common intelligence of public state-affairs, and other communicable occurrences; may have all honest and faithful services performed, with what respective credentials and considerable obligations, shall be necessarily required, in reference and order to such employments.

Whosoever shall be minded to undertake an office, or place of present benefit, and shall desire to be negotiated in any such condition, may be severally advertised very much tending to their future content and satisfaction. And such that will part with an office or place of benefit for present profit, they may find, by address, how to compass their desires; and those that shall be able to give intelligence of any such office, &c. which may happen by the sickness or death of any officer, or by misdemeanours, (being themselves not capable to execute the same,) upon their discovery, they may be sufficiently considered and rewarded therefore. Or if any man, living remote, shall be able to discover any material thing obvious to his observation, which may be advantageous to the publick, or to himself, not being able to repair to London, to advance his design; upon intimation thereof, by letters or otherwise, he may have all prevalent advantages, effectually pursued, to promote the execution thereof, without putting himself to the charge of a great journey at adventure; and a condign recompence procured out of the benefit, which thence may accrue to the publick, or otherwise, with as much reality, and sincerity, as if he himself were present, and able to prosecute the same.

Whosoever shall be so instrumental to their own happiness and future content, to avoid the pernicious effects of ignorance in their children, and season their tender years, by endeavouring the right framing of their studies to the ready attainment of virtue and knowledge, during their flexibility (according to the order of duty, and the talent committed to them, whereof they must be accountable) may, in cases of such importance and concernment, have such excellent designs illustrated unto them, and such observable inferences for their educations; that those parents, that are truly generous and careful of their children's good, cannot but exceedingly approve thereof, and very much incline thereunto.

Whosoever shall be inclinable to travel into any part beyond the seas, may happily, by address, enjoy the blessings of such unanimous consociation, as may most nearly be consistent with his disposition; so that by a candid and sympathetical participation and complacency in all occurrences, and by the intercourse of mutual friendship and correspondence, their affections may be so firmly tied together in bonds of unity, and so entirely woven within one another, that they may rationate, consult, and co-operate jointly in their travels; and the one may, by their amicable coherency and combination, meliorate, improve, and be helpful unto the other in their abilities; and may further, by men of worth, knowledge, and experience, be respectively intelligenced, instructed, and advertised, of the manner and condition of travelling into what part soever; how to steer his course with cautiousness and circumspection, and to order and deport himself in his peregrinations for matter of expences, and to discover and decline all false representations, and how likewise to regulate and associate himself with such sort of people as he shall obviate and be conversant with, and may be furnished with gold for silver upon all occasions, and be recruited and supplied with all conveniences, wheresoever he shall come.

Whosoever shall be desirous to travel into Ireland, Scotland, or any place of England, may (by entering their names, and the time they intend to take their journey,) consort themselves with company suitable to their minds, and so pass in a coach together part of the way at an easy charge; or may be directed how to convenience themselves with horses to their desire, either by such as are to be returned by the carriers, or otherwise; or may know where to have horses at reasonable rates; or, if they will buy horses for their present occasion, they may have notice where to fit themselves, either from gentlemen or merchants here in the city, with such warranty and content, as may be fully satisfactory to their expectation.

Whosoever shall have relation to Virginia, the Barbadoes, New-England, or any other country inhabited with English, or shall have cause to send into any of those places, or would inhabit, or transplant himself into those parts, he may have all intelligence and expedients, with as much conveniency as may be. And such here in England, that shall have means fall unto them in any of these countries, or any there that shall have the like in any part of England, and would have commodities transported from the one unto the other; or any other reciprocal negotiation, or intercourse of friendship, of what importance soever: and so likewise into any other country, as France, Spain, the Low Countries, &c. by their address and application, according to their particular ends and concerns, they may have all accommodation that may possibly be afforded, and matters of conscientious concerns completely expedited; and, what equitable offices Christianity and humanity may afford, they may assuredly enjoy with all faithfulness and serenity. *Cum multis aliis.*

England's proper and only Way to an Establishment in Honour, Freedom, Peace, and Happiness; or, the Norman Yoke once more uncased, and the Necessity, Justice, and present Seasonableness of breaking it in Pieces demonstrated, in eight most plain and true Propositions, with their Proofs. By the Author of 'Anti-Normanism,' and of the 'Plain English' to the Neglecters of it¹.

Deo, Patriæ, Tibi.

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[Quarto; containing sixteen pages.]

To the READER.

READER,

THOU hast here once more my endeavour for to draw this our nation from under the right, title, effects, and badges of the Norman pretended conquest over us; to which, by

¹ [The two tracts here mentioned, as they form a very material part of a singular attempt to free the English nation from the remaining vestiges of Norman conquest, will find a place in the Supplement to this Work.]

the iniquity of precedent times, and the ignorant negligence of the present, we remain still subject. 'Conquest, (saith Dr. Hudson²,) in its best attire, is the most eminent of curses:' but, sure, it is a curse far more eminent, to be so difficult to be persuaded to come out of that quality; especially, while undeniable justice, power, and opportunity, add their invitations. If what is here made manifest, shall meet with due and timely regard, and produce effects according; we may happily recover that incomparable freedom, honour, peace, and happiness, which we enjoyed under the glorious, and our last right English king, St. Edward: but if such cold consideration shall attend it, as seems to have befallen what hath been before sent abroad upon the same errand; I shall esteem it great pity, and am much deceived, if either by our old, or some new conquerors, we be not taught with more than words, what belongs to such as have not capacity to be either ingenuous subjects, or dutiful slaves. *Vale.*

JO. HARE.

Proposition I.

That the right and title of a pretended conquest over the English nation, by foreigners called Normans, hath been heretofore set up, and is still upheld in this kingdom; and that all Englishmen, by the mouths of their parliaments and lawyers, have submitted and do still submit unto the same, and are governed in great part by Norman innovations; being foreign laws and customs introduced by the said Normans in despite of the English people, for marks and monuments of the said conquest.

Proof.

THAT the right and title of such a conquest is still on foot, and stands for the basis of this kingdom, I suppose, needs no proof: That it is accordingly still submitted to, I have proved in my 'Plain English,' page 3, 4, a sufficient part of which probation is this, *viz.* That, by the mouths abovesaid, we do acknowledge (how truly I shall shew in my fifth proposition) that the duke of Normandy absolutely purchased with his sword the crown of England and our allegiance; for otherwise he could not be as we name him, our Conqueror. Secondly, That accordingly we do submit to his heirs; placing him³, the said duke, specificated with his said title of Conqueror, for the root and alpha of our rightful kings; so that it is plain that the said conquest doth enjoy both our acknowledgment and professed allegiance: that the Norman innovations are retained, to the almost exiling of our own proper laws, is every where both⁴ legible and visible⁵: that they were in-

² [Dr. Michael Hudson wrote a discourse intituled, 'The Divine Right of Government, natural and political; more particularly of Monarchy, the only legitimate and natural species of politic government;' 1647. 4to. wherein (says our Oxford Historian) he shews himself to be a scholar, as he before had, by his martial feats, a courageous soldier. Ath. Oxon. II. 114.]

³ [In the regal table.]

⁴ See Daniel's Hist. p. 43.

⁵ [Sir John Fortescue Aland was of a different opinion, as appears by the following passage in his preface to his illustrious ancestor's treatise on absolute and limited monarchy: 'The Normans who invaded the Saxons, did not so much alter the substance, as the names of things. And notwithstanding the pretended conquest of William I. these laws of good king Edward were not abolished by him; for when king William published those laws, he expressly mentions them to be Edward the Confessor's laws, and publishes them as such, and confirms and proclaims them to be the laws of England, to be kept and observed under grievous penalties. Besides, upon such confirmation; he took an oath to keep inviolable the good and approved ancient laws of the realm, which the holy and pious kings of England, his ancestors, and especially king Edward, had enacted and set forth; so that the English laws were plainly then in use and not abrogated by William I.'—But it may perhaps be necessary to bear in mind, that the aim of this preface was to prove, that the laws of England had flowed from a Saxon fountain; and that this stream, 'sometimes running freely, sometimes weakly, and sometimes stopped in its course, but at last, breaking through all obstructions, hath mixed and incorporated itself with the great charter of our English liberties.' It was therefore indispensably requisite, in order to make good this position, that all objections which might be started as to the subversion of the Saxon original by Norman innovations, should be got rid of, by asserting that it was 'not so much the substance as the names of things'

roduced in manner and for the purpose abovesaid, and accordingly resented and reluc-
tated against by the English people, while they understood themselves and their proprieties,
may appear by their many exclamations made against them unto the (pretended) Con-
queror; by the acts of the Kentish men, and by the Londoners' petition in king Stephen's
time, which also occasioned those many regal oaths to be then and still taken, though not
yet performed, for retracting these innovations and restoring the laws of king Edward; so
far are the said innovations from being any part of our legitimate laws, though our wild
lawyers so repute them; the proper birth or stamp whereof is to be of the people's choo-
sing, as the coronation-oath testifies. And thus much for to shew, that while we dispute
the duty of subjects, we profess the allegiance of captives; while we spurn at English
proclamations, we submit to Norman laws; and that, notwithstanding all our great vic-
tories and triumphs, we do still remain, as much as ever, under the title and in the qua-
lity of a conquered nation; unto which what reasons we have to induce us, I shall shew
in my ensuing propositions.

Proposition II.

That the said title of Conquest and Norman innovations (while they continue in force in
this kingdom) are destructive to the honour, freedom, and all other unquestioned rights
of this nation; and much more to the present legality and future validity of this parlia-
ment's proceedings.

Proof.

A GREAT part of the injuriousness of this title and innovations, towards our nation, I
cannot better set forth than in the words of learned Fortescue⁶ (cited by Mr. Prynne in
his 'Sovereign Power,' part 1. p. 37, 38.) though himself a Norman, and arguing only
against unlimited prerogative in the crown, which is but part of what is inseparably
wrapped up in the title of conquest, who having declared it to be the undoubted right of
Englishmen to have this two-fold privilege, *viz.* to be under laws of their own choosing,
and princes which themselves admit, (in which two consists a great part of their honour
and the sum of their freedom, as I have shewed in my 'Plain English,' p. 1.) adds, that of
the benefit of this their right they should be utterly defrauded, if they should be under a
king that might spoil them of their goods (as our first pretended Conqueror did, and as
the heirs of his title by the law of all conquests still may,) and yet should they be much
more injured, if they should afterwards be governed by foreign and strange laws, and such
peradventure as they deadly hated and abhorred; of which sort I have before shewed
these innovations to be. And most of all, if by those laws their substance should be dimi-
nished, as it is by many of these innovations; particularly that of drawing the generality
of law-suits to Westminster, for the safeguard whereof as also of their honour and of their
own bodies, they submitted themselves to his government: thus and more he; to which
I may add, that this injuriousness were yet more aggravated, if our kings which were in-
stalled by our admission, and should thus patronize our honour, &c. should profess them-
selves to be of foreign blood, declare that they owe their right to the crown unto none but
their sword; and write on our foreheads, that we are their conquered and captive vassals;
as our princes, while they retain the said title, do.

which experienced the effects of the Conqueror's new-got authority: But it can hardly be denied that the Norman
invasion produced as great an alteration in our laws, as it did in our ancient line of kings;—and though the
alteration of the former was effected rather by the consent of the people, than by any right of conquest, yet that
consent seems to have been partly extorted by fear, and partly given without any apprehension of the conse-
quences which afterwards ensued. The alterations in our laws which then took place, are enumerated by Judge
Blackstone.]

⁶ [Sir John Fortescue, a very eminent English lawyer, and lord-chancellor in the reign of Henry VI; well
known for his treatises 'De Laudibus Legum Angliæ,' and 'Absolute and Limited Monarchy.'—His lineal ances-
tor, Sir Richard Fortescue, knt. is said to have come into England with William the Conqueror.]

In sum, the title and effects of this pretended conquest are a yoke of captivity, unto which while we continue our fond and needless submission, we renounce honour, freedom, and all absolute right to any thing but just shame and oppression; being thereby in the quality of professed captive bondslaves, unto the heirs of the duke of Normandy, and wearing the open livery of that profession. And, though we enjoy a mitigation of our slavery by charters, yet are those charters revocable at the king's pleasure, (as ⁷ king Richard the Second well observed,) while the kingdom continues grounded on the conquest; which I have sufficiently proved, in the preface to 'Plain English,' from the tenour of *Magna Charta* itself (which declares the said charter to be an act of mere grace and favour, and grounded upon respect not so much of duty as of meritorious supererogation towards God, much less of duty, though benefit, to the nation), and from a ⁸ confession of parliament; and is also otherwise no less clearly evincible, for that it is a maxim, that all subjects of a conquest (especially while they profess themselves such, as we simply still do,) are in the quality of tenants in villenage, subject and subservient, in their persons and estates, to the will, honour, and benefit of their conqueror and his heirs; according to the axiom in ⁹ *Cæsar* (mentioned in my 'Plain English,' pag. 7.) *Jus est belli ut hi qui vicissent his quos vicissent quemadmodum vellent imperarent*: that the conquered are, by the laws of war, under the arbitrary rule and government of their conquerors; and according to the practice in the Turkish dominions, which are not more grounded on conquest than we yield ours to be: which captive and slavish quality, how unseemly it is for Englishmen to continue in, (especially towards a Norman colony, and that while they may with justice and facility come out of it,) I have shewn in my 'Anti-Normanism.' And as touching the consequent ¹⁰ illegality of this parliament's proceedings, until they either repeal this title, or else renounce the quality of Englishmen, if it seem not evident enough from the premisses, it may be seen, in my 'Plain English,' evinced and proved against all objections whatsoever; of which illegality, future invalidity is both the sister and daughter.

Proposition III.

That the same are also derogatory to the king's right to the crown, to his honour, and to his just interest in the people's affections.

Proof.

FOR it is confessed on all sides, particularly by master Marshall and master Prynne (the prolocutors of the parliamentarians), and by Dr. Hudson, the grand royalist, that the title of conquest is ¹¹ unjust, as being gained by murderous rapine: so that, while we ground the king's title on a conquest, we make him a predonical usurper, and defraud him of his just right, founded on St. Edward's legacy, joined with this nation's admission¹², besides his heirship to the English blood; as I have shown in my 'Plain English,' page the last, and in 'Anti-Norman,' page 19. And as for his honour and just interest in the people's affections, they consist in his being *pater patriæ*, as himself also lately intimated;

⁷ See Mr. Prynne's 'Sovereign Power,' fol. 59. b.

⁸ See Mr. Prynne's citation last mentioned.

⁹ *In lib. i. de Bello Gallico.*

¹⁰ The example of the extorting of *Magna Charta* makes nothing to the contrary; for that was done (as Daniel's history testifies) by the nobility of those times, under the notion and quality of Normans and coheirs of the conquest; which quality, I suppose, our parliament will not, if they could, assume.

¹¹ Likewise by our own laws, obligations extorted by duress, as is fealty to a conquest, are voidable.

¹² [It has been shrewdly conjectured, that the title of Conqueror (as applied to William duke of Normandy) which has given such offence to some, might take rise from the circumstance of confounding the word *acquisition* with *conquest*; as in old writers, *conquestus*, *acquisitio*, and *perquisitio*, are frequently used as synonymous terms. According to this sense of the word it has been contended, that William I. *claimed* this kingdom; that is, not by right of arms, but by right of conquest or acquiescence; under promise of succession made by Edward the Confessor, and a contract entered into by Harold to support his pretensions to that succession. See further in Rees's Cyclopæd. article *Conquest*.]

but the title of the conquest holds him in the quality not only of a foreigner, but also of the capital enemy of his subjects, and so affords their minds more provocation unto hatred and revenge, than unto affection or allegiance; as I have plainly shewn in my preface to 'Plain English,' and in 'Anti-Norm.' pages 20, 21; and may be discerned from those suitable fruits of it, which I shall hereafter specify. Neither do the innovations (the effects and badges of the pretended conquest) want their share in the like effect, as being a just cause of the disrelishment and contempt of our laws (so Normanized both in matter and form) by understanding men; and no doubt the ground of that general and inbred hatred, which still dwells in our common people against both our laws and lawyers.

Proposition IV.

That the same have been the root and cause of all the civil wars (about temporal matters) that were ever in this kingdom betwixt king and people; and are likewise, for the time to come, destructive to all well-grounded, firm, and lasting unity, peace, and concord in this realm, and consequently to the strength of the same.

Proof.

THE narrative is evident from history, the rest from reason: for how can there be union in affection betwixt those that are professed strangers and enemies one to another; as this title and innovations, the ensigns of hostility, render our kings and people? Moreover, the said title, by reason of the unlimited prerogative inseparably appendent, is apt to suggest seeds of tyranny to the crown, as it hath continually done; and consequently of insurrections to the subject, to the disturbance of the public peace; which is confirmed by the said many civil wars we have had in this kingdom since these abuses were set on foot, whereas before we never had any; and weakness must needs wait upon that body, where there is such a disunion and antipathy betwixt the head and members.

Proposition V.

That the introduction of the said title and innovations was, and the retaining of them is, contrary to the fundamental constitution of this kingdom.

Proof.

FOR the Norman¹³ duke was admitted as legatee of St. Edward¹⁴, and upon his oath to preserve our laws and liberties, and not as a conqueror, nor yet for an innovator, as the most authentic historians testify; among whom honest Æmilius Veronensis, an impartial stranger, writing of this matter, saith expressly, *Non ipsi homines sed causa defuncti victa extinctaque*; 'That it was not the English nation, but the usurper Harold that was overcome;' and as, in opposition to the innovations, I shall make more clear in the confirmation of my next proposition: insomuch that the violent introduction of the said abuses was, and the pertinacious upholding of them, is an usurpant, perjurious, and perfidious robbing us, of the title and quality of a free nation.

¹³ Not any history or record saith that he claimed the crown, before he had it, as Conqueror of England, much less that he was acknowledged for such by the English, or submitted to under that title; therefore the assumption of that title afterwards was usurpatory. See my 'Anti-Norm.' p. 15, 19.

¹⁴ [It has been frequently asserted that William the Norman claimed the crown by virtue of a grant from Edward the Confessor. This grant, however, if real, was in itself utterly invalid, because it was made, as Harold well observed in his reply to William's demand, *absque generali senatus et populi conventu et edicto*; and this also very plainly implies that it was then generally understood that the king, with consent of the general council, might dispose of the crown, and change the line of succession. William's title was, however, altogether as good as Harold's, who was a mere private subject, and an utter stranger to the royal blood. The conquest, then, by William, was, like that of Canute before, a forcible transfer of the crown of England into a new family; but the crown being so transferred, all the inherent properties of the crown were transferred with it. *Vide Cyclopaed. ut supra.*]

Proposition VI.

That the retaining of the same is contrary to the coronation-oath of all our kings, and to the oaths and duties of parliament and people.

Proof.

FOR it is the first and chief part of the proper and solemn oath of all our kings at their coronation, (as it was the first Norman's like oath, either at his coronation, or at least, ¹⁵ before his full admission and confirmation by the English state,) to preserve our laws and liberties established by St. Edward; which are inconsistent with the said title and innovations. Neither can any man say, that because the oath binds also to the confirmation of other king's grants, therefore these innovations are included; for grants imply a precedent asking, and how far these innovations were from ever being asked I have before shewn: and moreover, the confirmation is especially limited to the laws of king Edward, as being both the most desired and desirable. And, for parliament and people, they are bound both by their natural and official duties, and moreover by their late solemn covenant, unto the vindication of their natural rights and liberties; of which the said title and innovations are the greatest opposers, as I have before shewn.

Proposition VII.

That, until this title and innovations are abolished, there can be no honour, freedom, or happiness to this nation; that the inception of that enterprise is the most hopeful means for curing the present divisions; and that there is no colourable objection against the performing it.

Proof.

FOR until the cause be taken away, the effect is not like to cease. I have before shewn how destructive these abuses are to our honour, rights, and unity: while they remain, we are in the quality of captive slaves, and our kings in the semblance of foreign and usurping lords. And as these evils were the cause of the first fracture, and consequent antipathy in this kingdom, betwixt crown and subjects; so there can be no solid closure between them, until they are repealed. These being removed, the whole nation, both king and people, will be restored into the quality of one natural body, which (as ¹⁶ Fortescue hath aptly observed out of Aristotle,) hath a set form of duty and affection constituted betwixt the head and members. And as touching this work's expediency towards re-uniting divided Englishmen, it is evident: for if the common honour and happiness of the nation be the scope of their designs, they have no other highway to their end, but this. Also, it may be learned from the common practice of distracted states, whose usual remedy is the assaulting of a common enemy; of which sort are these abuses, being a common usurpation, that hath a more general, hostile, and mischievous malignity against our nation in it, than any other adversary we have at this day, save that it wants strength and formidableness, for that there is no man amongst us hath any colourable cause to defend it. Moreover, until this be redressed, all else, that is done, is but as building of castles in the air, that have no firm foundation, but may be blown down with the king's arbitrary breath, as I have before proved. And if any object the troublesomeness and difficulty of rooting out the innovations; I answer, that that particular may be consummated at leisure; that we have taken more pains about things of lower concernment; and that the restoration of our rights ought not to seem unto us more laborious, or difficult, than did to our enemies the introducing of the contrary.

¹⁵ See Mr. Prynne's citations of testimonies to this purpose, in his 'Sovereign Power,' p. 51, 53. and my, 'Anti-Norm.' p. 15.

¹⁶ See Mr. Prynne's citation of him, in his 'Sovereign Power,' p. 38.

Proposition VIII.

That all Englishmen, that are active in maintaining the said title and innovations, are the most flagitious traitors, both to their king and country, that ever were.

Proof.

IT is apparent from the premisses; it being also evident, that in comparison of such, Strafford, in his worst appearance was a good patriot; and, as for the defaults of former times in this particular, they are not now pretendible for excuse; for that now Heaven holds forth power and opportunity far more liberally than ever heretofore, or, perhaps, than hereafter, for asserting of truth, and establishing of righteousness, in this kingdom¹⁷.

¹⁷ [The perusal of this strenuous effort of an obscure individual to evince the absurdity and impropriety of retaining the badges of Norman conquest and innovation, may perhaps excite in the mind of the reader a momentary sensation of patriotic indignity; but a more mature deliberation will probably lead us to agree with Mr. Hume, that 'the present rights and privileges of the people, who are a mixture of Norman and English, can never be affected with a transaction which passed seven hundred years ago.' Hist. vol. 1. p. 283. 8vo.]

Natural and Revealed Religion explaining each other. In two Essays. The first shewing what Religion is essential to Man: The Second, the State of Souls after Death, as discovered by Revelation.

[MS. Never before published.]

ESSAY THE FIRST.

On the Religion essential to Man.

IN religion, all true principles must depend upon one only principle: this only principle is that of a self-sufficient Being. Every relation between two intelligent beings is necessarily founded in the nature of both. Now religion is essentially no more than a relation between God and man. It can therefore be founded only in the nature of these two beings. Then every point of doctrine, every opinion, which is evidently opposite as well to the nature of God, as to that of man, ought to be deemed false, or at least foreign to man's essential religion. From hence it is plain, that the religion essential to man, must be simple, evident, free from all contradiction; that it must exclude every thing false and imaginary; that it cannot require any man to strain his belief to what savours of an impossibility, much less to what savours of a contradiction.

If God is self-sufficient, he is perfectly disinterested; for what is infinite can lose nothing, as it can gain nothing. Therefore he did not make man out of nothing to increase his own happiness; consequently, his creating him capable of happiness could be for no other end, but to render him happy. If this be his end, which cannot be doubted, this end subsists invariably. God is therefore concerned for the happiness of those beings whom he has created. The conclusion from hence is plain, that since God does nothing for his own advantage, he has nothing in view but the advantage of his creatures; that whatever is called religion, is reduced to this.

If it be objected to this, that the Scripture says, ‘ God made all things for his own glory :’ I answer, that it is not from the expressions of Scripture we form the idea of God, but on the contrary, by the idea of God we rectify whatever these expressions seem to ascribe to him, that is either imperfect or contradictory : therefore, every other idea of religion is so far from honouring God, that it really dishonours him, by supposing him to be like unto men ; who, in consequence of their insufficiency, cannot be perfectly disinterested.

The first idea a man has, is, that he exists. He finds he could not be the author of his own existence ; so that the source of existence resides elsewhere. Where must it reside ? It must be in some Being that has not received its existence from any other : man, therefore, is obliged to own, that there is a First, a self-existent Being.

This first discovery (which you see is only an unavoidable consequence of experience) is sufficient to lead him to others ; I mean to more particular ideas concerning the attributes of that First Being. As whatever we are capable of feeling, tasting, or knowing, must necessarily proceed from that First Cause ; this idea leads us to discover, in the First Being, not only power, but also wisdom and goodness ; and this discovery also arises from experience.

Nothing is more familiar to experience than the sentiment of joy ; this sentiment, which is only momentary in man, gives him some idea of a more real felicity, whereof that which he feels is only a specimen or sample. From this experience he concludes, that the Author of his being, having made him capable of so delicious a sentiment, must be the source of all felicity. Another thing, which he feels, leads him still farther ; I mean the invincible inclination he has to happiness : and as this desire is inseparable to his being, it must likewise be ascribed to the Author of his being ; from whence he justly concludes, that happiness is the end of his being. This conclusion leads him to another ; he finds it is not completely attained in this world, consequently there must be one hereafter, which will accomplish that end.

All these sentiments naturally arise from a man’s considering himself only : let us now introduce him into society. He observes that the earth produces all the necessary things for man’s subsistence, but this, being not equally divided, begets the language of Mine, and Thine ; this language occasions another, namely, that of Just and Unjust, True and False.

When we hear men say to one another, “ This is false, That is unjust ;” he enquires into the meaning of these terms. He finds that the word ‘ false,’ consists in the denying what we know to be true, or affirming what we know not to be so : That what is called ‘ unjust,’ consists in taking from another what is allowed to be his, or in not keeping one’s promise. But notwithstanding he has clear ideas of what is truth or falsehood, justice or injustice ; yet, upon examining things more, he sometimes observes, that falsehood lends such assistance to injustice, that judges are sometimes at a loss to discern who is in the right, and who in the wrong, so that sometimes the innocent suffer, and the guilty escape : he then concludes, that if a Being, equitable in the highest degree, suffers, for a time, that justice should not be rightly administered, it is, because he reserves to himself the care of distributing it hereafter in the most exact proportion ; when the unjust, and the murderer, will receive the retribution due to their violence, and the poor and innocent persons, who sunk under the weight of injustice, will receive a proportionable recompence.

Hence we may see, that real religion is not so much above the reach of man, as some would persuade us ; for it does not consist so much in a knowledge acquired by the instruction we receive from others, as in that we receive or attain from ourselves by sentiment and experience. But some perhaps will say, that such a religion as this, founded on our natural faculties, is not sufficient for salvation ; this is only the religion of nature, which is infinitely inferior to revealed religion, which is not founded on sentiment and experience, but on faith ; since the Christian is obliged to believe what he does not see. Do not let attachment to words mislead us : “ Natural religion (say these men) is greatly in-

ferior to revealed." This is a lame proposition. Here is one equivalent to it : nature in children is greatly inferior to education.

The use of education is most certainly not to destroy nature, but to bring it to perfection. Revealed religion ought to be with respect to men, what education is with respect to children ; it can only build upon the foundation of nature. This being supposed ; 'tis plain, revealed religion bears a relation to our natural faculties, and ought neither to destroy them, or be substituted in their room. This idea of substitution (which we adopt without being aware of it) would appear ridiculous in any other case ; as may be proved by an example taken from education : A school-boy has a good natural genius for arithmetick, and desires to learn the rules of it ; a master gives him a book of sums, all done to his hand ; the scholar then has no more to do but to believe, without examining, the exactness of every one of the rules, being pretty sure the master is not mistaken. I say this book would in that case be substituted in the room of the natural capacity, which the boy has for cyphering. He will not exert it, as finding the work ready done to his hand ; but what is the boy the better for this ? All that he will know is this, that he must believe, without knowing why, that such and such figures so put together make such a sum. Thus you tell me, I must believe without examining, because God hath said it : but this examination, which you exclude, necessarily supposes another, or perhaps several, before I can be convinced of this. For, from my knowing there is a God, it does not follow that 'tis he that speaks in such a book. That book, say you, carries with it the marks of truth, for which it ought to be received. Very well. You no longer then insist that I should believe without examining ; since you yourself invite me to judge of this book by the marks it carries with it. But how shall I judge of them ? By what rule shall I be enabled to discern what you call the marks of truth ? In order to do this, I must consult the principles of truth, and from them form my notion of these marks.

People are undoubtedly guided by a false notion, when they consider revealed religion, and the religion of nature, as opposite to one another. To decide the matter, a person need only ask himself, whether the means can be opposite to the end ? and whether we can warrantably extol the means above the end, to which they are subservient ? Well now, allowing that our rational man has examined, and is entirely satisfied by the marks, that such a book contains the revealed will of God ; for he cannot think it strange that the Deity should interest himself for men, who are the work of his own hands, and that, for the same reason, he should employ different means to form and perfect them, like a father who takes pains to form and perfect his children ; that, God having placed us amongst such a number of different objects, he should condescend to warn and instruct us as to the use we are to make of them ; and that, considering the shortness of life, he should also warn us of what is to be our future portion, according to the use we shall make of our time here. By examining this revelation, he finds it exactly agree with the religion of his understanding. He finds the author of it, Jesus Christ himself, declaring that both the Law and the Gospel center in the accomplishment of this immutable law : ' Do to others as you would that they should do to you.' And this he has made good by most of his precepts.

But it will be said, If the whole doctrine of Christ centered there, what did he teach men that they did not know before ? I answer, that Jesus Christ has (properly speaking) required nothing of men, but what they themselves could perceive to be just. He appealed on all occasions to their discernment. He never grounds his precepts upon his own authority, but upon their agreement with common sense, upon the force of truth, which they are capable of feeling, when they do not wilfully oppose it. ' If I do not speak truth (said he), do not believe me.' He invites men to examine, and made the most simple amongst them judges of his actions. Now such is the nature of the understanding, that it can believe nothing but what it discovers to be true. If God should require men to believe what they can't discern to be true, he would in that case disown the intelligent faculty which he has given them ; truth would no longer have any force to convince and persuade ; they must become like those idols of whom 'tis said, that ' they have eyes,

but see not,' &c. If men could believe what they please, to what purpose should we appeal to common sense, and ask those questions in every body's mouth, "Is it not true? Is it not just?" Accordingly we find Jesus Christ speaking to men, always supposing them to have understanding and liberty. He appeals to the understanding of the Jews against their laws and customs, which they reckon to be most sacred, such as observing the Sabbath, &c. For common sense would have told them, that 'the Sabbath must have been made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.' If so; the doing or receiving good, on that day, would not have been looked upon (as they pretended or imagined) a breach of it. He does not stop at the letter of the law we see, but enters into the spirit of it; he appeals to themselves, whether any of them would not, or ought not, to take care of his ox or his ass on that day. But then 'tis urged, that if the nature of the understanding be such, that it can believe nothing but what it discovers to be true, what must we do with the mysteries of revealed religion? The word mystery denotes something hid, the knowledge of which God has reserved to himself: let us therefore confine ourselves to evident and undoubted truth; and if so, what would be the consequence of such a conduct? Would it hinder us from knowing and practising the duties of natural and revealed religion? No; but we should be ignorant of a great many things. We should indeed be ignorant of that art which passes under the name of controversy; we should have no idea of those distinctions of words, and of those sub-divisions *in infinitum*, which have enriched dictionaries. We should be ignorant of those names of sects, Arianism, Pelagianism, Socinianism, &c. We should not have known to what a pitch animosity, rancour, bigotry, and ambition, can be carried under the name of zeal. If we had been ignorant of these things, would not the world have been a gainer in other respects? Wars about religion, which of all wars are the bloodiest, had never been known. Christians would have made (without these controversies) the study of religion to consist in being good men. The Gospel would only lead them to that; in every page of it, they will find instructions tending to make them sincere, equitable, and beneficent. Every man then who should be wanting in such virtues, or have their opposite vices, would be deemed (as indeed they are) void of religion. For what is called devotion, would not supply the place of religion, where the fundamentals of it are wanting. Men would not damn one another then; that privilege would be unknown to them, and they would be as little acquainted with that of tyrannizing over the consciences of others. But, if you set aside mysteries, religion would be reduced to something so very simple, that the most illiterate men may understand it. What advantage would the learned have over them? And would it be reasonable that they, who consume themselves in laborious researches about mysteries, should have made no farther progress than the greatest part amongst the illiterate? In answer, I say, that I know the Gospel was preached to the illiterate, and I know that the religion proper for all mankind ought to be within the reach of the illiterate. From whence I may justly conclude, that Christ did not require of any one to penetrate into things which are obscure; nay, I go farther in my belief, that what is a mystery to the illiterate, will be equally so to those learned men who have exhausted themselves perhaps in useless researches. Is this a conjecture only? Not in the least. These learned men have multiplied contradictions, in proportion as they attempt to explain those mysteries. Therefore let those who are lovers of truth embrace in its full force this maxim: 'Things which are hid are to God, but things revealed are to us, and to our children, to do them.'

Whenever we put this question to ourselves, What is the end, or design of religion? The most natural answer that occurs is, that religion is intended to make us good men; that is, upright, equitable, beneficent, sincere, or true in our discourse, as well as in our conduct: this answer all Christians unanimously approve of. If this be the end, (as we are all agreed in it is,) must we, before we are capable of attaining it, know thoroughly all the different senses which are put upon the different passages in Scripture? and also, which is the true genuine sense? But perhaps my whole life would not be sufficient for such a study. At what time then must I begin to be a good man? From hence I may safely

conclude, that the essential part of religion is uprightness and sincerity; and the accessory part is, a knowledge of particular things offered to us in Scripture.

which part is essential, if you cut off one part, and, by so doing, you do not destroy the

When a thing contains two parts, the one essential, the other accessory; in order to know essence of the thing, then it is plain, the part cut off is only accessory. Now I ask, if you remove from the idea of religion that fund of uprightness above-mentioned, and place in its room all the acquired knowledge, which the written Revelation offers, what would happen? Would a man, in this case, have any religion? On the other hand, if you remove from religion that acquired knowledge, and substitute in its room a fund of uprightness, as before described; I ask, whether such a man would be void of religion? It may, however, and ought to be observed, that what is only accessory, with respect to one man, may be essential in respect to another; for, if sincerity requires me to assent to every truth that is either sensible, or evident, all the truths, which appear to me as such, become essential with respect to me.

Let us now proceed to shew how this essential religion is to be practised. The comparison, we are apt to make upon all occasions, between the Supreme Being and those men we call sovereigns, is apt to lead us into numberless mistakes. Christians, by it, are accustomed from their infancy to consider religion as something by which God is honoured: so early do they fancy to themselves, that when they pray to him, or praise him, he is much obliged to them for it; and that, by giving alms, and doing what we call good works, they honestly purchase heaven. If afterwards they do not think so grossly, this opinion subsists in the main, though, perhaps so secretly, that they themselves are not aware of it. We find our common discourse receive some tincture from this opinion; we talk of glorifying God, and paying him the homage that is due, as a thing advantageous to him; we insinuate, that he must be highly offended (not to say affronted) by those who refuse to pay him this homage.

The usual distinction between what we owe to God, and what we owe to ourselves, gives many people room to make separate articles of them. They give him his portion, if we may use the word; they set a-part a certain time for worshipping him; in short, they render unto God what they think is his due: so that it would be hard to convince many people, that this part of religion, which seems only to relate to God, does, like all the rest, tend solely to the advantage of man. For, if, according to the foundation-principle here laid down, God is a self-sufficient Being, our worshipping him can benefit none but ourselves. Yet, what strange metamorphoses some people imagine are produced by devotion! During these happy minutes, an unjust man puts on sentiments of equity, a severe man sentiments of humanity, a proud man sentiments of humility. Now let us examine, whether there is any thing in all this, whether we do not impose upon ourselves. 'Sentiments put on!' Does not this phrase seem to imply a contradiction? Is it in a man's power to assume what sentiments he pleases? No; but he may strongly imagine them: and these imagined, not to say imaginary sentiments, is called 'putting on,' because the appearances of them are put on, and afterwards we are apt to take it for reality. What proves them to be merely borrowed is, that we are presently stripped of them. This is experienced in seasons of high devotion; which as soon as over, the very next day we find, that we are no longer the same men which we believed ourselves to be, the day before; and yet it is in these efforts of devotion, that many people make their Christianity to consist. They complain, and blame themselves for their lukewarmness, and that want of fervency, which they ought to have; but not their neglect of practising the duties flowing from beneficence: lament, above all, the badness of their memories, in not retaining the good things which they read and hear; but neglect to blame themselves, for not performing the duties they do remember. These borrowed sentiments, on which they set so great a value, is what makes them neglect the study of themselves. They torment themselves about what is not in their power, and oftentimes neglect what deserves their greatest attention.

No imaginary effort can deserve the name of virtue; for virtue must have truth for its

foundation. I ask, can a man, that is six feet high, persuade himself that he is but four? It is plain our passions cannot be commanded; we cannot love, hate, or fear, purely by being bid to do it. But then, say you, if the passions are not under command; if love, for instance, is not to be commanded, because the heart is framed in such a manner, as not to love any thing, but what appears amiable to it; what shall we do with several precepts of the Gospel, enjoining us 'to love our neighbour as ourselves,' &c.? Must we suppose, that the Gospel commands us to do a thing impossible? Or must we blindly suppose, that it is possible for us to love, upon command? Surely, neither one, nor the other. The first supposition would be injurious to the Author of the Gospel; the second, opposite to the laws of nature: what medium must be then taken? It is plain, nature and the Gospel have but one and the same original: when, therefore, I read, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' 'By this shall all men know, that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.' Let us examine into the other parts of the Gospel, and the difficulty will soon cease: we there shall find other commands of the same import, where the difficulty above-mentioned will quickly vanish. Here is a proposition will do it: 'All things, which ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them in like manner; for this is the law and the prophets.' Are we not, by this, commanded to be equitable, or to endeavour to be so? Without dispute, we are. Here, then, the voice of the Gospel and that of nature are but one and the same voice; consequently, we cannot refuse our assent to it; there is no room here for the pretence of impossibility. So that, you see, in this sense, it is not impossible to obey our Saviour's precept of loving our enemies; and he himself shews you how to do it, by doing good to them that hate you. Now it is plain, we can easily conceive a difference between loving one, and doing good to him. If the former is not in our power, the latter surely is: for, to love any one, we must think him possessed of some amiable qualities; whereas, to do good to him, it is sufficient if we see him in want of it.

To conclude as I began: I say, that in true religion, all that are called the 'Duties of men,' whether relating to God, to our neighbours, or ourselves, when strictly considered, melt as it were into one another, and all tend to procure him good, and that happiness for which he was made. For, seeing God is a self-sufficient Being, he does nothing for his own advantage; he can have no other view, than the advantage of his creatures; therefore, whatever is called religion is reduced to this: any other idea of religion is so far from honouring God, that it really dishonours him; for, otherwise, you suppose him to be like unto men, who, in consequence of their known insufficiency, cannot be perfectly disinterested. From hence it is evident, even to a demonstration, that the principle of a self-sufficient Being is so far from ruining religion, that it is the real basis of it: it is so far from destroying morality, that it comprehends the strongest motives to it. For the self-sufficient Being, having no need of his creatures, has, in what we call Religion, no other interest in view, but theirs; no other aim, but that of making them happy; which was the sole design of his creating them, all his laws having the same tendency.

Agreeable to the foregoing abstract or plan of the Christian Religion, let us now consider the state of souls after death, as discovered to us by revelation.

Mankind are agreed that the ideas of goodness and justice are inseparably connected with the idea of God; but our custom in settling these attributes in opposition to each other, is a proof that we are strangers to their nature. We usually say, that justice gives way to goodness, or goodness gives place to justice; and hence imagine, that they are so far from being one and the same, that there is even a considerable distance between them. If we survey them in another light, and trace them up to their origin; we shall find that goodness is, as it were, the centre of justice, the latter losing itself in the former. Let us then represent to ourselves the Infinite Being in the eternity, prior to the existence of time, before any creatures came out of his hands. Let us represent to ourselves this Being self-sufficient designing to form intelligent beings; let us suppose ourselves acquainted with this purpose, before it was put in execution: what can we presume concerning the state of these new beings, that are to come from the hands of a per-

fectly happy Being, but they will be rendered as happy as their finite capacities will admit of? For the perfectly happy Being, wanting nothing for himself, cannot create beings with a view of making addition to his own felicity; it must then be to make them happy as he himself is, in proportion to finite and infinite. Hence it follows, that the idea of infinite goodness is inseparable from that of an infinitely happy Being: the pure and perfect good cannot do, or confer, any thing but what is good; and, did it communicate any thing else, it would be inconsistent with itself.

This idea of goodness in the Deity is a positive one, which justice is not: equity therefore constituting without dispute the essence of justice, I would ask whether infinite goodness and perfect equity do not harmoniously agree? and whether they can be set in opposition? Hence it follows, that the effects of sovereign goodness are never suspended, but that we even share of them when under punishment: some resemblance we see of it in the chastisements that parental affection inflicts. Thus the Deity, by the small portion of benevolence we feel in ourselves, invites us to judge how far his own immense goodness may reach.

Now, let us suppose that a man who has this idea of infinite goodness, but has never heard talk of a miserable eternity, how do we imagine such a man would relish the first proposal of it? What horror would not such an image give him? He would conclude that those, who admit of such a state, have a God different from his; that they were never acquainted with the immense goodness of the supremely happy Being. He would even conjecture, that those, who espouse this opinion, feel not within themselves those characters of beneficence which are inseparable from human nature.

In reality, this strange opinion degrades the Divine goodness, and places it below human goodness. For it supposes that God could not foresee what would befall the work of his own hands; that he ventured to give being to an infinite number of creatures, without any certainty of being able to make them happy.

It will be granted, that this plan is worthy of God, and its end above all fully satisfactory: but still it may be objected, that in order to arrive at this happy end, there is a terrible interval; the unavoidable miseries of the present life are light, and will soon have an end; but the additional prospect of future sufferings, the end of which we know not, is terrible: would it not be more worthy of immense goodness, to exempt men from all manner of punishment after this life, since they were formed and infallibly destined for bliss? Why does not that now happen, which one day will certainly be brought about?

This question amounts to the same as that concerning the fall of the first man: why did not God prevent his making that use of his liberty? or rather why did he create him a free agent? For a confined liberty is no liberty. Such difficulties as these take their rise from our ignorance, and our short-sighted views of things. A being without liberty would no longer be a man, and then we might ask, Why God thought fit to make men? Now let us return to something certain.

It is certain, that infinite goodness cannot make a present of any thing to man, but what is for his good. Since, therefore, man is endowed with liberty, and that this might prove prejudicial to him; it necessarily follows, that it is in itself so essential to man's nature, that Divine wisdom could not divest him of it, without divesting him of the quality of man.

We likewise clearly see, that the good, accruing to him from it, must infinitely surpass the damage he may possibly sustain from it; without which we may presume that Divine wisdom and goodness would never have made him a present of so pernicious a nature.

Let us now examine whether the Scripture contradicts this notion. Indeed, there are repeated expressions of 'eternal fire,' and 'the worm that dieth not,' &c. But are not the terms, *eternal*, *eternity*, and *never*, very equivocal, both in Greek and Hebrew; most commonly signifying a long period of time, and sometimes an indefinite time? It is said the slave shall continue in his master's house *for ever*; and Jeremy speaks of the temple and sacrifices, as of things that *never* were to be abolished. God swore to David, that a successor upon his throne should *never* fail.

Now let us agree upon an incontestable principle for understanding the Scriptures. It contains truths which we may call eternal and unchangeable, which are the foundation of all the rest, independent of expressions, figures, parables, &c. Of this sort are the spirituality, eternity, omnipotence of God, and whatever else we can know of his perfections. Next to these, which serve as a foundation to all the rest, we find in Scripture God's design of saving men through his Son. These truths, which are the basis of all religion; and as there are in Scripture a prodigious number of figurative, allegorical, equivocal, and even contradictory expressions; must we not then judge of their true sense, not by what the words seem to import; but by those unshaken truths that never can vary?

Thus we see the spirituality of God takes away the literal sense of his eyes, hands, nostrils, &c. In like manner his sanctity will not allow us to ascribe to him the passions of wrath, jealousy, fury, and partiality. Thus, this unerring rule is applicable to a thousand places in Scripture, and would clear up abundance of difficulties, if rightly applied.

Let us try it upon the present subject: What supports the eternity of hell-torments? Why, only three or four expressions of 'Eternity, the worm that never dieth,' &c. which may be taken in different senses. But what supports the contrary opinion? Why, those very unchangeable truths which are the basis of all religion.

God is wise, just, and good. Justice is not opposite to goodness, nor goodness to justice. I go a step farther, and say, they are so inseparable, that we cannot suppose a man to be just, unless he is good; or good, unless he is just. In God goodness and justice are boundless. If God's justice is not attended either with hatred, fury, or revenge, but is inseparable from infinite goodness; can we conceive it will condemn millions of creatures, formed after God's own image, to dreadful and never-ending misery, and even doom them to the hatred of God; to rage, to despair and blasphemy, to all eternity? May we not rather, on the contrary, say, that the chief business of this sovereign justice, is to make just whatever is unjust, and render the crooked straight? What is more unjust and contrary to the views of the Creator, than that myriads of his creatures should for ever hate him? Once more I ask, can sovereign justice will injustice; or permit it to subsist to all eternity?

Let us now proceed to consider the design of Jesus Christ's coming into the world: the New Testament tells us, in almost every page, that it was 'to save all men.' And is it not surprizing that the expression, 'all men,' so often repeated, should make no impression on the minds of men, while those of 'eternity' and 'for ever' have been received without restriction? The Particularists tell us, by 'all men' is meant the 'elect' only. The Universalists say, 'tis an offer of grace to all men. But those Universalists, that are against the eternity of hell-torments, think that God's declaring his desire, 'that all men should be saved,' will accomplish it in its utmost extent. It expresses, say they, a positive will, which sooner or later will have its effect, and not a bare wish that all men may be saved.

No sooner did Adam fall, but the promise of salvation was made to him and his posterity. St. Paul is very express on this subject: 'As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive.' This proof I think is exceeding strong, by the comparison made between Adam and Christ. Therefore, as it is past dispute, that 'in Adam all die,' so it is unquestionably true, that 'in Christ all shall be made alive.' But what the apostle subjoins is a proof, that this will happen at very different periods: 'But every man (says he) in his own order; Christ the first-fruits, afterwards they which are Christ's at his coming.' 'Tis plain, by this coming, he means the last judgment; and, by those that are Christ's, the souls of the just. Nevertheless, he afterwards speaks of another future period, which he calls the end: 'And then the end shall come, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even to the Father.' But what is this end? 'That all things should be subjected to him.' But is it a forced, or a voluntary subjection? If the former, he would never speak of it as a thing to come; because, from the foundation of the world, all things are subject to him. If the latter, there is no more hell. What follows, seems to

prove this clearly: 'The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death.' Is the separation of the soul from the body, the death here meant? No; for after the coming of Christ there is no room for that death.

Another proof, that the death here mentioned is not temporal death, is, that St. Paul ranks it with the enemies of God, over whom Jesus Christ should reign till they were all destroyed: temporal death is no enemy, but an agent in God's hands to execute his orders; but 'tis spiritual death which is called 'enmity against God,' a rebellion of the creature against the Creator; 'tis this death to which the title of enemy perfectly agrees.

Now, when Christ hath delivered up his kingdom to his Father, then God is said to be 'All and in all.' Now these words could have no sense, if hell-torments were eternal. God can never be 'All and in all,' but by restoring the order of things. Indeed, these words are an irrefragable argument for the abolition of sin and hell, and the restoration of all the creatures; which is farther confirmed by St. Paul's exclamation, 'O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?' Now if death and the grave have no other sting but sin, and this sting must be destroyed, does it not follow that hell must be destroyed also? Since 'tis certain that, if sin were killed in men, there would be no hell.

This chapter alone affords sufficient arguments for the support of this doctrine; but we will not entirely stop here. In the second of Hebrews, 'tis said that Jesus Christ 'tasted death for all men.' And elsewhere, 'That he is made the propitiation for the sins of the whole world;' and 'that every knee shall bow at the name of Jesus, of things in heaven,' &c. I shall only dwell a little on the last verses of the fifth of the Romans, that are very clear in this case, where the apostle compares Jesus Christ to Adam, and also the fruits we reap from each: 'As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, so that death is passed upon all men: in like manner, by the righteousness of one, the gift is come upon all men to justification of life.' For, adds he, 'As by the disobedience of one many,' &c. This word 'many' here undoubtedly comprehends all mankind. All were made sinners by Adam, therefore all ought to be made righteous by Christ. And here we may very justly apply that excellent but abused text, 'Where sin did abound, grace did much more abound.' That is, the grace of Christ Jesus is so abundant, that it shall at last destroy the sins of all mankind; so that, as sin has reigned unto death, in like manner grace should reign by righteousness unto eternal life. As if he had said, the reign of sin and death must come to an end, to make room for that of grace through all eternity.

Let us now, after having considered the end of Christ's coming, in support of this subject, examine the nature of justice. At the end of the second Commandment, we find a positive declaration of the eternal laws of justice and mercy. In the first part God shews himself as a powerful and jealous God, punishing iniquity to the fourth generation; but, in the last, he is represented as exerting mercy to thousands of generations. Doth not this shew plainly, that justice in his punishments is restrained within certain bounds; whereas mercy knows no limits? To this it may be objected, If bounds be set to the Divine justice, what becomes of its infinity? I answer, that Divine justice, considered in itself, is without bounds; but its infinity does not consist in punishing without bounds, but in being infinitely equitable; entering into an infinite detail of what can render every creature more or less culpable, and more or less pardonable, in weighing with a perfect equal balance, not only actions, but particular intentions, motives, knowledge, circumstances, temptations: in a word, in entering into the infinite proportions of rewards and punishments, so that it incline not to one side more than another. Now, was it to punish infinitely, there must needs be a heavier weight in the scale of rigour, than in that of clemency; which cannot suit with the idea of justice.

The first verse of the cviith psalm is, as it were, an abridgment of the whole, saying, 'O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good; because his mercy endureth for ever.' What does this declaration tell us? That immense goodness is not confined to the short space of this life; since it endureth for ever, it must certainly be employed in the life to come, for the benefit of such subjects as shall be capable of receiving its influence. But

who are those subjects? The same psalm is very express on that article. They are such as, having been rebels against God, have been humbled, mortified, and crushed by his justice, who have felt inexpressible anguish on the account of their transgressions. But then here follows one of the strongest expressions against the eternity of their torments: 'He will not always chide, nor keep his anger for ever.'

But, granting my arguments for a restoration be true, I have made this objection to myself: to what purpose is it to set in too clear a light, truths that may possibly encourage licentiousness and remissness? Would it not be better to have mankind in an error, that may be a means to awaken their attention, and lead them to virtue? I own that the knowledge of this truth is not absolutely necessary. We may rest satisfied with the speaking of hell in the terms of Scripture, and leave every one to explain them in the sense he likes best. However, we don't find, that the opinion about the eternity of hell-torments produces any very remarkable effect; or proves a sufficient curb to prevent mankind's going on in wicked courses. The fear of a violent distemper, of twenty or thirty years continuance, would make a deeper impression on them. What can be the reason of this amazing indifference about an evil of so desperate a nature, which they profess to believe, and yet do nothing towards avoiding it? It is true they imagine they believe it, but see how they make themselves easy! Every one is persuaded that he himself is not of the number of the wicked, whose portion shall be in the lake of fire and brimstone: they cannot conceive, if they be not notoriously wicked, that God will condemn them to frightful and endless torments. They are sensible, indeed, that they are guilty of several faults; but, 'where is the man (say they) without sin?' Besides, for these they ask forgiveness daily; and what are the merits of Christ good for, if they do not deliver men from everlasting misery? Nay, even sinners of the first magnitude hope to escape hell; either by repenting, as they propose to do sooner or later, or through the infinite mercy of God: for it is as easy, say they, for God to pardon the greatest as the least sinners; by a single act of his will he can make a creature happy for ever, or let him perish eternally; surely then he will not choose the last, because that would suppose cruelty in an infinitely merciful Being. Thus it is plain, that the more terrible hell becomes, by supposing it eternal; every one more easily persuades himself that Divine mercy will exempt him from it.

Hence it is evident, that the greater number of Christians, who profess the belief of the eternity of hell-torments, are so far from using it as a motive to holiness, that it is only made a handle to sloth and security. This may seem to be a paradox, but it is no hard matter to explain it.

For, the greater disproportion the punishment men are threatened with seems to have, either with their crimes, or the ideas they form to themselves of the mercy of God, the more confidently they persuade themselves that eternal fire will not be their lot. But, if instead of determining the duration of the torments which sinners must undergo, we should rest satisfied with telling them, what we find in the second chapter to the Romans, 'That there shall be tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil;' and that in so just a proportion, 'that every one shall bear the punishment of his iniquity, and shall eat the fruit of his works: it would then be impossible for the conscience of the most profligate not to acquiesce in this judgment, nor could any one flatter himself with impunity under any pretext whatever. This unchangeable truth, 'That God shall render to every man according to his works,' so often repeated in Scripture, is written in indelible characters on the consciences of all men. They all know that the idea of proportion is inseparable from that of equity; no proportion can be found betwixt a wicked life, of a few years, and eternal torments; nor is there less disproportion found between such punishment and boundless mercy.

By this time we see, that the objection against making known this doctrine dwindles almost into nothing; nay, if we compare the effects arising from the two opinions, which is most likely to be productive of good? Persons in the first case are only actuated by servile fear, which makes them easily satisfied, if they forsake scandalous sins, which put them in fear of hell; therefore, when once they come to lead a good life according to the

world, they fancy themselves entirely skreened from eternal damnation, so that they need not give themselves any farther trouble; they are content with the lowest place in Paradise; and, provided they do but escape hell, they aspire at nothing more. But those that are actuated by the strong impression of this truth, 'That God will render to every man according to his works,' are set to work after another manner: they know that God cannot be mocked; but that, 'whatever a man sows, that shall he also reap.' Does not St. John say (which is the summary of all that I have said), 'We know, when the Son of God shall appear, we shall be like him, and shall see him as he is; therefore, every one that hath this hope, purifieth himself, even as he is pure.' We cannot see God as he is, without being like him; it is impossible to be like him, without being purified not only from acts of injustice, but also from the whole source of wickedness which is as it were incorporated with us; therefore such as in this life have only touched on, or begun this great work, must certainly continue it in the next till they become like Jesus Christ; otherwise they cannot see him as he is. If it be objected that there is no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus: my first gives a solution to this difficulty, *viz.* That God, properly speaking, does not punish men, but leaves them 'to reap the fruits of what they have sown.'

Upon this principle it must be observed, that the souls which after this life suffer torment, proportioned to the evil which is in them, do not pass into that state of suffering by a sentence positively pronounced by God. God has no torment to inflict upon his creatures; whence, then, can they proceed? I answer, (which cannot be too often repeated,) from themselves.

I ask, what is 'sowing to the flesh?' It is gratifying our vicious inclinations, and thereby riveting those habits which at last tyrannize over us. What is 'reaping corruption?' It is experiencing the torment resulting from that tyranny; being deprived of the objects which we could not part with, without feeling cutting remorse, for having voluntarily attached ourselves to them. When therefore we suppose hell-torments will one day end, we do not depart from the ideas which both Scripture and good sense give us of it; such as 'an eternal fire, a worm that never dieth;' for it is but too probable, that the sufferers of those dreadful torments will reckon every hour an age, and every age an eternity.

To conclude then: Let us see, whether the doctrines of purification and restoration in another life will not reconcile the disputes, that have so long subsisted between those two grand parties of divines, called Particularists and Universalists: the former restrain God's will to a small number, called 'the elect,' whereas the latter maintain, that God will save 'all men.'—The former reply,

'That the will of God is efficacious, and therefore he cannot fall short of his purpose; that, if he willed all men to be saved, he would save them effectually; that it is annihilating his omnipotence to say, he desires to save all men, but that he cannot.'

The Universalists, on the other hand, maintain, 'That it is injurious to the goodness of God to say, that he cannot save all men, and will only save a part; that it is accusing him of cruelty, who desires that "none should perish, but that all may come to repentance;" that if this will has not its effect, the fault is not on God's part, but on man's, who resists the gracious will of his Creator.'

Hence it appears, that the divines of both denominations, after they have assented to the thesis in general, deny it when they come to particulars. The former injure the idea we have of the goodness of God; the latter, those we entertain of his omnipotence. Let us now see, whether we cannot unfold the riddle: and, first, it is granted to the Particularists, that the will of God is efficacious; that he cannot be frustrated of his purpose; and that all those, whom he has predestinated to salvation, and for whom Christ died, will be infallibly saved. It is likewise granted the Universalists, that God wills all men should be saved; that he destines no one to misery; and that Christ 'hath tasted death for every man.'

This seems contradictory: but we shall be able to clear up the matter, if we here join together the different theses of each party.

Particularists. The acts of the Divine will are efficacious.

Universalists. God wills all men to be saved.

Therefore all men will one day be saved.

Part. All those, whom God has predestinated to salvation, will infallibly be saved.

Univ. God predestineth none to wrath, but to salvation.

Therefore all will be infallibly saved.

Part. All those, for whom Christ died, will partake of salvation.

Univ. Jesus Christ tasted death for all, and was lifted up from earth to draw all men to him.

Therefore all will partake of salvation, and at last be drawn after him.

I foresee the argument will be denied, and retorted as follows, *viz.*

Salvation is promised only to those who are sanctified.

Infinitely more die, who are not sanctified, than who are.

Therefore all men will not be saved.

Now, to shew, that the first conclusion is just, and the second false, we need only join to these two propositions a third, drawn from the principles of the Universalists:

Salvation is promised only to those who are sanctified.

God wills, that 'all men come to repentance and the knowledge of the truth.'

All of them do not attain to it in this life.

Therefore this must be done in the other.

In order to support this conclusion, let us make use of some principles of the same divines: God offers all men the means of sanctification, but commits no violence on their liberty; all do not make the advantage of the proffer; all do not make use of those means to come to repentance and sanctification.

I ask now, shall the purposes of God be frustrated by the resistance of man? Will he not find some method for bringing them to repentance and holiness, without forcing their liberty? If they do not correspond with those means in this life, which is but of a minute's duration, when compared with eternity, will he confine his concern for the restoration of his work to that short span? Shall not he, who is so well acquainted with all its springs, be able to bring it back to himself at last?

By the knowledge of these truths, we manifestly perceive the unchangeable attributes of the Deity, his goodness, his omnipotence, wisdom, justice, holiness, faithfulness, and mercy.—First, I say, his goodness; as God wills the happiness of all his creatures, and their return to the primitive perfection they had received at his hands. His omnipotence; as it hence appears, that the will of God is efficacious, that his arm is not shortened, but that he is able, sooner or later, to accomplish all his designs. His faithfulness; as it hereby appears, that his 'gifts and calling are without repentance;' that having once destinated man to bliss, he doth not desist from his first design. His mercy; as he furnishes the most rebellious with the means of sanctification; as he extends the effects of his mercy, not to some only, but to all without exception, not only in this life, but also in the life to come. His justice; by leaving every one to reap the fruits of what he has sown; by making 'tribulation and anguish fall upon every soul that doeth evil,' and making them eat the fruit of their own doings and devices. His holiness; in his not being re-united to his creatures before he has sanctified them, till they become 'children of light.' Divine justice will be the same to them, that fire is to hay and stubble; and this fire will not cease to burn till all unrighteousness is consumed; then only justice will cease to be rigorous, without ceasing to be just.

And when we take a view at large, and see how disproportioned the means of salvation are offered to mankind in general, or even to Christians in particular; some of whom are, in respect of others, like to many beasts of burthen, bowed down from their youth under the weight of toil and labour, which scarce allow them time to enquire, whether they have souls to cultivate, and prepare for a future life: and who, on observing such disproportions between those, who, by nature are of equal dignity, can discern impartiality in God? Surely nothing can account for this conduct, but the knowledge of a state

of purification, where those who have been unprovided with the means of coming to the knowledge of the truth in this life, will find them in another. This also justifies the equity of God, in all the dreadful judgments inflicted on whole nations; a great part whereof knew neither good nor evil. In reality, did we not know that in the other life there will be a perfect compensation, both in regard to the means of salvation, and blessings and miseries, should we not be tempted to cry out, 'Is there knowledge in the Lord, and does he weigh all men in an equal balance?'

Now let us sum up all briefly; recounting the practical uses of these opinions. Is any thing more proper for overturning the false maxims so much in vogue, in which numbers securely lull themselves asleep, than the knowledge of an unchangeable justice, that constantly judges of things as they really are? And of a mercy, which is so far from being contrary to justice, that it concurs with it in the grand design of purifying mankind?

This being laid down; what will become of the hopes of those, who imagine that mercy will prevail against justice and stop its course, so that they shall feel none of its effects?

If God is capable of anger, provocation, and revenge, as we have proved; he is incapable of being appeased, of being moved with repeated cries, or feeling compassion like ours, which proceeds only from the weakness of our nature. This being supposed; what will become of those flattering hopes, that we shall appease the Deity with tears; that, on begging grace and mercy, he will be easily prevailed on to relent?

If the greatest favour God can do men is to purify them, and if this is the only way by which they arrive at happiness; how can they desire mercy to exempt them from purification? Could they obtain their request, they would obtain eternal torment; since, 'without holiness, they will never see God.'

Upon the whole, I know not whether any other system contains motives so efficacious for engaging mankind to walk in the ways of real holiness; any system, which can make religion more venerable, in the eyes even of libertines, or more lovely to the lovers of truth; that places, in a clearer light, the wonderful harmony of the Divine attributes, and the reasons we have to love sovereign perfection.

The Lord General Cromwell's Speech, delivered in the Council-Chamber, upon the Fourth of July, 1653, to the Persons then assembled and intrusted with the supreme Authority of the Nation¹. This is a true Copy, published for Information, and to prevent Mistakes.

Printed in the Year 1654.

[Quarto; containing twenty-eight pages.]

‘ GENTLEMEN,

‘ I SUPPOSE the summons, that hath been instrumental to bring you hither, gives you well to understand the cause of your being here. Howbeit, having some things to impart, which is an instrument drawn up by the consent and advice of the principal officers of the army, which is a little (as we conceive) more significant than that other of summons; we have that here to tender you. And we have somewhat likewise further to say to you, for our own exoneration; and we hope it may be somewhat further to your satisfaction. And therefore, seeing you sit here somewhat uneasy, by reason of the scantness of the room, and the heat of the weather, I shall contract myself, with respect to that.

‘ I have not thought it amiss, a little to mind you of that series of Providence, wherein the Lord hitherto hath dispensed wonderful things to these nations, from the beginning of our troubles to this very day. If I should look much backward, we might remember the state of affairs as they were before the short, and that which was the last parliament. In what a posture the things of this nation stood, doth so well, I presume, occur to all your memories and knowledges, that I shall not need to look so far backward; nor yet to the beginning of those hostile actions, that passed between the king that was, and the then parliament. And indeed, should I begin this labour, the things, that would fall necessarily before you, would rather be fit for a history, than for a discourse, at this present.

‘ But thus far we may look back: you very well know, after divers turnings of affairs, it pleased God, much about the midst of this war, to winnow, as I may say, the forces

¹ [In the Journal of the House of Commons, July 4th, 1653, we have the following account of the meeting of this assembly. ‘ This day there was a great appearance of those persons (to whom the letters were directed) in the council-chamber at Whitehall; where the lord-general declared unto them the grounds and ends of calling them; and delivered unto them an instrument, in writing, under his hand and seal; and afterwards left them.’ In the ‘ *Mercurius Politicus*,’ there is an article from Whitehall, of the same date, in which it is said, ‘ That the gentlemen who were called to the supreme authority, met, to the number of above one-hundred and twenty, in the council-chamber, and being set round about the table, the lord-general standing by the window opposite the middle of the table, and having as many of the army officers as the room could well contain, on his right hand and on his left; *his lordship made a very grave, christian, and reasonable speech* and exhortation to them; wherein he briefly recounted the many great and wondrous mercies of God towards this nation;—he set forth also the progress of affairs since the famous victory at Worcester, wherein that arch-enemy [Charles I.] of this nation was wholly subdued. He likewise laid down the actings of the army thereupon, together with the grounds and necessity of their dissolving the parliament, which his Excellency declared to be for the preservation of their cause, and the interest of all honest men who have been engaged therein. Moreover, he very amply held forth the clearness of the call given to the present members, to take upon them the supreme authority; and did from the Scriptures exhort them to their duties, and encourage them therein; desiring that a tenderness might be used towards all godly and conscientious persons, of what judgment or under what form soever.’ Merc. Polit. N^o 160, p. 2563.]

‘ of this nation; and to put them into the hands of men of other principles than those
 ‘ that did engage at first. By what strange providences that also was brought about,
 ‘ would ask more time than is allotted me, to remember you of. Indeed, there are stories
 ‘ that do recite those transactions, and give narratives of matter of fact. But those
 ‘ things wherein the life and power of them lay; those strange windings and turnings of
 ‘ Providence, those very great appearances of God, in crossing and thwarting the designs
 ‘ of men, that he might raise up a poor and a contemptible company of men, neither
 ‘ versed in military affairs, nor having much natural propensity to them, even through the
 ‘ owning of a principle of godliness, of religion: which so soon as it came to be owned,
 ‘ the state of affairs put upon that foot of account, how God blessed them, and all under-
 ‘ takings, by the rising of that most improbable, despicable, contemptible means: for
 ‘ that we must for ever own, you very well know.

‘ What the several successes have been, is not fit to mention at this time, neither:
 ‘ though I must confess I thought to have enlarged myself upon this subject, forasmuch as
 ‘ the considering the works of God, and the operation of his hands, is a principal part of
 ‘ our duty, and a great encouragement to the strengthening of our hands, and of our faith
 ‘ for that which is behind. And then, having given us those marvellous dispensations,
 ‘ amongst other ends; for that was a most principal end, as to us, in this revolution of
 ‘ affairs, and issues of those successes God was pleased to give this nation, and the authority
 ‘ that then stood, were very great things brought about; besides those dints that were upon
 ‘ those nations and places where they were carried on, even in the civil affairs, to the
 ‘ bringing offenders to justice, even the greatest; to the bringing the state of this govern-
 ‘ ment to the name, at least, of a commonwealth; to the searching and sifting of all places
 ‘ and persons; the king removed, and brought to justice, and many great ones with him;
 ‘ the house of peers laid aside; the house of commons, the representatives of the people of
 ‘ England, itself, winnowed, sifted, and brought to a handful; as you may very well remem-
 ‘ ber. And truly, God would not rest there (for, by the way, although it be fit for us to
 ‘ entitle our failings and miscarriages to ourselves, yet the gloriousness of the work may
 ‘ well be attributed to God himself, and may be called “his strange work.”)

‘ You may remember well, that, at the change of the government, there was not an
 ‘ end of our troubles, although that year were such things transacted, as indeed made it to
 ‘ be the most memorable year (I mean 1648) that ever this nation saw; so many insur-
 ‘ rections, invasions, secret designs, open and public attempts, quashed in so short a time:
 ‘ and this by the very signal appearances of God himself; I hope we shall never forget.

‘ You know also, as I said before, that as the effect of that memorable year 1648 was to
 ‘ lay the foundation of bringing delinquents to punishment; so it was of the change of the
 ‘ government. Although it be true, if we had time to speak, the carriages of some in
 ‘ trust, in most eminent trust, was such, as would have frustrated to us the hopes of all
 ‘ our undertakings, had not God miraculously prevented: I mean by that closure that
 ‘ would have been endeavoured by the king, whereby we should have put into his hands
 ‘ all that cause and interest we had opposed, and had nothing to have secured us, but a
 ‘ little piece of paper.

‘ But things going on, how it pleased the Lord to keep this nation in exercise, both at
 ‘ sea and land; and what God wrought in Ireland and Scotland, you likewise know, (un-
 ‘ til the Lord had finished all that trouble, upon the matter,) by the marvellous salvation
 ‘ wrought at Worcester.

‘ I confess to you, I am very much troubled in my spirit, that the necessity of affairs
 ‘ doth require that I should be so short in these things; because I told you before, This
 ‘ is the leanest part of the transaction, to wit, an historical narration; there being
 ‘ in every dispensation (whether the king’s going from the parliament, the pulling down the
 ‘ bishops, purging the house at that time by their going away to assist the king, or change
 ‘ of government) whatever it was, not any of those things, but hath a remarkable point
 ‘ of Providence set upon it, that he that runs may read: therefore I am heartily sorry,
 ‘ that, in point of time, I cannot be particular in those things, which I did principally

design this day ; thereby to provoke and stir up your hearts and mine to gratitude and confidence.

I shall now begin a little to remember you of the passages that have been transacted since Worcester fight ; whence coming with my fellow-officers and soldiers, we expected, and had some reasonable confidence, that our expectations should not be frustrated : that the authority, that then was, having such a history to look back unto, such a God that appeared for them so eminently, so visibly, that even our enemies many times confessed, that God himself was engaged against them, or they should never have been brought so low, nor disappointed in every undertaking : for that may be said, by the way, Had we miscarried but once, where had we been ? I say, we did think, and had some reasonable confidence, that, coming up then, the mercies that God had shewed, the expectations that were in the hearts of all good men, would have prompted those that were in authority to have done those good things, which might, by honest men, have been judged a return fit for such a God, and worthy of such mercies, and, indeed, a discharge of duty to those, for whom all these mercies have been shewed, that is, the interest of the three nations, the true interest of the three nations.

And if I should now labour to be particular in enumerating some businesses, that have been transacted from that time till the dissolution of the late parliament ; indeed I should be upon a theme that would be very troublesome to myself. For I must say for myself and fellow officers, we have rather desired and studied healing, than to rake into sores, and look backward, to render things in those colours that would not be very well pleasing to any good eye to look upon. Only this we must say, for our own exoneration, and as thereby laying some foundation for the making evident the necessity and duty, that was incumbent upon us, to make this last great change, I think it will not be amiss to offer a word or two in that, not taking pleasure to rake into the business, were there not some kind of necessity so to do.

Indeed, we may say, without commending ourselves, (I mean myself, and those gentlemen that have been engaged in the military affairs,) that, upon our return, we came, fully bent in our hearts and thoughts, to desire and use all fair and lawful means we could, to have had the nation to reap the fruit of all that blood and treasure that had been expended in this cause ; and we have had many desires, and thirstings, in our spirits, to find out ways and means, wherein we might any ways be instrumental to help it forward : and we were very tender, for a long time, so much as to petition, till August last, or thereabouts ; we never offered to petition, but some of our then members, and others, having good acquaintance and relation to divers members of the parliament, we did, from time to time, solicit that, which we thought (if there had been nobody to prompt them, nobody to call upon them) would have been listened to, out of ingenuity and integrity in them, that had opportunity to have answered our expectations ; and truly, when we saw nothing would be done, we did, as we thought, according to our duty, remind them by a petition ; which petition I suppose the most of you have seen, which we delivered, either in July or August last : what effect that had, is likewise very well known. The truth is, we had no return at all, that was satisfaction for us, but a few words given us. The business petitioned for, most of them, we were told, were under consideration ; and those that were not, had very little or no consideration at all.

Finding the people dissatisfied in every corner of the nation, and bringing home to our doors the non-performance of those things that had been promised, and were of due to be performed, we did think ourselves concerned : we endeavoured, as became honest men, to keep up the reputation of honest men in the world ; and therefore we had, divers times, endeavoured to obtain a meeting with divers members of parliament ; and truly we did not begin this till October last, and in those meetings did, in all faithfulness and sincerity, beseech them, that they would be mindful of their duty to God and man, and of the discharge of their trust to God and man. I believe these gentlemen, that are many of them here, can tell, that we had, at the least, ten or twelve meetings, most humbly begging and beseeching them, that, of their own accords, they would do

' those good things that had been promised ; that so it might appear, they did not do them
 ' by any suggestion from the army, but of their own ingenuity ; so tender were we to pre-
 ' serve them in the reputation and opinion of the people, to the uttermost. And having
 ' had many of those meetings, and declaring plainly, that the issue would be the judgment
 ' and displeasure of God against them, the dissatisfaction of the people, and the putting
 ' things into a confusion ; yet, how little we did prevail, we well know, and, we believe, is
 ' not unknown to you : at the last, when we saw, indeed, that things would not be laid to
 ' heart, we had a serious consideration amongst ourselves, what other way to have recourse
 ' unto ; and when, indeed, we came to those close considerations, they began to take the
 ' act of the new representative to heart, and seemed exceeding willing to put it on ; the
 ' which, had it been done, or would it have been done with that integrity, with that caution,
 ' that would have saved this cause, and the interest we have been so long engaged in, there
 ' could nothing have happened to our judgments more welcome than that would have been ;
 ' but finding plainly, that the intendment of it was not to give the people that right of
 ' choice, although it had been but a ceding right, or the seeming, to give the people that
 ' choice intended and designed, to recruit the house, the better to perpetuate themselves.
 ' And, truly, divers of us being spoken to, to that end that we should give way to it, a thing
 ' to which we had a perpetual aversion, which we did abominate the thoughts of, we always
 ' declared our judgments against it, and our dissatisfaction ; but yet they would not hear
 ' of a representative, before it lay three years before them, without proceeding with one
 ' line considerably in it ; they that could not endure to hear of it, then, when we came to
 ' our close considerations, then, instead of protracting, they did make as much prepos-
 ' terous haste on the other hand, and ran into that extremity ; and finding that this spirit
 ' was not " according to God," and that the whole weight of this cause, which must needs
 ' have been very dear unto us, who have so often adventured our lives for it, and we be-
 ' lieve is so to you ; when we saw plainly, that there was not so much consideration how to
 ' assert it, or to provide security for it ; and indeed, to cross those, that they reckoned the
 ' most troublesome people they had to deal with, which was the army, which, by this
 ' time, was sufficiently their displeasure : when we saw this, truly, that had power in our
 ' hands, to let the business go to such an issue as this, was to throw back the cause into the
 ' hands of them we first fought with, we came to this first conclusion amongst ourselves ;
 ' that, if we had been fought out of it, necessity would have taught us patience ; but, to
 ' be taken from us so unworthily, we should be rendered the worst people in the world, and
 ' we should become traitors both to God and man : and when God had laid this to our
 ' hearts, and that we found the interest of his people was grown cheap, and not laid to
 ' heart, and, if we came to competition of things, the cause even amongst themselves would
 ' even, almost in every thing, go to the ground ; this did add more consideration to us,
 ' that there was a duty incumbent upon us, and truly I speak it in the presence of some
 ' that are here, that were at the close consultations ; I may say, as before the Lord, the
 ' thinking of an act of violence was, to us, worse than any engagement that ever we were
 ' in yet, and worse to us than the utmost hazard of our lives, that could be ; so unwilling
 ' were we, so tender were we, so desirous were we, if it were possible, that these men
 ' might have quit their places with honour.

' And truly, this I am the longer upon, because it hath been, in our hearts and con-
 ' sciences, our justification, and hath never yet been imparted thorough to the nation ; and
 ' we had rather begin with you to do it, than to have done it before, and do think, indeed,
 ' that these transactions be more proper for a verbal communication, than to have put it
 ' into writing ; I doubt, whosoever had put it on, would have been tempted to have dipped
 ' his pen in anger and wrath : but affairs being at this posture, that we saw plainly and evi-
 ' dently, in some critical things, that the cause of the people of God was a despised thing ;
 ' truly then we did believe, that the hands of other men must be the hands that must be
 ' trusted with it, and then we thought it high time for us to look about us, and to be sen-
 ' sible of our duty. If I should take up your time to tell you, what instances we have to
 ' satisfy our judgments and consciences, that these things were not vain imaginations, and

things that were petitioned for, but that fell within the compass of our certain knowledge and sense; should I repeat these things to you, I should do that which I would avoid, to rake into these things too much: only this, if any body were in competition for any place of real and signal trust, how hard and difficult a thing it was to get any thing to be carried, without making parties, without things, indeed, unworthy of a parliament. And, when things must be carried so in a supreme authority, indeed, I think it is not as it ought to be; but, when it came to other trials, in that case of Wales, (which I must confess, for my own part, I set myself upon,) if I should inform, what discountenance that business of the poor people of God there had, who had watchings over them; men, like so many wolves, ready to catch the lamb, as soon as it was brought out into the world; how signally they threw that business under foot, to the discountenancing of the honest people there, and to the countenancing of the malignant party of this commonwealth. I need but say, it was so: many have felt, by sad experience it was so, who will better impart that business to you; which, for myself and fellow-officers, I think it was as perfect a trial of our spirits as any thing; it being known to many of us, that God kindles a seed there, indeed, hardly to be paralleled since the primitive times.

I would this had been all the instances; but finding which way their spirits went, and finding that good was never intended to the people of God; (I mean when I say so, that large comprehension of them, under the several forms of godliness in this nation;) when I saw, that tenderness was forgotten to them all, (though it was very true, that, by their hands and means, through the blessing of God, they sat where they did,) and affairs, not to speak it boastingly, had been instrumentally brought to that issue they were brought to by the hands of those poor creatures, we thought this an evil requital. I will not say they were at the uttermost pitch of reformation, although I could say, that one thing, the regulation of the law so much groaned under in that posture it now is in, there were many words spoken for it, we know many months together was not time enough to pass over one word called "Incumbrances." I say, finding that this was the spirit and complexion of them, that though these were faults, for which no man should have dared to lift his hand, simply for their faults and failings; when yet we saw their intendment was to perpetuate themselves, and men of this spirit, (for some had it from their own mouths, from their own designs,) who could not endure to hear of being dissolved: this was an high breach of trust, if they had been a parliament, never violated, sitting as free, and as clear as ever any sat in England; yet, if they would go about to perpetuate themselves, we did think this so great a breach of trust, as greater could not be; and we did not go by guess in this, and to be out of doubt in it, we did (having that conference amongst ourselves, whereof we gave account), we did desire once more, the night before the dissolution, (and it had been in our desires, some two or three days before,) that we might speak with some of the principal persons of the house, that we might, with ingenuity, open our ears to them; to the end we might be either convinced of the ground of their principles and intentions, to the good of the nation; or, if we could not be convinced, they would hear our offer, or expedient to prevent this mischief: and indeed, we could not prevail for two or three days, till the night before the dissolution; there is a touch of this in that our declaration; we had often desired it; at that time, we attained it, there were above twenty of them who were members not of the least consideration, for interest and ability, with whom we desired to discourse those things, and had discourse with them; and it pleased the gentlemen officers of the army, to desire me to offer their sense to them, and, indeed, it was shortly carried thus: we told them, that the reason of our desire to wait upon them was, that we might know from them what security lay in the way of their proceedings so hastily with their representative, wherein they had made a few qualifications, such as they were, and, how the whole business should be executed, we have no account of; and we desired them they would be pleased, and we thought we had an interest in our lives, estates, and families, as well as the worst people of the nation, and that we might be bold to ask satisfaction in that; and if they did proceed in honest ways, as might be safe to the nation, we might acquiesce therein. When we pressed

‘ them to give satisfaction in this, the answer was made, “That nothing could be good to the nation, but the continuance of this parliament;” we wondered that we should have such a return; we said little to that.

‘ But seeing they would not give us that which might satisfy us, that their way was honest and safe, they would give us leave to make our objections; we did tell them, that we thought that way they were going in would be impracticable; we could not tell them how it would be brought to pass, to send out an act of parliament into the country, to have qualifications in an act to be the rules of electors and elected, and not to know who should execute this: desired to know whether the next parliament were not like to be all Presbyters? Whether those qualifications would hinder them, or neuters? And though it be our desire to value and esteem persons of that judgment, only they having been as we know, having deserted this cause and interest upon the king’s account, and upon that closure between them and the neighbour nation, we do think we must profess we had as good have delivered up our cause into the hands of any, as into the hands of interested and biassed men: for it is one thing to live friendly and brotherly, to bear with, and love a person of another judgment in religion; another thing to have any so far set into the saddle upon that account, as it should be in them to have all the rest of their brethren at mercy. Having had this discourse, making these objections of bringing in neuters, or such as should impose upon their brethren, or such as had given testimony to the king’s party, and objecting to the danger of it, in drawing the concourse of all people to arraign every individual person; which indeed did fall obviously in, and the issue would certainly have been the putting it into the hands of men that had little affection to this cause. The answer again was made, and it was confessed by some, that these objections did lie; but answer was made by a very eminent person, at the same time as before, “that nothing would save the nation but the continuance of this parliament:” this being so, we humbly proposed an expedient of ours, which was indeed, to desire that the government being in that condition it was, and things being under so much ill sense abroad, and so likely to come to confusion in every respect, if it went on; so we desired they would devolve the trust over to persons of honour and integrity, that were well known; men well-affected to religion and the interest of the nation, which we told them, and was confessed, had been no new thing when these nations had been under the like hurly-burly and distractions; and it was confessed by them, it had been no new thing: we had been at labour to get precepts to convince them of it, and we told them these things we offered out of that deep sense we had of the good of the nation, and the cause of Christ. And being answered to that, nothing would save the nation but the continuance of that parliament, although they would not say they would perpetuate it, at that time least of all.

‘ But, finding their endeavours did directly tend to it, they gave us this answer, “That the things we had offered were of a tender and very weighty consideration; they did make objections how we should raise money, and some other objections:” we told them, that we offered as an expedient, because we thought better, than that for which no reason was, or thought would be given; we desired them to lay the thing seriously to heart. They told us, “They would take consideration of these things till the morning, that they would sleep upon them;” and I think that there was scarce any day that there sat above fifty, or fifty-two, or fifty-three. At the parting, two or three of the chief ones, the very chiefest of them, did tell us, “That they would endeavour the suspending the proceedings of the representative, the next day, till they had a further conference;” and we did acquiesce, and had hope, if our expedient would take up a loving debate, the next day we should have some such issue of our debate, as would have given a satisfaction to all. They went away late at night, and the next morning we considered how to order that which we had to offer to them, when they were to meet in the evening, word was brought they were proceeding with a representative with all the eagerness they could: we did not believe persons of such quality could do it: a second and third messenger told us, they had almost finished it, and had brought it to that issue with that haste that had never been known before, leaving out the things that did necessarily relate to due qualifications,

‘ (as we have heard since,) resolved to make it a paper-bill, not to ingross it, that they
‘ might make the quicker dispatch of it ; thus to have thrown all the liberties of the nation
‘ into the hands that never bled for it : upon this account, we thought it our duty not to
‘ suffer it ; and upon this the house was dissolved.

‘ This we tell you, that you may so know, that what hath been done in the dissolution
‘ of this parliament, was as necessary to be done, as the preservation of this cause ; and
‘ that necessity, that led us to do that, hath brought us to this issue, of exercising an extra-
‘ ordinary way and course, to draw yourselves together upon this account ; that you are
‘ men who know the Lord, and have made observations of his marvellous dispensations, and
‘ may be trusted with this cause. It remains, for I shall not acquaint you further with
‘ that that relates to your taking upon you this great business, (that being contained in this
‘ paper, in my hand, which I do offer presently to you to read,) having done that which
‘ we thought to have done upon this ground of necessity, which we know was not feigned
‘ necessity but real, and true ; to the end the government might not be at a loss ; to the end
‘ we might manifest to the world the singleness of our hearts, and integrity, who did those
‘ things not to grasp after the power ourselves, to keep it in a military hand, no not for a
‘ day, but (as far as God enables us with strength and ability) to put it into the hands
‘ that might be called from several parts of the nation ; this necessity I say, (and we hope
‘ may say, for ourselves,) this integrity of labouring to divest the sword of the power and
‘ authority, in the civil administration of it, hath been that that hath moved us, to conclude
‘ of this course : and having done that, we think we cannot, with the discharge of our con-
‘ sciences, but offer somewhat unto you (as I said before) for our own exoneration ; it ha-
‘ ving been the practice of others who have voluntarily and out of sense of duty divested
‘ themselves, and devolved the government into the hands of others ; it having been the
‘ practice, where such things have been done, and very consonant to reason, together with
‘ the authority, to lay a charge, in such a way, as we hope we do ; and to press to the duty,
‘ which we have a word or two to offer to you. Truly, God hath called you to this work
‘ by, I think, as wonderful providences, as ever passed upon the sons of men in so short a
‘ time : and truly I think, taking the arguments of necessity (for the government must
‘ not fall), take the appearances of the will of God in this thing ; I am sure you would have
‘ been loth it should have been resigned into the hands of wicked men and enemies : I am
‘ sure God would not have it so. It comes, therefore, to you by way of necessity ; it
‘ comes to you by the way of the wise providence of God, though through weak hands ;
‘ and therefore I think, it coming through our hands, (though such as we are,) it may not
‘ be taken ill, if we offer to you something, as to the discharge of that trust which is in-
‘ cumbent upon you ; and although I seem to speak that, which may have the face of a
‘ charge, it is a very humble one ; and he that means to be a servant to you, who are called
‘ to the exercise of the supreme authority, to discharge that, which he conceives is his
‘ duty, in his own and his fellows’ names, to you, I hope, who will take it in good part.
‘ And truly I shall not hold you long in that, because I hope it is written in your hearts to
‘ approve yourselves to God ; only this scripture I shall remember to you, which hath been
‘ much upon my spirit : Hosea xi. ver. 12. “ Yet Judah ruleth with God, and is faithful
‘ among the saints.” It is said before, “ Ephraim did compass God about with lyes, and
‘ Israel with deceit.” How God hath been compassed about with fastings, and thanks-
‘ givings, and other exercises and transactions, I think we have all to lament ; why, truly,
‘ you are called by God to rule with him and for him, and you are called to be faithful with
‘ the saints, who have been somewhat instrumental to your call : “ He that ruleth over men,
‘ (the Scripture saith) he must be just, ruling in the fear of God.”

‘ And truly it is better to pray for you, than to counsel you in that, that you may exer-
‘ cise the judgment of mercy and truth ; I say, it is better for you to do it, than to advise
‘ you to ask wisdom from Heaven for you ; which, I am confident, many thousands of
‘ saints do this day, and have done, and will do, through the permission of God, and his
‘ assistance to advise you. Only, truly, I thought of a scripture likewise, that seems to be
‘ but a scripture of common application to every man, as a Christian, wherein he is coun-

‘ sold to ask wisdom ; and he is told what is that wisdom that is from above : it is “ pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be intreated, full of good fruits, without partiality, without hypocrisy.” And my thoughts ran thus upon this, that the executing of the judgment of truth, for that is the judgment that you must have wisdom from above for, and that is pure, that will teach you to execute the judgment of truth ; and then, if God give you hearts to be “ easy to be intreated,” to be “ peaceable spirits,” to be “ full of good fruits,” bearing “ good fruits” to the nation ; to men as men, to the people of God, to all in their several stations ; this wisdom will teach you to execute the judgment of mercy and truth : and I have little more to say to this, I shall rather bend my prayers for you in that behalf (as I said before), and I know many others do also. Truly, the judgment of truth will teach you to be as just towards an unbeliever, as towards a believer ; and it is our duty to be so. I confess, I have often said it foolishly, If I would miscarry, I would rather do it to a believer, than to an unbeliever : perhaps it is a paradox ; but let us take heed of doing it to either, exercising injustice to either. If God fill our heart with such a spirit as Moses and Paul had, which was not only a spirit for the believers among the people of God, but for the whole people, (he would have died for them ; and so Paul to his countrymen according to the flesh, he could have died for them,) truly, this will help us to execute the judgment of truth, and mercy also.

‘ A second thing is, to desire you would be faithful with the saints ; and I hope, whatever others may think, it ought to be to us all matter of rejoicing, that, as one Person (our Saviour) was “ touched with our infirmities,” that he might be pitiful ; I do think this assembly, thus called, is very much touched with the common infirmity of the saints ; and I hope that will teach you to pity others, that so saints of one sort may not be our interest, but that we may have respect unto all, though of different judgments : and if I did seem to speak any thing, that might seem to reflect upon those of the Presbyterian judgment, I think, if you have not an interest of love for them, you will hardly answer this faithfulness to his saints. I confess, in my pilgrimage, and some exercises I have had abroad ; I did read that scripture often, in Isaiah xli. 19. when God gave me, and some of my fellows, what he would do there, and elsewhere ; which he performed for us ; and what would he do ? To what end ? “ That he might plant in the wilderness the cedar, and the shittah-tree, and the myrtle-tree, and the palm-tree together.” To what end ? “ That they might know, and consider, and understand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this ;” and that the Lord hath created it ; that he wrought all salvation and deliverance, which he hath wrought, for the good of the whole flock ; therefore I beseech you (but I think I need not) have a care of the whole flock, love all the sheep, love the lambs, all, and tender all, and cherish all, and countenance all, in all things that are good ; and if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, should desire to live “ peaceably and quietly” under you, soberly and humbly desire to lead a life in godliness and honesty ; let him be protected.

‘ I think I need as little advise you concerning the propagation of the Gospel, and encouraging such ministers, and such a ministry, as are faithful in the land ; upon whom the true character is, men that have truly received the Spirit for such an use ; which Christians will be well able to discern, and do ; men that have “ received gifts from Him that ascended on high, and led captivity captive,” for the work before-mentioned. And truly the apostle, Romans xii, when he had summoned up all the mercies of God, and the goodness of God, and hath discoursed of the foundations of the Gospel, and of the several things that are the subject of his discourse, in the eleven first chapters, after he hath besought them to “ offer up their souls and bodies a living sacrifice to God,” he beseecheth them “ not to esteem more highly of themselves than they ought ;” but that they would be “ humble, and sober-minded,” and not stretch themselves beyond their line, but they would have a care to those, that had received gifts to the uses there mentioned. I speak not (it is far from my heart) for a ministry, deriving itself through the Papacy, and pretending to that, which is so much insisted upon to be succession. The true succession is through the Spirit, given in that measure that the Spirit is given ; and that is a right suc-

cession. But I need not discourse of these things to you ; I am persuaded you are “ taught of God,” in a greater measure than myself, in these things : indeed I have but one word more to say, and that is (though in that, perhaps, I shall shew my weakness), it is by way of encouragement to you to go on in this work.

And give me leave to begin thus : I confess I never looked to see such a day as this, it may be nor you, when Jesus Christ shall be owned, as he is this day, and in this world. Jesus Christ is owned this day by you all, and you own him by your willingness in appearing here ; and you manifest this (as far as poor creatures can) to be a day of the power of Christ by your willingness : I know you remember that scripture in Psalm cx. 3. “ The people shall be willing in the day of thy power ;” God doth manifest it to be a day of the power of Jesus Christ.

Having through so much blood, and so many trials as have been upon these nations, made this to be one of the great issues thereof, to have a people called to the supreme authority upon such an avowed account, God hath owned his Son by this ; and you, by your willingness, do own Jesus Christ : and therefore, for my part, I confess I did never look to see such a sight. Perhaps, you are not known by face one to another ; but we must tell you this, that indeed we have not allowed ourselves in the choice of one person, in whom we had not this good hope, that there was faith in Jesus Christ, and love unto all his saints and people. And thus God hath owned you in the face and eyes of the world ; and thus, by your coming hither, have you owned him ; as it is in Isaiah xliii. 21. It is an high expression, and look to your own hearts, whether now or hereafter God shall apply it to you : “ This people (saith he) I have formed for myself, that they might shew forth my praise.” It is a memorable place, and, I hope, not unfitly applied : God apply it to each of your hearts ! I shall not descant upon the words, they are plain ; you are as like the forming of God as ever people were. If any man should ask you one by one, and should tender a book to you, you would dare to swear, that neither directly nor indirectly did you seek to come hither : you have been passive in coming hither, in being called hither, and that is an active word, “ This people I have formed.” Consider the circumstances by which you are called together ; through what difficulties, through what strivings, through what blood, you are come hither. Neither you nor I, nor no man living, three months ago, had a thought to have seen such a company, taking upon them, or rather being called to the supreme authority ; and therefore know now your call.

Indeed, I think, as it may be truly said, that never was a supreme authority, consisting of so numerous a body as you are, (which I believe are above one-hundred and forty,) were ever in the supreme authority, under such a notion, in such a way of owning God, and being owned by him ; and therefore I say also, never a people formed for such a purpose, (so called,) if it were time to compare your standing with those that have been called by the suffrages of the people. Who can tell how soon God may fit the people for such a thing ; and who would desire any thing more in the world, but that it might be so ? I would all the Lord’s people were prophets ; I would they were fit to be called, and fit to call ; and it is the longing of our hearts, to see them once own the interest of Jesus Christ. And give me leave to say, (if I know any thing in the world,) what is there more like to win the people to the interest and love of God ? Nay, what a duty will lie upon you, to have your conversation such, as that they may love you ; that they may see you lay out your time and spirits for them ? Is not this the most likely way to bring them to their liberties ? And do you not, by this, put it upon God to find the time and the season for it, by pouring forth his Spirit ; at least by convincing them, that as men fearing God have fought them out of their thralldom and bondage, under the royal power ; so men fearing God rule them in the fear of God, and take care to administer good unto them. But this is some digression. I say, own your call, for indeed it is marvellous, and it is of God, and it hath been unprojected, unthought of by you and us ; and that hath been the way God hath dealt with us all along, to keep things from our eyes, that what we have acted, we have seen nothing before us ; which also is a witness, in some measure, to our integrity.

' I say, you are called with a high call: and why should we be afraid to say, or think, that
 ' this way may be the door to usher in things that God hath promised and prophesied of,
 ' and to set the hearts of his people to wait for, and expect? We know who they are that
 ' shall war with the Lamb against his enemies: they shall be a people called, chosen, and
 ' faithful; and hath in the military way (we must speak it without flattery,) I believe you
 ' know it, he hath acted with them, and for them, and now in the civil power and authority,
 ' and these are not ill prognostications for that good we wait for. Indeed, I do think some-
 ' thing is at the door, we are at the threshold, and therefore it becomes us to lift up our
 ' heads, and to encourage ourselves in the Lord, and we have some of us thought it our
 ' duty to endeavour this way, not vainly looking on that prophecy in Daniel, "And the
 ' kingdom shall not be delivered to another people." Truly, God hath brought it into
 ' your hands, by his owning, and blessing, and calling out a military power; God hath
 ' persuaded their hearts to be instrumental in calling you, and this hath been set upon our
 ' hearts, and upon all the faithful in the land: it may be, that it is not our duty to deliver
 ' it over to any other people, and that Scripture may be fulfilling now to us. But I may
 ' be beyond my line.

' But, I thank God, I have my hopes exercised in these things, and so I am persuaded
 ' are yours. Truly, seeing that these things are so, that you are at the edge of the promises
 ' and prophecies; at least if there were neither promise for this nor prophecy, you are
 ' coveting the best things, endeavouring after the best things; and, as I have said elsewhere,
 ' if I were to chuse the meanest officer in the army, or commonwealth, I would chuse a
 ' godly man that hath principles, especially where trust is to be committed, because I know
 ' where to have a man that hath principles. I believe if any man of you should chuse a
 ' servant, you would do so; and I would all our magistrates were so chosen, that may be
 ' some effects of this. It is our duty to chuse men that fear the Lord, to praise the Lord,
 ' yea, such as the Lord forms for himself, and he expects not praises from others; this,
 ' being so, puts me in mind of another scripture, Psal. lxxviii. which indeed is a glorious
 ' prophecy, and I am persuaded of the Gospel, or it may be of the Jews; also there it is
 ' prophesied, "He will bring his people again out of the depths of the sea, as once he led
 ' Israel through the Red-sea;" and it may be, some do think God is bringing the Jews
 ' home to their station from the isles of the sea. Surely, when God sets up the glory of the
 ' Gospel-church, it shall be gathering people out of deep waters, out of the multitude of
 ' waters; such are his people, drawn out of the multitudes of the nations, and people of the
 ' world. And that Psalm will be very glorious in many other parts of it, "When he gave
 ' the word, great was the company of them that published it: kings of the armies did fly
 ' apace, and she that tarried at home divided the spoil; and, although ye have lain among
 ' the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers with
 ' yellow gold." And, indeed, the triumph of that Psalm is exceeding high and great, and
 ' God is accomplishing it; and the close of it, that closeth with my heart, and I am per-
 ' suaded will with yours also: that "God shakes hills and mountains, and they reel;" and
 ' God hath a hill too, "and his hill is as the hill of Basan; and the chariots of God are
 ' twenty-thousand of angels, and God will dwell upon this hill for ever."

' Truly, I am sorry that I have troubled you, in such a place of heat as this is, so long:
 ' all that I have to say in mine own name, and in the names of my fellow-officers, who have
 ' joined with me in this work, is, that we shall commend you to the grace of God, and to
 ' the guidance of his Spirit; having thus far served you (or rather our Lord Jesus Christ in
 ' it), we are, as we hope, and shall be, ready in our stations (according as the Providence of
 ' God shall lead us) to be subservient to the work of God, and the authority, which we
 ' reckon, God hath set over us. And although we have no formal thing to present you with,
 ' to which the hands and outward visible expressions of the hearts of the officers of the
 ' three nations are set; yet we may say for them, and we may say also with confidence for
 ' our brethren at sea, with whom neither in Scotland, nor Ireland, nor at sea, hath any
 ' artifice been used, to persuade their approbations to this work; yet we can say, that
 ' their consent and affections hath flowed in to us from all parts, beyond our expectations;

' and we are confident we may say with all confidence, that we have had their approbations, and full consent, unsought indeed to the other work, so that you have their hearts and affections in this: and not only they, but we have very many papers from the churches of God, throughout the nation, wonderfully both approving what hath been done in removing obstacles, and approving what we have done in this very thing. And, having said this, I shall trouble you no more: but if you will be pleased that this instrument may be read, which I have signed by the advice of the council of officers, we shall then leave you to your own thoughts, and to the guidance of God, to order and dispose of yourselves for further meetings as you shall see cause.'²

² ['This being ended, his lordship produced an instrument under his own hand and seal, whereby he did, with the advice of his officers, devolve and intrust the supreme authority and government of this commonwealth, into the hands of the persons then met, who, or any forty of them, are to be held and acknowledged the supreme authority of the nation; unto whom all persons within the same, and the territories thereunto belonging, are to yield obedience and subjection: And they are not to sit longer than the third of November 1654. Three months before their dissolution, they are to make choice of other persons to succeed them, who are not to sit longer than a twelvemonth; but it is left to them to take care for a succession in government: which instrument being delivered to the persons aforesaid, his lordship commended them to the grace of God.' *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 160. p. 2563. and *Thurloe*, vol. 1. p. 338.

Such was the formation of that assembly, then the subject of ridicule, reproach, and censure; and the butt of succeeding times, under the ludicrous denomination of *Praisegod Barebone's*, or *the little parliament*.

The Loyal Observer: or, Historical Memoirs of the Life and Actions of Roger the Fidler¹; alias, The Observer.

London: printed for W. Hammond, 1683.

[Quarto; containing twelve pages.]

Ralph. **H**ERE'S a clutter with Observators² three or four times a week! And an everlasting din about Whigs and Trimmers, and the devil and all of business! Prithce, Nobbs, let thee and I set up an Observer: 'tis a pretty trade, and next to that of an informer, one of the most thriving in these dull times. There's an old fellow in Holborn gets, they say, forty shillings a paper certain pension, besides by-jobs of two or three hundred guineas at a lump; and yet frets, and foams, and raves, because he is no better rewarded.

Nobbs. When all the swarming intelligencers were silenced, and Thompson muzzled, and Care³ run away, and Curtis and Janeway, poor snails! had pulled in their horns, and were crept into their original shells, I was in hopes the nation should no more have been

¹ [The subject of this libellous pasquinade was Sir Roger L'Estrange; who was nick-named 'Cromwell's fidler,' from his having been heard playing in a concert where the usurper was present. Of this affair he speaks thus in his 'Truth and Loyalty vindicated.' 'Concerning the story of the fiddle, this I suppose might be the rise of it: being in St. James's Park, I heard an organ touched in a little low room of one Mr. Henckson's; I went in, and found a private company of some five or six persons. They desired me to take a viol and bear a part. I did so, and that part too, not much advance to the reputation of my cunning. By-and-by, without the least colour of design, or expectation, in comes Cromwell. He found us playing, and as I remember, so he left us.']

² [The Observer was a paper set up by Sir Roger, after the dissolution of Charles's second parliament in 1679; the design of which was to vindicate the measures of the court, and the character of the king, from the charge of being popishly affected.]

³ [Vide *Ath. Oxon.* i. 539.]

pestered with this make-bait trumpery ; but, since the incorrigible squire scribbles on as eagerly as ever, I see no reason why we may not put in for a snack ; for a pamphlet is a pamphlet, whether it be writ by Roger the fidler, or Ralph the corn-cutter.

Ralph. But I bar all discourse of religion or government, and reflections on particular persons.

Nobbs. Prithee hast thou got a new invention to make butter without cream ? Or the apothecaries' trick, to give us oxycrociun, and not a dram of saffron in it ? Alas, man ! it is the very essence of an Observer to be full of mysteries of state ; and its privilege, to fall foul on any body. How many hundreds have been libelled that way ? Nay, persons of highest honour and office have scarce escaped him of late. Suppose I have a mind to a good warm place of credit and profit (and for such dainties old men may long, as well as young women), what have I to do, but print an Observer, upbraid the government with my services and disappointments, acquaint the world what preferments I would be at, and put my superiors roundly in mind of it ; as much as to say, "Sirs ! you are ungrateful, and neither understand your own interest, nor my merits." Then suppose I receive a rub from some persons of quality that do not think me worthy : straight I at them with another Observer, and expose them as Trimmers and betrayers of the government ; and so revenge myself, that nobody for the future shall dare oppose my pretensions.

Ralph. A clever course ! but, methinks, somewhat saucy ; and he, that practises it, deserves no other advancement, but to the pillory, or whipping-post. However, since there is an old proverb,—' That one may better steal a steed, than another peep over the hedge,' I know not whether every Observer may be allowed the like prerogative ; therefore still I say, I will not meddle with edge-tools.

Nobbs. What then, shall we talk of nothing at all ?

Ralph. No ; but of something next to nothing, that is, the Observer himself. I go sometimes to Sam's, where people cry him up as the Atlas of the church, the Argus of the state, the very buckle and thong of loyalty ; and you see how he vapours of his forty years' service to the crown : therefore, I would gladly be informed what mighty exploits he performed during the old rebellion, what commands he had, how many thousand pounds he expended, what scars of honour he received.

Nobbs. You must note, the gentleman⁴ was a younger brother (the scandal of a worthy family, who have long been ashamed of him), and so far from being able to contribute to the royal cause, that, during his youth, Phil. Porter's plough was his best maintenance ; and it is observed, that he lived more splendidly under the Usurper, than ever before, or since. Whence some have thought, that the same wind, which hurried old Noll to Old Nick, might also puff away this gallant's coach and horses : for, though he kept such an equipage before, they were never afterwards visible.

Ralph. This is nothing to his personal gallantry ; perhaps he rescued the standard at Edge-hill ; stormed towns, as mountebanks draw teeth, with a touch ; or routed whole armies of the rebels, like Almanzor.

Nobbs. No, no ; valour is none of his talent ; he has more wit, than to hazard his precious person with any gun, but Joan's ; wisely considering, that if a man happen to be spitted through the lungs, or have his brains dulled with a lump of lead, it would go near to spoil his writing of Observators for ever ; and then what would become of the government ? He marches, indeed, equipped with a sword, but it is only for ornament ; for he has not so much courage as a Guinea-pig : a boy of fourteen may at any time disarm him with a bean-stalk. Did you never hear how Capt. C. of Richmond Observated him ? Or how the life-guard-man wrought a miracle, and, for a moment, made him honest ?

Ralph. Of the first I have had some inkling. He had libelled some of the captain's relations, who thereupon gave him the discipline of the battoon, and made him dance without his fiddle ; which he received as became a philosopher : and it is the best argu-

⁴ [Sir Roger was second son of Sir Hammond L'Estrange, of Hunstanton-hall, in Norfolk, knt. of an ancient and respectable family.]

ment he has to prove him a Christian, because *preces et lachrymæ* were all his defence.—But, for the adventure of the life-guard-man, I am in the dark.

Nobbs. The business was thus:—About the year 1667, one Cole⁵, having a sheet against Popery, called, ‘A Rod for Rome,’ (or some such-like title) bearing hard upon the Jesuits, sent it up for a passport: Mr. Observer refused it, as he generally did things of that nature, yet could give no reason; for he was not so ungenteeled, as to boast the kindnesses he did the Romans. Thus it lay by, till after the discovery of the plot, when the old man sent it again by Mrs. Purslow, a printer; who, having made forty jaunts in vain, at last sent her maid for his positive answer; but, she not being so much in his favour, as the lass once in Duck-lane, to whom he never denied any thing, he returned it, swearing most bloodily, “That he would not allow it.” As the wench came forth, whom should she meet with, but a gentleman of the guard, her acquaintance; who, understanding what she had been about, read the copy, goes back with her, and, as soon as he came into the room, displaying the paper by one corner, as an ensign of war, begins:—“D—me, do you deny such an honest thing against the Papists? Ha!” The Observer was just ready to Atkinise his breeches; and, with a thousand French cringes and grimaces, cries:—“Good sir! Noble sir! As I am a gentleman, I never refused it; only the maid importuned me, when I was busy;”—and presently bescrawled the paper with his licentious fist. The wench was fumbling for the half-crown, but her friend plucked her away abruptly; and our Observer was glad he was so well rid of him, though with the loss of his fee.

Ralph. But still, where are the instances of his achievements for Charles the Martyr? He boasts, in many of his pamphlets, how near he was to the honour of the gallows: What, was he to be hanged, like Mum-chance, for doing nothing?

Nobbs. No, but for doing nothing to the purpose. Did you never see a little Hocus, by sleight of hand, popping a piece several times, first out of one pocket, and then out of another, persuade folks he was damnable full of money, when one poor size was all his stock? Just so the Iliads of our Observer’s loyalty, when examined, dwindle into one single, sorry, ill-managed intrigue at Lynn; which was nakedly thus:

About November 1644, the town of Lynn being in the rebels’ hands, the gentleman you wot on, pretending abundance of interest there, (when indeed he had none at all,) procured a commission from his Majesty to reduce it, graciously promising him the government of the town, if he could effect it, and payment of all rewards, he should promise, not exceeding five-thousand pounds, &c. The hair-brained undertaker could think of no other way to reduce it, but by sending for one captain Leamon of Lynn (one that had taken the covenant, and a known zealot for the rebels’ cause) to a papist’s house two or three miles off, and very discreetly blunders out the business; shews him his commission; promises him one-thousand pounds, and other preferments, if he would betray the town; adding, “That the king did value the surprizing of that town at half his crown.” A very likely tale! Leamon, perceiving what a weak tool he had to deal with, seems to comply; but the same night acquaints the governor, colonel Walton, and (according to promise) meets our skulking town-taker next day, but carried with him a corporal in a seaman’s habit; to whom he also very frankly shewed his commission. In the mean time, lieutenant Stubbing, and five soldiers, habited like seamen, came from Lynn to the house, and then the disguised corporal seizes our gallant undertaker, who tamely surrenders both his person and commission; and so, being brought to London, it being proved at a court-martial at Guildhall, and by himself confessed, that he came into the parliament’s quarters, not in an hostile manner, as a soldier, but without drum, trumpet, or pass, as a spy, and had tampered with their officers to betray the garrison, he was, for the same, sentenced to be hanged, December 28, 1644⁶; and, passing from

⁵ [Doubtless the same person who bestowed his *flagellum* so liberally on the lawyers in Vol. IV. page 319.]

⁶ [Sir Roger, in a work of his called ‘Truth and Loyalty vindicated,’ has informed us, that when he received sentence of death, which was pronounced upon him by Dr. Mills (then judge-advocate, and afterwards chan-

the court through the crowd, uttered these heroic words:—"I desire all people would take warning by me, that there may be no more blood shed in this kind." However, by appealing to the Lords, he shuffled off present execution; and, having lain some time in Newgate, obtained his liberty; but upon what valuable considerations must remain a riddle, unless his after-familiarity with Cromwell, and the unaccountable port, that he afterwards lived in, during those times, help to explain it,

Ralph. The total of the account, then, stands thus:—1. That the gentleman abused the good king with a false story. It seems, he thought it as easy a matter to surprize a town, as to over-run the printer's wife; but was shamefully defeated in both. 2. He managed the affair like a rash coxcomb, and was outwitted by a dull, heavy Roundhead. 3. Had it succeeded, though acknowledged justifiable (such practices being often used in wars, much more in the case of rebels, where the seeming treachery is but duty), yet there is little of glory to be derived from such a pitiful tampering employ: only, it seems, he was not judged capable of any more brave and honourable, and therefore must make the most of this. 4. When he was in danger of the noose, he repented even of this his loyal undertaking, and sneaked most pitifully, and at last got off suspiciously.—So much for his old services: now let us hear of his exploits since the Restoration.

Nobbs. No sooner was that blissful change, but our Observer first endeavoured to set the old Cavaliers at variance, and wrote against that faithful servant to the crown, the learned and loyal Mr. James Howell⁷, and, as far as he durst, snarled at the court and chief ministers, for not preferring himself, forsooth, as well as others. And, to be taken notice of, in defiance to the act of indemnity, and of his Majesty's most excellent declaration touching ecclesiastic affairs, (a sovereign balm that was like to heal all our wounds, and to mortify for ever the designs of Rome,) he began to rip up old sores, and blow the coals of division amongst Protestants, under pretence of exposing the Presbyterians. Yet still the devil of self-interest jogged his elbow: for the man is known, who, being newly come from Lambeth, and having received only thanks and benedictions instead of money, swore—"Damme! Let the B——s henceforwards write for themselves." After this, despairing of higher place, he aims at the supervisal of the press⁸, for which his scribbling humour had somewhat adapted him; then gives the government perpetual false alarms on that side; but having once gained the point, soon learned the faculty to wink, as often

cellor to the bishop of Norwich) he was cast into Newgate, where he was visited by Mr. Thorowgood and Mr. Arrowsmith, two members of the assembly of divines; who kindly offered him their utmost interest if he would make some petitionary acknowledgment, and submit to take the covenant; which he refused. But that he might obtain a reprieve, he wrote several letters to the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Stamford, and others of the nobility from whom he received favours. In the house of commons, he was particularly obliged to sir John Corbet and sir Henry Cholmondeley. He was reprieved in order to a further hearing; but after almost thirty months spent in vain endeavours either to come to a hearing, or to put himself into an exchangeable condition, he printed a state of his case, as an 'Appeal from the Court-martial to the Parliament,' dated at Newgate in 1647; but, about the time of the Kentish insurrection in 1648, he slipt out of prison with the keeper's privy, and went into Kent. He retired into the house of Mr. Hales, a young gentleman, heir to a great estate in that county, who spirited him to undertake an insurrection; which miscarrying, L'Estrange, with much difficulty, got beyond the sea. Here he continued till 1653; when, upon the Long Parliament's being outed by Cromwell, he returned into England; and presently dispatched a paper to the council at Whitehall to this effect: 'that, finding himself within the act of indemnity, he thought it convenient to give them notices of his return.' Soon after this notice, he was summoned to that board, which he attended, and from that time matters began to look a little in his favour. Being told by one of the commissioners that his case was not comprehended in the act of indemnity, he concluded his best course would be to speak to Cromwell himself, as he did at last in the Cock-pit; and shortly after he received his discharge by the following order, dated October 31, 1653: 'Ordered, that Mr. Roger L'Estrange be dismissed from his farther attendance upon the council, he giving in two thousand pounds security to appear when he shall be summoned so to do, and to act nothing prejudicial to the common-wealth. Ex John Thurloe, secretary.'

⁷ [Howell's 'Cordial for the Cavaliers, 1661,' was answered by Sir R. L'Estrange, in a book intitled 'A Caveat for the Cavaliers.' This drew forth Howell's 'Sober Inspections;' upon which L'Estrange briefly reflects in the close of his 'Modest Plea for the Caveat,' &c. Vide Ath. Oxon.]

⁸ [He enjoyed this profitable post to the eve of the Revolution, but it was, however, the only recompense he ever received (except being in the commission of the peace) after more than twenty years, as he says, 'spent in serving the royal cause; near six of them in gaols, and almost four under a sentence of death at Newgate.']

as his spectacles were enchanted with the dust of Peru. How that affair was managed, let the booksellers' guineas near Mercers-chapel; the books seized, afterwards privately sold from Cambray-house, to be published, &c. be instances; but especially the known story of the printer's wife (before-mentioned) in Bartholomew-close, to whom he prostituted the interest of church and state, offering to connive at her husband's printing treason, sedition, heresy, schism, or any thing, if she would but gratify his brutish lust.

Ralph. But still he was tight to the church of England.

Nobbs. Of his zeal therein, there are these undeniable testimonies⁹:

1. His having been forty times at mass, by his own confession in print.
2. His not receiving the sacrament, or so much as coming to his parish-church, for twelve long years and upwards.
3. His approving books destructive of all Christianity, as one intituled, '*Anima Mundi*,'¹⁰ burnt afterwards, with his hand to it, by order, if I mistake not, of the reverend bishop of London: another called '*A Treatise of Human Reason*,' that deserved the same fate; as making every man's private fancy judge of religion; the grand scandal which Papists have these hundred years falsely cast on Protestantism.
4. By connivance at popish pamphlets all the time of his dictatorship; not one having been during those many years honestly prosecuted by him, though it is computed above one-hundred thousand of them were in that space dispersed, to poison his Majesty's Protestant subjects. Nay, on the contrary; as often as that active loyal gentleman, Mr. M. of the company of Stationers, or any other of the masters or wardens, or Mr. Stephens, messenger of the press, had discovered any of the Papists' pamphlet-magazines, this Observer, either by secret intelligence prevented the seizure, or afterwards shuffled off both book and prosecution; pretending the same appertained to his immediate care, and so no more was heard of it.

Ralph. But all the loyal world commends his Observators as witty, and highly serviceable to the government.

Nobbs. As to the wit, (no great praise in a blade of threescore and twelve:) it is the observation of judicious Raleigh, *Nihil est sapientie odiosius acumine nimio*: 'Nothing is more an enemy to wisdom, than drollery and over-sharpness of conceit.' Hot-headed youths, unthinking shallow people, are easily taken, as larks are by low-bells, with a jingle of words; and, perhaps, some she-politicians may admire him: but the graver and more considerate loyalists judge no papers have really been more prejudicial to his Majesty's interest. His design therein is evident: the act¹¹, that formerly gave him bread, being expired, something must be done for a livelihood; his acquaintance, his in-

⁹ [How are we to reconcile this ironical assertion with the contents of the following letter, drawn up as a formal declaration, on the truth of which he received the sacrament at the time of its publication; which is supposed to be in 1690?

To his kinsman, Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, Bart.

'Sir; The late departure of my daughter from the church of England to the church of Rome, wounds the very heart of me; for I do solemnly protest, as in presence of God Almighty, that I knew nothing of it: and, for your farther satisfaction, I take the liberty to assure you, upon the faith of a man of honour and conscience, that as I was born and brought up in the communion of the church of England, so I have been true to it ever since; with a firm resolution, with God's assistance, to continue in the same to my life's end. Now in case it should please God in his providence, to suffer this scandal to be revived upon my memory when I am dead and gone, make use, I beseech you, of this paper in my justification, which I deliver as a sacred truth. So help me God.

Roger L'Estrange.

Signed in the presence of us,

John L'Estrange,

Richard Sure.'

It is probable that Sir Roger's having written strenuously in defence of the dispensing power claimed by the infatuated Charles, was a principal reason for his being accused of becoming a proselyte to the church of Rome. Biog. Dict.]

¹⁰ [The author of this book was Charles Blount, younger son of sir Henry Blount, of Tittenhanger, in Hertfordshire. Vide the account of the transaction here alluded to in Wood's Ath. Oxon. ii. 713.]

¹¹ [Licensing Act.]

terest, lay on the red-lettered side, who quickly engage him to ridicule that plot which his Majesty and four several parliaments, after strictest inquisition, had declared horrid and damnable¹². Hence started up the brass screws, the Salamanca certificate, and twenty other crotchets, which neither Secretary Castlemain, nor Sing, nor any of their St. Omer's pupils, had the luck to think of; and yet altogether as empty, incoherent, and nonsensical as their paths and allegations. But his feeders, still not thinking this enough, have, of late, put him upon another jobb: to expose not only Fanaticks and Whigs, but all sober churchmen and moderate loyal Protestant subjects, under the foolish, but odious, name of 'Trimmers.'

Ralph. But still he avows he writes for the government.

Nobbs. Nothing more false; he writes only for his belly. It is the crust, not the cause, he leaps at. As long as he scribbles with such provocations, it is impossible to stop the other pamphleteers. Nay, he has done the faction the greatest service of any man living; being the general publisher of their clandestine pamphlets, and sets people agog to enquire after, and buy them. That lewd, impudent, and traitorous libel, 'The Second Part of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government,' scarce saw the light, before he proclaimed and repeated it; and, if Hunt's¹³ saucy book have sold ten-thousand, he is beholden, at least, for the putting off eight-thousand of them, to the *Observer*. Some affirm, that for this secret service, he has a pension from the Whigs, equal to his presents from the Tories: but it is certain, when any body prints an obnoxious pamphlet, they first send it to him by the penny-post, to save ten shillings' charge of putting it in the *Gazette*.

Ralph. I could not before guess at the reason why he has of late expressed so much malice against the honest messenger of the press; that, according to his duty, faithfully and impartially discharged his office towards suppressing all pamphlets, both fanatical and popish. But, if this gentleman gets friends by the one, and money by the other, it is no wonder, if he have a spite at every body that would dam up both his mills at once.—— But it grows late, and I am to meet a friend at Sam's; so farewell till I see you next.

¹² [The vehement spirit which Sir Roger exerted in ridiculing the Popish Plot in 1681, raised him many enemies, who endeavoured, notwithstanding his known loyalty, to render him obnoxious to the government. But he appeared with no less vehemence against the Fanatic plot in 1682; and, in 1683, was particularly employed by the court to publish Dr. Tillotson's papers, exhorting Lord Russel to avow the doctrine of non-resistance a little before his execution. So that he weathered all the storms that were raised against him during that reign, and in the next was rewarded with the honour of knighthood, accompanied with this declaration, 'That it was in consideration of all his eminent services and unshaken loyalty to the crown, in all extremities; and as a mark of the singular satisfaction of his Majesty, in his present as well as his past services.']

¹³ [Thomas Hunt of Queen's College, Cambridge, wrote a book, intitled, 'An Argument for the Bishops' Right in judging in capital Causes in Parliament,' &c. to which was added a scandalous 'Postscript for rectifying some mistakes in some of the inferior clergy,' &c. 1682. This was animadverted upon by Sir Roger L'Estrange, in one of his 'Observers.' Ath. Oxon.]

Wonderful News from Wales; or, a True Narrative of an old Woman living near Lanselin in Denbighshire, whose Memory serves her truly and perfectly to relate what she hath seen and done one-hundred and thirty Years ago. Having now the full Number of her Teeth; the most of them were lost, when she was three-score Years and Ten. She is also remembered, by some of ninety Years old, to be taller than she is by seventeen or eighteen Inches; with several other Circumstances of her Life, which shew her to be the Wonder of her Age.

Licensed August 9, 1677. London, printed for C. L. *Anno Dom.* 1677.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

NOTHING appears so contradictory and idle, but some philosopher or other has so earnestly espoused, that his life might have been easily taken, as a mortgage for the security of the truth, were the forfeiture thought considerable. And as of this sort there are many extravagant precedents that would make nature very ridiculous; so there are to be found amongst the graver sort of assertors, all the world over, whimsies, more foolish and barbarous than with the savages, who enjoyed scarce, or not at all, the light of nature. Amongst other bustlings and trials of pens, it hath been a great dispute about the age of Adam, Methuselah, &c. Some would have monthly years, deducing arguments from Eve; others from the moon: some, more Persian-like, will give the sun the glory of completing the year; holding also nature to be in a continual decay through her own weakness, or our wantonness; and, though they lived so many years heretofore, we have so changed our bodies, that no one can be expected to live the quarter, nay scarce the tithe of our forefathers' time. But it will be found nature cannot decay, nor has her luxury so circumscribed our age, but that we do find persons, whose extent of years serves to confute such indigested fancies.

Not far from the seat of Old Parr¹, at this time lives (near Lanselin in Denbighshire) a woman named Jane Morgan, whose memory yet serves her to give an exact account of several things she hath seen and known one-hundred and thirty years ago. She walks uprightly, without the use of the least stick; her teeth are almost all now perfect in her head, although about threescore years ago she had lost most of them; she can see as well without spectacles, if not better than with them; her hearing is quick and apprehensive, and her organs of smelling are so corroborated by age, that no stench can invade them to the least prejudice. She was the first that learned that famous and memorable tune called 'Sidanen,' in all those parts. When queen Elizabeth was crowned, she led all the dances, and continued the head of all that country sports, until the death of king James; and was so sensible of the glory she had achieved by such continual custom, that she would not part with it, until she had bred her daughter up to have it conferred on her; which she did in a public assembly, when the coronation of king Charles the First was solemnized. But before her daughter, as her deputy, had practised, and in her absence taught the country measures for the space of one-and-twenty years, having several tunes dedicated to her: 'Old Simon the King,' was called her delight; 'Jo Bent,' her fancy; 'Bob-in-

¹ [See the account of Old Parr by Taylor the Water-poet in Vol. VII.]

'joy' her conceit; sleeping and waking she sung the 'Sidanen;' wherefore the neighbours called her by that name.

Her mother Jane Lloyd was married at twenty years of age to one Evan Morgan, an able farmer's son, who was the activest and strongest in his country at wrestling. But at a certain trial of skill, when he had foiled all the neighbours, and strangers too; she put on man's apparel, entered the round, and gave him three falls; upon which she bore away the little silver bell that was the conqueror's due: but upon enquiry, who this valiant stranger was, the young man fell so deeply in love with her, that, maugre all his friends, he married her, and lived with her forty-five years, before her womb was mature for conception; about the sixty-sixth year of her age, she brought forth her first-born, a daughter, who did not conceive till the fifty-fifth year of her age.

Many masculine and heroic acts did this virago-mother do, and, though sometimes the justices were severe, yet their warrants were always void; and, like curses of malefactors, returned upon themselves: for whatever ground she trod on, was to catch-polls and petty constables as fatal, as Irish earth to venomous creatures.

But, as the longest day will have a night, spiteful age wrought a tendency towards a decay, upon her vigorous nerves; yet in all this while time could not make her subject to the least disease, though it has submitted her to the most unheard-of shifts for food as ever were or can be; and, by the calculation of her stomach, she may be thought now to be in the meridian of her age. Hundreds of her neighbours can justify, that of what disease soever, cattle, horses, swine, sheep, or the like, die, her stomach (so far is fantastic prejudice unable to make the least impression on her) has a menstruum to digest gratefully such fetid flesh, that others would not only abhor, but it would put such stress and violence upon them, that irresistible death would infallibly follow.

It is a certain truth, that carrion, buried two or three days, in the winter-time, she will take up, which without any other preparation she will slice, and fling as collops upon the coals, which she will eat as savourly, as he that thinks he eats the best in town, when he hath the rarest cutlets dressed for him. And, if her prize cannot be at once eaten, she'll gently and carefully salt the remainder, and expose it to the greatest fury of her smoaking cell, and prudently reserve it as a future happiness. If against a good time her neighbours' bounty will bestow any corn upon her, she will yet upon her head make shift to carry two bushels to the mill; which though it be very remarkable in one of her age, it is very inconsiderable to what she hath done formerly.

When she was near an hundred years old, her occasions invited her about that time to Oswaldstrey market, which is three miles; but, because of its ruggedness and length, she had better have gone from London to Barnet. After she had there filled her apron with cumbersome necessities to that bulk, that the burden seemed at some distance to walk before her; she was told by a stander-by, that it was impossible for her to carry such a troublesome burden home. This man's horse was then loaden with two pieces of coarse Welch cotton: she then scornfully answered it; "If you put those two pieces, which your horse seems almost to shrink under, upon my shoulders, I will for a wager undertake to carry them as far as my house, before you and your horse can come thither." The man, being her neighbour, (fearful to lose, and unwilling to displease her) replied, "he was more willing to ease than trouble her." But one of the incredulous corporation, ignorant of her prodigious strength, wagered with her; and suspecting her neighbour would be partial, he, with three or four of his most curious neighbours, got horses, and followed her presently; and at the end of the two miles and a half they overtook the man, belabouring his weary horse. They asked him for the woman. He answered them, cursing, saying "he had two or three scurvy falls, and that he had no sight of her in a quarter of a mile." They, going forward, found her returned, sitting in her chimney-corner, smoaking tobacco in a comfortable short pipe; at which they were astonished.

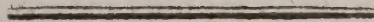
A thousand more considerable stories must here (for brevity-sake) be omitted. It will therefore be convenient to add a relation her neighbours give, in respect of her age : some of fourscore and ten remember they heard their fathers say, she was a very proper tall woman. In a house out of which she had seen buried eleven heirs, her proportion, as to her height, was taken above a hundred years ago ; and, the last year coming to the same place, she was found to want of that measure betwixt seventeen and eighteen inches ; and now she is four feet and four inches high, not at all stooping, at which the by-standers much admired ; which she perceiving, told them, that her mother was completely two yards ; and that, before she died, she shrunk to three feet and six inches : so that she concluded, by the graduation of their decays, before she had shrunk to her utmost, she must yet live above threescore years ; and who knows but she may ? For she is as merry as a girl of fifteen, and will sing from morning till night ; her memory is so lively, that she'll tell stories of queen Elizabeth and king James, as fresh, and more pleasantly, than the sufferers in the late wars can.

I was the more willing to publish this, because I hoped some virtuosos would be so kind, as curiously to satisfy themselves of the truth, and then the world after ; with reasons how this comes to pass ; and why others live not to the same age ?

What sort of menstruum her stomach has ?

How are her organs ordered, since no stench offends her ? And, since it is a contradiction to say she grows less, how comes the whole contexture of her body, with such consent of parts, to be diminished ? And, since the bones must consequently be contracted, how come we to find bones, long buried, of the same length as when first interred ?

If any person question the truth of this narrative, or desire to satisfy their curiosity, let them repair to West-Smithfield, where she is daily expected, to convince the world of the truth thereof.



The Trial and Condemnation of Colonel Adrian Scroope, Mr. John Carew, Mr. Thomas Scott, Mr. Gregory Clement, and Colonel John Jones, who sat as Judges upon our late Sovereign Lord King Charles.* Together with their several Answers and Pleas, at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bailey, Friday the 12th of October 1660, before the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, appointed by his Majesty for that Purpose.

James ii. v. 13.

‘ For he shall have Judgment without Mercy, that shewed no Mercy.’

London: printed for John Stafford and Edward Thomas, 1660.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

THIS day being Friday the twelfth of October, 1660, the king's lords-justices, for trial of several persons, who had a hand in the death of our late sovereign, sat in the sessions-house in the Old Bailey, and called to the bar the persons following, viz.

Col. Adrian Scroope.

Gregory Clement.

John Carew.

John Jones.

Thomas Scott.

Col. Adrian Scroope was first called to his trial; who, having excepted against several of the jury, at last had such a one as he agreed to.

Proclamation being made, and silence commanded, the indictment was read, and one of the king's council stood up, and spoke to this effect:

“ Gentlemen of the Jury,

You have heard by the indictment of several that did assemble themselves together, to compass and take away the life of the king our late sovereign, among which persons the prisoner at the bar was one, who, under his hand and seal, did consent to the said murder: first, by setting hand to the commission, which gave being to that bloody court; and afterwards by signing that bloody warrant, which occasioned the severing his head from his body; which we can prove by several witnesses.”

The court calls for the warrant of the king's execution, and went to shew it to one of the witnesses; which, when Col. Scroope saw, he said, “ My lord, let me see it; if it be my hand, I will not deny it.”

[The warrant is carried to him.]

Scroope. My lord, I do not deny but it is my hand.

Mr. Masterton, one of the witnesses, is sworn.

King's Council. Whether did you see this gentleman sitting amongst the judges of the king?

Masterton. My lord, I was at the ‘ High-Court of Justice’ so called, several times, and I saw the prisoner at the bar sitting amongst them, and particularly on the twenty-seventh of January, being the day on which sentence was given.

* [Vide ‘ An exact and most impartial account of the indictment, arraignment, &c. of twenty-nine regicides, the murderers of king Charles I. 1660.’ 4to.]

Scroope. My lord, pray ask this gentleman whether he and I were ever in company together, that he should know me so well; for I never saw him in my life before to my knowledge.

To which it was answered, "that he in person answered to that name, and was the man." Several other witnesses were sworn to the same purpose. *Col. Scroope* desired that one might be asked, "if he could tell whereabouts he sat?" to which the witness answered,

"My lord, I cannot say that positively; I cannot remember such a circumstance so long: but, to the best of my remembrance, he was the uppermost judge on the right-hand."

Sir Richard Brown was sworn, to give evidence concerning several treasonable words that he should speak about the king's murder. The act for constituting the 'high-court of justice' was likewise read; and *Col. Scroope* owned that to be his hand which subscribed thereunto; saying, "he did not desire that witnesses should be sworn to more than was needful." *The King's Council* then spoke to the jury, and told them, "That they had heard by six several witnesses, that the prisoner had sat amongst the king's judges; and by three, that he sat the day which was by them called, 'the day of judgment'." *The Prisoner* said, "That he had a great disadvantage in answering to such learned men, who were to plead against him, and said, that he would not undertake to justify his person, but desired time and council to answer to matter of law."

The Judge. That is where you have matter of law.

The Prisoner answered, "My lord, I was not of the parliament, I beseech you take notice of that; and that which was done, my lord, was by a 'high-court of justice,' who had a commission from the parliament. My lord, it was that authority which was then accounted the supreme authority, that the generality of the nation submitted to: having received command from that authority, it was, in obedience to the same, that I sat; I was promoted thereunto by that command. I have not time to bring these matters to a head, because I have been these six weeks close prisoner in the Tower, that I could not get council to prepare myself: therefore, my lord, let me have some time, and council, to provide myself to plead. My lord, I was no contriver of that business, only executed the command." To which was answered, "That that, which he called the parliament, was no parliament; that there was no colour of authority to justify them; and that, if the whole house of commons had been sitting, as these pretending that authority were not a sixth part, yet they could not act against the life of the least cripple at the gate, without the king, much less against himself."

Col. Scroope. I say, my lord, I am but a single person; and, if there be mistakes, I am not the only person that have been misled: I hope that an error in judgment will not be accounted an error in will, and shall not be accounted malice. Truly, my lord, I must say this, and I desire your lordship to take notice of me, that I am without any malice at all.

After several things of the like nature, hoping the authority of the Rump-parliament would clear him, and be taken as a sufficient plea for his aforesaid treasonable conspiracy, *the Judge* asked him, "if he had any thing further to offer in the case?" Which he being not able to do; the charge was given to the jury, who never went out of the court to give in their verdict; and being asked, according to the form, "Whether the prisoner at the bar was guilty of the high-treason whereof he stood indicted, or not guilty?" *The Foreman* said, "Guilty;" and so they said all. Whereupon the prisoner was taken from the bar, and shackled with chains.

The next, who was called to the bar, was Mr. John Carew, who, after the formalities of the court were passed as aforesaid, and the indictment read, he was charged by the king's council as followeth:

"The prisoner at the bar stands indicted for (not having the fear of God before his eyes) imagining, contriving, and compassing the death of our late sovereign of blessed memory: for the proof of this, there are several things in the indictment which do dis-

cover their private imaginations, which is, that they did meet and consult, &c. There is a statute of the 25th of Edward the Third, against imagining, designing, or compassing the death of the king, which ye are to enquire after.

"There was a thing called the 'High Court of Justice,' in which bloody court our sovereign was tried, and this gentleman was one of those miscreants that had the confidence, nay, the impudence to sit amongst them, and afterwards sealed to that bloody roll whereupon he was executed."

Several witnesses, being examined, spoke to this effect: That they saw him several days in that court sitting amongst those who were called the king's judges, and particularly on the twenty-seventh day of January, 1648, on which day the sentence was passed; also knew that to be his hand, which was to the warrant for the king's execution, and for establishing a high-court of justice. Whereupon the prisoner was asked, "What he had to say for himself?" Who answered, "That he came not there to deny any thing that he had done; that whereas what was done in the case, was ushered in with these words, 'Not having the fear of God before his eyes;' he did declare it was not done in such a fear, 'but in the fear of the holy and righteous Lord, the judge of the earth.'" Whereat the court was much troubled and disturbed, that he should make God the author of their treason and murder. But he went on to this purpose: "When this came about, there was an ordinance wherein my name was set, which when I saw, I struck it out; I leave it to the Lord to judge, I thought not well of it, and so was very unwilling to appear in it, there being, as I thought, enough besides me to be employed in it, and therefore I speak the truth, as it is in Jesus, to shew how I had the fear of the Lord before me. I say, as to what I did was upon this account; I did it, first, in obedience to the then supreme authority of England, and after the Lord gave answer to solemn appeals." Running on after this rate, the court was wearied with his discourse, and put him on to plead to his indictment. He desired he might declare the grounds whereupon the parliament proceeded, and give the grounds and reasons of the fact. To which the king's council said, "Then you must needs confess it." Whereupon he acknowledged, that "he was there, and proceeded according to the act of parliament." But was told, as the court had often said before, "That neither the lords nor the commons, jointly or severally, had any power without the king; and that the power then in being had not the least colour of authority for what they did; and that it was not a thing to be debated without denying our allegiance, that the subject can hold up his hand against his sovereign."

After, the lord Annesley made a learned speech, declaring the illegality of their proceedings; that when a treaty was concluded with the king, and accordingly all things like to be settled, he and some other had contrived and designed to keep the far greater part of the members out against their allegiance, the laws of the land, and against the privileges of parliament, &c. making themselves an arbitrary parliament, and driving away the rest, &c. But Mr. Carew being not able to say any thing in defence of his high charge; the jury never went out for it, but presently brought him in "Guilty."

Mr. Scott was brought next, and, after all the formalities of the court were over, he first pleaded the privilege of a parliament-man. Several witnesses were produced against him, that he so gloried in the death of the king, as to say, "That he desired it might be written upon his tombstone, to the end all the world might know it;" as also other things, which expressed his malicious forwardness in that horrid murder. The main part of his pleading, was to justify the authority of the Rump-parliament, which, being so often answered before, need not here be inserted: the jury soon concluded with him likewise, and found him "Guilty."

Mr. Gregory Clement petitioned the court to wave his plea of "Not guilty;" which the court granting, he confessed the indictment.

Col. John Jones confessed, that he was present at giving sentence against the king, only denied the form of the indictment; whereupon a jury was, without his excepting against any, quickly sworn, and, according to his own confession, found him "Guilty."

The judge, in a very learned speech, endeavoured to make them sensible of the heinousness of the sin, and, persuading them to repentance, prayed God to have mercy upon them, and read their sentence upon all together: "You shall go from hence to the place from whence you came, and from that place shall be drawn upon a hurdle to the place of execution, and there shall hang by the neck till you are half dead, and shall be cut down alive, and your privy-members cut off before your face and thrown into the fire, your belly ripped up and your bowels burnt, your head to be severed from your body, your body shall be divided into four quarters, and disposed as his Majesty shall think fit."

All were shackled with fetters, and carried to the Press-yard.

A just Vindication of Learning: or, an humble Address to the High Court of Parliament, in Behalf of the Liberty of the Press.¹ By Philopatris.

Sub bono Principe sentire licet quæ velis, & quæ sentias dicere.

London, 1679.

[Quarto; containing twenty-four pages.]

PROEM.

May it please you, my Lords and Gentlemen,

THIS session of parliament is of such high importance to these parts of the world, that Heaven seems to have committed the universal fate of Christendom to your disposal; from whose proceedings both France, Spain, Germany, Holland, and this part of the universe must take their measures: nor will it be a vanity in me to affirm the same thing of you,

¹ [' This privilege (says De Lolme, speaking of the liberty of the press) is that which has been obtained by the nation with the greatest difficulty, and latest in point of time, at the expence of the executive power. Freedom was in every other respect already established, when the English were still, with regard to the public expression of their sentiments, under restraints that may be called despotic. History abounds with instances of the severity of the court of Star-chamber, against those who presumed to write on political subjects. It had fixed the number of printers and printing-presses, and appointed a licenser, without whose approbation no book could be published. Besides, as this tribunal decided matters by its own single authority, without the intervention of a jury, it was always ready to find those persons guilty, whom the court was pleased to look upon as such; nor was it indeed without ground that chief-justice Coke, whose notions of liberty were somewhat tainted with the prejudices of the times in which he lived, concluded the eulogiums he had bestowed on this court, with saying, that "the right institution and orders thereof being observed, it doth keep all England in quiet."]

After the court of Star-chamber had been abolished, the Long Parliament, whose conduct and assumed power were little better qualified to bear a scrutiny, revived the regulation against the freedom of the press. Charles the Second, and after him James the Second, procured further renewals of them. These latter acts having expired in the year 1692, were, at this æra, although posterior to the revolution, continued for two years longer; so that it was not till the year 1694, that in consequence of the parliament's refusal to continue the prohibitions any longer, the freedom of the press (a privilege which the executive power could not, it seemed, prevail upon itself to yield up to the people) was finally established. De Lolme on the Constitution of England.]

which heretofore Tacitus did of the Batavi; 'who, in the time of the Romans, (saith he,) were able to confer a victory upon whatever party they adhered to.'

The parliaments of England have ever been formidable to their neighbours; but you, above all others, seem to have been reserved by Providence for those great and weighty affairs, which are now in agitation, as well at home as abroad, and for which purpose you are here convened. You only are able to cast out that angel of darkness, with his many legions, who is at this time endeavouring to destroy our best of kings and governments; you only are able to center this reeling kingdom, which staggers and groans under the pleurisy of popery, and which, if not now prevented, may in time attain and corrupt the whole mass of English blood; you only are able to preserve that so necessary religion, and sacred property of our British isle, by continuing, as there now is, a Protestant head upon a Protestant body; without which our prince would be no other than a father-in-law to his people, and they sons-in-law to him: besides, the incoherence would be as great and disagreeable, as to behold a black Indian head annexed unto a white body. Neither would such a conjunction be more unnatural, than inconvenient, since he that is arbitrary over the soul (as in popery) hath ever a co-equal power over the body and the estate; which is evident from the examples of France, Spain, and other popish governments, where the priest rides the soul, and the prince the body: a tyranny as disagreeable to our gracious sovereign's nature to impose upon us, as it would be insupportable for our English spirits to bear.

Now, the original of these popish villainies, as I humbly conceive, proceeds not more from their sacerdotal malice and interest, than from their laicks' ignorance and servitude; without which their clergy would, at the best, be rendered but like wolves without teeth. Wherefore, to divest their priests of this power of doing ill, nothing would be more conducive, than the propagating of wisdom and knowledge amongst the populace; since, as ignorance renders men obedient and susceptible of the meanest slavery, so doth its contrary put all men upon their guard: *Omnes enim nos sumus, aut corvi qui lacerant, aut cadavera quæ lacerantur*. Now, for the more speedy effecting hereof, there hath never been discovered any better expedient amongst men, than that of the 'Liberty of the Press:' whereby whoever opposes the public interest are exposed and rendered odious to the people; as, on the contrary, they who merit well of their country, are ever recorded with immortal honour to posterity. So that, if fame and ambition, as all generous souls must acknowledge, have so great an influence over the minds of active men, what can be more reasonable, what can be more serviceable to the world, than that, which hurries men into a necessity either of acting virtuously, or of forfeiting their so much desired honour for ever? And such I take to be the consequence of a Free Press. From which consideration, since the late act, which laid that severe restraint upon printing, is so near expiring, my humble address to your lordships, and to you, gentlemen of the house of commons, is, that, before you proceed to the continuation of any thing of that nature, you would condescend so far, as to look down upon these ensuing arguments against any such inquisition, or embargo upon science; wherein you may, haply, find some reasons, which, though not founded upon private ends, like those of our adversaries, may yet prove sufficiently satisfactory to all but that dead weight of interest which opposes us, and will not be converted, for that it is not for its interest so to be.

This, my lords and gentlemen, is all from him, who would sacrifice his life and fortune for his king and country; coveting no other title of honour, whereby to be distinguished, than that of

PHILOPATRIS.

ALL civilized people, as well ancient as modern, have ever had that veneration and deference for learning, that almost no nation, disengaged from barbarism, wants its public donations either of magnificent structures, or plentiful revenues for the encouragement of literature and learned men. Such patrons and admirers of learning were the

heroes of old, that they seem to contend about nothing more, than to excel in their liberality to the Muses. Thus we see Alexander the Great² presented Aristotle with eight-hundred talents; as also Xenocrates, the philosopher, with fifty talents; Antiochus likewise presented his physician, Theombrotus, with sixty-thousand crowns; Homer for his works received a thousand pieces of silver from the Candiots; nor did that suffice, but cities must fall together by the ears for the honour of his birth; so liberal were the ancients to all manner of sciences: nor have our modern benefactors been inferior to them, as our two famous Universities may testify to posterity. Yet, notwithstanding all these encouragements, learning hath of late years met with an obstruction in many places, which suppresses it from flourishing or increasing, in spite of all its other helps; and that is, the inquisition upon the press, which prohibits any book from coming forth without an *imprimatur*; an old relique of popery, only necessary for the concealing of such defects of government, which of right ought to be discovered and amended. However, as our government is not sick of the same distemper, so need we not the same cure, but rather the contrary: for, as an ill face cannot be too closely masked, so neither can a good one be too much exposed.

That books are of great use to a government, is evident; first, for that they are the only records of time, which excite us to imitate the past glories of our ancestors: secondly, we owe our manner or form of divine worship to books alone: thirdly, we owe our philosophy, or contemplation of God in his works, to the same cause: for men's natural abilities, like natural plants, need pruning by study. Thus we see, that histories make men wise; poetry, witty; mathematicks, subtle; natural philosophy, deep; moral philosophy, grave; logick and rhetoric, able to dispute; all which excellencies are to be acquired only from books; since no vocal learning is so effectual for instruction as reading: for that written discourses are better digested, and support themselves better on their own weight, than words disguised by the manner of expression, cadence, or gesture, which corrupt the simplicity of things; when also the suddenness of pronounciation allows not the audience time sufficient to reflect upon what was said. Moreover, books flatter much less, and have more universal precepts, than discourse; which generally affects complaisance, and gaining the hearers' good-will: particularly in morality; where great persons are better instructed, and more plainly reprehended for their faults by books, than by discourses. Books being therefore in the main so useful to human society, I cannot but herein agree with Mr. Milton³, and say, that, 'unless it be effected with great caution, you had almost as good kill a man, as a good book: for he, that kills a man, kills but a reasonable creature, God's image; whereas he, that destroys a good book, kills reason itself, which is as it were the very eye of God.'

Having thus demonstrated how much the world owes to learning and books; let me not be altogether unmindful of Faust and Guttenburg, the promoters of both; who by their ingenuity discovered and made known the art of printing⁴, which hath made learning not only easy, but cheap; since now any person may accommodate himself with a good moderate library at the same price, as heretofore Plato paid for three books of Philolaus, the Pythagorean, viz. three-hundred pounds⁵. This was the invention wherewith

² Plut. *Vita Alex.*

³ [The great John Milton wrote a tract to enforce the liberty of the press, intitled 'Areopagitica, a speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing,' which has been re-printed with a spirited preface by the poet Thomson. Had the author of the *Paradise Lost* (says Mr. Hayley) left us no composition but his *Areopagitica*, he would be still entitled to the affectionate veneration of every Englishman, who exults in that intellectual light, which is the noblest characteristic of his country; and for which England is chiefly indebted to the liberty of the press. Our constant advocate for freedom, in every department of life, vindicated this most important privilege with a mind fully sensible of its value; he poured all his heart into this vindication, and to speak of his work in his own energetic language, we may justly call it, what he has defined a good book to be, "the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life." Life of Milton, 1796, 4to.]

⁴ [See Vol. III. p. 154.]

⁵ *Gell. lib. v. c. 17.* [Such was the scarcity and consequently the value of books in antient times, that when a single book was bequeathed to a friend or relation, it was seldom done without many stipulations and conditions:

Cardan upbraided the ancients, saying, *Antiquitas nihil par habet*⁶. Nay, Thuanus⁷ goes higher, when, speaking of the inventors of this art, he saith, *Quibus plus debet Christianus orbis, quàm cuiquam fortissimorum belli ducum ob propagatos fines patria unquam debuit*. And truly so we do: but still provided, that the inquisition upon it be removed; without which, this art, designed at first for the service of the publick, will prove useful to none but the licenser. Therefore, in opposition to any such restraint, I shall here demonstrate the unreasonableness of any such licence, or *imprimatur*.

First, From the ancient usage as well of the Greeks as Romans, who were both highly eminent for learning; and whom, in this particular, we need not be ashamed to imitate. We do not find amongst the Greeks, that their *vetus comædia* (which was so much censured for libelling and traducing men by name, as to be prohibited acting on the stage) was ever suppressed from being read; but rather the contrary; for that Plato himself recommended the reading of Aristophanes, the loosest of all those old comedians, to his royal scholar Dionysius. Neither do we read any where, that either Epicurus, or that libertine school of Cyrene, or what the Cynic impudence uttered, with many other sects and opinions, which tended to voluptuousness, and the denying of a Providence, were ever prohibited or questioned. Also amongst the Latins, we find Lucretius versifying his Epicurean tenets to Memnius, without any molestation; and had the honour to be published a second time by Cicero, the great father of the commonwealth, although he himself disputes against that same opinion in his own writings. Neither do we read of any decree against the satirical sharpness of Lucilius, Catullus, or Flaccus. Likewise, in matters of state, the story of Titus Livius, though it extolled and magnified Pompey's party, was not therefore suppressed by Octavius Cæsar of the other faction. Nay, even in the times of Christianity, unless they were plain invectives against Christianity, (as those of Porphyrius and Proclus,) they met with no interdict till about the year 400, in a Carthaginian council; wherein bishops themselves were forbid to read the books of Gentiles, but heresies they might read: whereas others, long before them, scrupled more the books of Hereticks than of Gentiles. And that the primitive councils and bishops were used only to declare what books were not commendable, passing no further censure, but leaving to each one's conscience to read, or to lay by, till after the year 800, is already observed by father Paul, that great unmasker of the Trentine council. After which time, the unsatiable popes engrossed more and more every day, till Martin the Fifth, by his bull, not only prohibited, but was the first that excommunicated the reading of heretical books; for, about that time, Wickliff and Huss, growing formidable, were they who first drove the papal court to a stricter policy of prohibiting; which course Leo the Tenth and his successors followed, until the council of Trent and the Spanish inquisition, engendering together, produced these two monsters, an *index expurgatorius* and a *licenser*, when they enacted, that no book, pamphlet, or paper should be printed, till it were approved and licensed under the hands of two or three gluttonous friars. So that, in fine, there was never any such inquisition upon learning known in the world, till slavery supplanted liberty, and interest religion.

Secondly, It is the greatest affront and discouragement that can be offered to learning and learned men. For so far to distrust the judgment and honesty of one who hath but a common repute in learning, having never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his mind, without a tutor or examiner, lest he should drop a schism or something of corruption, is the greatest displeasure and indignity to a free and knowing spirit, that can be put upon him. What advantage is it to be a man, over what it is to be a boy at school, if we have only escaped the ferula, to come under the fescu of an *imprimatur*? When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him; he

if given to a monastery, it was thought by the donor that so valuable a present merited eternal salvation, and he accordingly with great ceremony offered it upon the altar, and the most formidable anathemas were denounced against those who should dare to alienate it.]

⁶ *Subt. lib. xvii.*

⁷ *Hist. lib. xxv.*

searches, meditates, is industrious in consulting and conferring with his judicious friends ; after all which, he takes himself to be informed in what he writes, as well as any that writ before : if, in this (the most consummate act of his fidelity and ripeness,) no years, no industry, no former proof of his abilities, can bring him to the state of maturity, as not to be still distrusted, unless he carry all his considerate diligence, all his midnight watchings and expence of Palladian oil, to the hasty view of an unleisured licenser, perhaps much his younger, perhaps much his inferior in judgment, perhaps one who never knew the labour of book-writing, or perhaps one altogether ignorant of that art or science whereof the author treats : when, if he be not repulsed or slighted, he must appear in print like a puny with his guardian, and his censor's hand on the back of his title, to be his bail and surety that he is no idiot or seducer. This cannot but be a derogation to the author and to the book, as well as to the privilege and dignity of learning. And what if the author shall be of so copious a fancy, as to have many things, well worth the adding, come into his mind after licensing, while the book is yet under the press, which frequently happens even to the best of writers, and that perhaps a dozen times in one book ? The printer dares not go beyond his licensed copy : so often then must the author trudge to his leave-giver, that those his new insertions may be viewed ; and many a journey will he make before that licenser (for it must be the same man) can either be found, or be found at leisure : in the mean while, either the press must stand still, which is no small damage, or the author lose his most correct thoughts, and so send forth his book imperfect. How can any man esteem himself doctor enough to teach with authority in his own book, when he himself, and all that he writes, must submit to the jurisdiction and censure of another ?

Thirdly, 'Tis a great prejudice even to the book itself, to come out under the partiality and ignorant approbation of a licenser. Every acute reader, upon the first sight of a pedantic licence, will be apt to misinterpret the word *imprimatur*, and think it signifies no more, but that this book is foolish enough to be printed ; when, seeing it comes out under the wardship of another, he will be apt to say, I know nothing of the licenser, but that I have his own hand for his arrogance ; who shall warrant me his judgment ? "The state, sir," replies the stationer ; but hath a quick return. "The state shall be my governors, but not my criticks ; they may be mistaken in the choice of a licenser, as easily as this licenser in the choice of an author." Whereunto he might also add from my lord Bacon, 'That such authorized books are but the language of the times.' For though a licenser should happen to be more than ordinarily judicious, which will be a great hazard in the next succession ; yet his very office and commission enjoins him to let pass nothing but what is vulgarly received already. Nay, is the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his life-time, come to their hand for licence to be printed or reprinted ; if there be found in the book any one opinion that thwarts the licenser's humour, whether it be of a vacuum, motion, air, or never so inconsiderable a subject ; the sense of that great man shall to all posterity be lost, out of the presumptuous rashness of a pedantic licenser. So that if these things be not seriously and timely resented by them who have the remedy in their power ; but that licensers are permitted to gnaw out the choicest periods of exquisite books, and to commit such a treacherous fraud against the orphan remainders of the worthiest men after death ; the more sorrow will belong to that helpless race of men, whose misfortune it is to have understanding. Henceforth, let no man care to learn, or care to be more than worldly wise ; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and slothful, to be a common steadfast dunce, will be the only pleasant life, and only in request.

Fourthly, It is not only a reflection upon books and particular men, but it is likewise an undervaluing and vilifying of the whole nation. I cannot set so small value for all the invention, the art, the wit, the grave and solid judgment which is in England, as to imagine that it can be comprehended in any twenty capacities, how good soever ; much less, that it should not pass, except their superintendence be over it, except it be sifted and strained with their strainers, and that it should be uncurrent without their manual stamp. Truth

and understanding are not such wares as to be monopolized and traded in tickets, statutes, and standards. We must not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledge in the land, to mark and license it like our broad-cloath and wool-packs. What is it but a servitude, like that imposed by the Philistines, not to be allowed the sharpening of our own axes, but we must repair from all quarters to twenty licensing forges? Had any one written and divulged erroneous things, and scandalous to an honest life, misusing and forfeiting the esteem had of his reason amongst men; if, after conviction, this only censure were adjudged him, that he should never henceforth write but under the authority of an examiner; this could not be apprehended less than a disgraceful punishment. Whence, to include the whole nation, and those that never yet thus offended, under such diffident and suspectful prohibition, renders it no less than a national disparagement: and so much the more, seeing debtors and delinquents may walk abroad without a keeper, but inoffensive books must not stir forth without a visible jailer in their title. Nor is it a less reproach to the commonalty: since, if we be jealous over them, as that we dare not trust them with an English pamphlet; what do we but censure them for a giddy, vicious, unthinking crowd, in such a sick estate of discretion, as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a licenser? Now, that this proceeds from the care or love of the commonalty, we cannot pretend; since, in those popish places where the laity are most hated and despised, the same strictness and severity is used over them.

Fifthly, It reflects upon our church and clergy; of whose labours we should hope better, and of the proficiency which their flock reaps by them, than after all this light of the Gospel, all this continual preaching, they should be still frequented with such an unprincipled, unedified, and laick rabble, as that the whiff of every new pamphlet should stagger them out of their catechism and Christian walking. This may have much reason to stagger and discourage the ministers, when such a low conceit is had of all their exhortations, and the benefiting of their hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turned loose to three sheets of paper, without a licence; that all the sermons, all the lectures, preached, printed, and vented, in such numbers and such volumes, should not be armour sufficient against one single Enchiridion unlicensed. I am confident that a kingdom governed by the rules of justice and fortitude, or a church built and founded upon the rock of faith and true knowledge, cannot be so pusillanimous. That all freedom of writing should be thus restrained with the proud curb of an *imprimatur*, must needs administer cause of doubt and discouragement to all learned and religious men; who may justly suspect the reason and power of that cause which durst not stand a trial of skill. Every author writes either truth or falsehood: if he writes truth, why should he be oppressed and stifled? And if he delivers what is false; let him be confuted by answer, whereunto every author is subject; since no cause ever suffered by being answered, only by fire and faggot. That liberty is the nursery of science appears, in that there is nothing hath so much clouded and discouraged the Italian wits, as their Inquisition; which, restraining all manner of philosophic freedom, hath for these many years produced nothing but obsequious flattery. In which country the famous Galileo was oppressed under the Inquisition's tyranny, for thinking otherwise in astronomy, than the Dominican and Franciscan licensers thought.

Sixthly, This licensing of books is one of the most dangerous and mischievous monopolies and oppressions our government is subject to: since, put the case we were under an evil prince (as now we are under a good one), he, paying this licenser his stipend, might influence him so far, as to make him license *all* books against the interest of the subject, or to the defamation of any public-spirited lords or commoners; and to prohibit only *such* books as are in the vindication of such persons who are for the liberty and property of the subject: for that it is ever the interest of a licenser, above all, to regard the favour of his prince, though to the prejudice and ruin of his country. Who pays him his wages? His prince. Who hath the disposal of all places and offices of preferment? His prince. Then who should he study to please, right or wrong, but his prince and pay-master? That is, if he be such as most licensers are, low-spirited men, who consider nothing but

their own present interest. Why should I not have the same freedom to write, as to speak? If I speak any thing that is evil, I am liable to be punished; but yet I am never examined before I speak what I am about to say. So let not my book be censured by one interested man alone in private, till it hath tried the public test; and then, if there be any thing ill in it, I am ready to answer for it. Why must no writing, either in the behalf of such great matters, as liberty, property, and religion; or in the behalf of such small trifles, as funeral tickets, play-house bills, city-mercuries, hackney-coach bills, quack-doctors' bills, and the like; be printed without a licence? Is it, for that the subjects of these bills or tickets are dangerous to the government? Or rather, that this monopoly would be injured in its prerogative, if the least word or letter be printed without paying toll to this licenser? Heaven grant that, in time, there be not the same restraint and monopoly over witty discourse, as there is now over ingenious writing! Since, by the same reason, the royal jester may demand a spell of money for every jest that is broken in discourse, as well as the licenser doth expect a reward for every ingenious piece or jest, that is printed in books: when, with more gravity than wit, having with great study and labour, corrected some such dangerous authors as Thomas à Thumbis; he from his learned grammatical pen, which casts no ink without Latin, drops forth that lordly word *imprimatur*: either because he judged no vulgar tongue was worthy to express so pure a conceit; or rather perhaps, for that our English (the language of men, ever famous and bold in the achievements of liberty) will not easily find servile letters enough to spell such an arbitrary presumptuous word, as is that of *imprimatur*.

Seventhly, This trouble of licensing doth very much prejudice and injure the very licensers themselves, in the calling of their ministry, if they will discharge that office as they ought; because of necessity they must neglect either the one duty or the other.

Eighthly, It robs us of that great argument we make use of against the Mahometans; and what is worse, popish religion, *viz.* That ignorance is the mother of their devotions: since, how can we justly brand their religions, for being founded merely upon their laicks' ignorance, when we in the like manner discountenance knowledge ourselves? How can we upbraid papists for not daring to permit their common people to read the Bible, when we do the same thing in effect, by tying all persons up to one man's exposition and interpretation of the same, *viz.* the licenser's; who will not permit any exposition to come forth that thwarts his own particular judgment? I am confident, that if the Turk, or the Pope, could be assured to make all men expound the Alcoran and Scriptures according to the sense of the Mufti and Conclave, they would neither of them be against the common people's reading them; so that we all three aim at one and the same thing, only by different ways; and that is our mistake. For let their falsehoods use what artifice they can; yet we do in a manner libel our own truth, when by licensing and prohibiting, fearing each book, and the shaking of each leaf, we distrust her own strength. Let her and falsehood grapple: who ever knew truth put to the worst, in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest oppression, when it leaves all standers-by no room to doubt. 'The punishing of wits enhances their authority; and forbidding writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth, that flies up in the face of them who seek to tread it out.'⁸ When a man hath been working at the hardest labour in the deep mines of knowledge, and hath furnished himself out in all equipage; drawn forth his reasons as it were in battle-array; scattered and defeated all objections in his way; summons his adversary into the field, offers him the advantage of wind and sun if he pleases, only that he might try the matter by dint of argument: for his opponent then to skulk and lie in ambuscade, to keep a narrow bridge of licensing, where the challenger should pass; this, though it be courage enough in a soldier, is but weakness and cowardice in the wars of truth. For truth needs no policies, no stratagems, no licensings, to render her victorious: these are only the shifts and defences that error

⁸ Lord Bacon.

uses against her power. So that, if it once come to prohibiting, there is nothing more likely to be prohibited than truth itself, even the very Bible; as we may see it is by the first inventors of this monopoly. To justify the suppression of books, some may cite the burning of those Ephesian books by St. Paul's converts; but that agrees not with our case: for there it was not the magistrate, but the owners of the books themselves who burnt them in remorse.

Ninthly, and lastly, Give me leave to tell you, that licensing and persecution of conscience are two sisters that ever go hand in hand together, being both founded upon one and the same principle: therefore, to asperse the one, permit me to defame the other. Now, although I allow no indifference to those religions whose principles destroy government, nor those religions that teach ill life, (both which errors the papists are guilty of:) 'Yet I cannot but wish, that all men would use one another so gently and so charitably, that no violent compulsion should introduce hypocrisy, and render sincerity as well troublesome as unsafe.'⁹ It would be hard measure for any man to blame that surgeon who refused to cut off a man's head, only to cure a wart or pimple upon his chin or cheek. Now the case is altogether the same, and we may as well decree a wart to be mortal, as a various opinion *in re aliqui non necessariâ* to be capital and damnable. I would fain know why is not any vicious habit as bad or worse, than a false opinion? Why are we so zealous against those non-conformists, or hereticks; and yet, at the same time, dear friends with drunkards, fornicators, swearers, intemperate and idle persons? I am certain that a drunkard is as contrary to God, and lives as contrary to the laws of Christianity as any heretick; and I am also sure that I know what drunkenness is; but I am not sure that such an opinion is heresy, nor would any man else be so dogmatical in these matters, did he not mistake confidence for certainty. Faction and heresy were things unknown in the world, till the increase of interest, and abatement of Christian simplicity; when the church's fortune grew better, her sons worse, and her fathers worst of all. Why should I hate men, because their understandings have not been brought up like mine, have not had the same masters, have not met with the same books, nor the same company, or have not the same interest, or are not so wise, or are much wiser; and therefore do not determine their school-questions to the sense of my sect or interest? I think they are in an error, but they believe me to be in the wrong; if they err, they do it not through obstinacy, but ignorance; and if God affords them patience, why should we not lend them ours? It was nobly and bravely answered, for a heathen, of Tamerlain the Great; who, when his high-priest desired him to reduce all that part of the world to one religion, replied: "No, I will not; for that how (saith he) do I know but the same God, who hath delighted himself so much with the variety of all other things, as appears in men, beasts, birds, fish, trees, herbs, flowers, &c. may not also delight himself as much in variety of worship? Therefore I will punish none but such as deny either a God or his Providence, and him will I put to death." Certainly 'tis very unreasonable for men to press and pretend every opinion in matters of religion, as necessary in so high a degree, that if they spoke truth, or indeed two of them in five-hundred sects which are now in the world (and, for aught I know, there may be five-thousand,) it is five-hundred to one, but every man is damned; for every sect damns all but itself, and yet that is damned of four-hundred and ninety-nine, and it is excellent fortune then, if that escape. All wise princes heretofore, till they were overborne with faction, gave toleration to different sects, whose opinions did not disturb the public interest; and not without reason: for that being restrained, and made miserable, mutually endears the discontented party, and so begets more hearty and dangerous confederations against the oppressing government.

Now, how unreasonable soever such kind of prosecutions may appear to all tender-hearted Christians; yet, if once a licence prevails, when men shall not be permitted to justify their innocence to the world, 'tis greatly to be feared that these mischiefs, and worse than these, if possible, will be the consequence of it. Having therefore thus plainly and

⁹ Dr. Taylor's Liberty of Prophesying.

at large demonstrated the inconveniences of a licensing press, give me leave to write upon the square, and shew you the objections of our adversaries ; which, without wrong to their cause, may be justly comprehended under one head, and that is this.

Objection.---If, say they, a restraint be not laid upon printing, and some supervisors assigned over the press ; how then can we be secured from libels against the king, the church, the state, and private men ?¹⁰ As also from popish books of all sorts ? Now this I take to be the only material objection, wherewith they can have any show of a pretence to baffle and obstruct our design.

To which I answer : First, that to expect any assurance, that no such books shall be written, is more than mortal man can give ; since we see that during this late act, and should there be even a Spanish inquisition erected amongst us, yet there are some authors and some printers so bold, that the one to vent his humour, and the other for the lucre of money, would write and print such books in spite of the strictest enquiry, and in defiance of the severest penalty ; and these are the authors that are most dangerous, and also most incorrigible ; being persons, however, that are more likely to be silenced by liberty, than by restraint : for experience hath already shewed, that all such acts will prove ineffectual as to them. Secondly, supposing any such authors are taken and discovered ; why, we need no other new laws for the punishing of them, as I humbly conceive, than what are already in force. As for example, if any audacious villain shall publish treason, he is already liable to suffer as a traitor ; or, if he writes scandalous reflections upon the government, I presume he is, by the present laws of the land, subject to a fine and imprisonment. Again, if he publishes any atheism, heresy, or schism, he is liable to an excommunication, and to be proceeded against accordingly in the spiritual court : or, if in his writing he defames any particular person, he is obnoxious to a *scandalum magnatum*, if he be a peer ; and to an action, upon the case for slander, if he be a commoner. And last of all, for popish books, quære, whether there be not statutes already in force, for the abolishing them, made 3 and 4 of Edw. VI. For, although this statute was once repealed by the 1 Ma. 2. yet that of the 1 Ma. 2. was likewise afterwards repealed by the 1 Jac. 28. So that I cannot apprehend wherein we have need of any other new law of this nature, unless it be to preserve to the poor booksellers their just and undoubted property of their copies, which is their house and land ; they having the same title for the one, as we have for the other.

POSTSCRIPT.

HAVING thus, therefore, my lords and gentlemen, tendered to your serious consideration these few reasons against any such inquisition upon the press ; I shall presume to offer but this one proposal to your judgment, and so conclude, *viz.* That if these fore-mentioned arguments prove so ineffectual, as that your prudence shall think fit to take some further care, about the regulating of the press ; then, if it be enacted, that any book may be printed without a licence, provided that the printer's, and the author's name,

¹⁰ [Dr. Johnson has observed that ' the danger of such unbounded liberty, and the danger of bounding it, have produced a problem in the science of government, which human understanding seems hitherto unable to solve. ' If nothing may be published but what civil authority shall have previously approved, power must always be the standard of truth : if every dreamer of innovations may propagate his projects, there can be no settlement ; if every murmurer at government may diffuse discontent, there can be no peace ; and if every sceptic in theology may teach his follies, there can be no religion. The remedy against these evils is, to punish the authors ; for it is yet allowed that every society may punish, though not prevent, the publication of opinions, which that society shall think pernicious ; but this punishment, though it may crush the author, promotes the book ; and it seems not more reasonable to leave the right of printing unrestrained, because writers may be afterwards censured, than it would be to sleep with doors unbolted, because, by our laws, we can hang a thief.' But however well the Doctor may have supported his opinion with logical subtlety, there are few who will not be able to penetrate through such fallacious sophistry as is contained in the latter portion of this quotation, and to perceive that the author's argument, however plausible, may be turned against himself : for, (as Mr. Hayley judiciously remarks) ' to suffer no book to be published without a licence, is tyranny as absurd as it would be to suffer no traveller to pass along the highway without producing a certificate that he is not a robber. ']

or, at least, the printer's be registered; whether or no this will not have all the good, but none of the bad consequence of a licenser? And that those, which otherwise come forth, if they be found mischievous and libellous, shall be committed to the flames, as also the author to condign punishment: but in this, as in all other things, I most humbly submit myself to your supreme wisdom and judicature.

Sundry Things from several Hands concerning the University of Oxford, *viz.* I. A Petition from some Well-affected therein. II. A Model for a College-Reformation. III. Queries concerning the said University, and several Persons therein.

London, Printed by Thomas Creak, 1659.

[Quarto; containing twelve pages.]

To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.

The humble Petition of the Remnant of well-affected Persons within the University of Oxford,

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioners are infinitely rejoiced at the good Providence of God, which hath once more restored you to those seats, and that station, of which you were by undoubted right possessed; and in which you did so demean yourselves, that the Lord blessed you in your councils extraordinarily, and the hands of the poor people of this nation were much strengthened under you, through a certain hope to see themselves established upon sure foundations; and a commonwealth erected after such a model as would secure us all in our liberties, civil and spiritual, without the hazard of being overthrown by every or any ambitious spirit. We hope that you yourselves are sensible, as we are, upon that late usurpation upon you and us; being the basest and unworthiest attempt that hath happened among the sons of men; and that you will neither give daring spirits any encouragement, for the future, to act the like, by permitting their predecessor an honourable memorial, or providing ample revenues for his posterity, (a thing without example in the best commonwealths,) nor omit those things which are essential to our being a well-framed republick.

In reference hereunto we humbly pray, that you would have a special care of the magistracy of this nation, that it may be intrusted with such as fear God, hate covetousness, are and have been, under the late accursed apostasy, promoters and abettors of the commonwealth's interest, and have owned the like principles in others; and that the armies of our lands may be garbled, and put in such men's hands as are faithful, and able for the discharge of so great a work.

And for so much as the education of persons to serve in church and state, is a thing necessarily to be considered for the subsistence and continuance of a republick, that the youth may be thoroughly acquainted and prepossessed with the principles thereof, as well as instructed in all other useful learning: we humbly beseech you, that you would take into your care the two Universities, which are the standing seminaries of a ministry, good or

bad, useful or useless, according as they are there educated; and places whither the gentry and others resort for instruction, and whence they return, or may do, well-affected, and capable of sundry employments in their generations; or else ignorant, rude, oppressive, debauched, and debauching others; to the great detriment and overthrow of a commonwealth.

We also desire that you would enact a freedom for opinions there, and constitute professors and libraries, endowed accordingly; that so all that are members of this commonwealth, and are ready to sacrifice all that is near and dear to them for the public service, that so considerable a part of this nation, so faithful, so well-affected, may not continue deprived of all advantageous breeding of their posterity: through defect whereof they become incapable of reaping any profit from that posture of affairs into which they have principally stated us.

And that degrees may not be conferred but on such as deserve them, and after a more strict way of exercise, suited to the preserving and upholding us as a republick; and not as hath been for many years past amongst us practised; when creations, and dispensations for time, absence, and exercise, have so been granted for the capacitating of favourites to preferments and trusts, whereunto they were no way fit; that we must make it our earnest humble request, that all degrees which have been conferred on any person or persons, since the surrender of Oxford, may be cassated and nulled by some solemn act, as being no longer characters of merit, but cheats wherewith to amuse the ignorant: and that such as are now graduates in arts unnecessary, and which they ignore, (so as entitling them thereto is a lye,) may commence in philosophy and other useful studies, whereof they cannot be ignorant without prejudice to themselves in their fortunes, and the commonwealth in its disservice.

That whatever is monarchical, superstitious, or oppressive, in the University to the good people, may be abrogated.

That none be heads of houses but such as are entirely affected for a republick, and who will be active in seasoning those under their charge with principles resembling: and that, in case you find yourselves not provided with a sufficient number of persons for the managing of so many colleges and halls, we pray you would reduce them, rather than suffer any to become nurseries for such as may hereafter be as thorns in your sides.

That the power of the University may not be in the hands of any one as chancellor, nor of any clergymen (who have been so notoriously corrupt, negligent, and malignant) as visitors, (the miscarriage of inferiors being personal, whilst theirs influence the publick,) no, nor as heads of colleges, governing with fellows, unless there be a kind of censor residing amongst them, who shall be empowered to punish (with appeal only to the council of state) all misdemeanours or neglects in exercise or discipline that may be prejudicial to the commonwealth, and influence all elections, for the advantage of such as are actively obedient and deserving.

That all such ceremonies and reverence as tends to enervating the minds of the people, and begetting a pride in the ministry, may be put down; since the appointment of so extraordinary respects to men of low extraction renders them insolent, and either averse from going out to preach the Gospel, or scandalous in the performance thereof.

That there may be sundry acts in each year, at which a select number (yet varying each year to prevent collusion) of patriots or senators may be present, to judge of the abilities and inclinations of the several students towards the public good, and accordingly dispose of them into places, so as they may be serviceable to the nation; and not grow old in their colleges, which thereby become as it were hospitals and monasteries.

These things we thought it a duty incumbent on us to propose unto you, being ready to supply by our activeness whatever prejudice our paucity might create unto the commonwealth. We have no self-ends, nor do we labour to promote particular interests, being ready to comply with any of your commands, and in the mean while,

As your petitioners, shall ever pray, &c.

A slight Model of a College to be erected and supplied from Westminster-School.

SINCE the students of Christ-Church finding their condition, as to discipline and other emoluments, intolerable under their present governors; neither the foundation-men, nor ancestral gentry being educated, so as to be serviceable to the publick in any trusts or employments; they have drawn up a petition, that the revenues of the college may be enquired into, and that they may be regulated by statutes (though good statutes in the hands of remiss and negligent persons become ineffectual,) and since the canons of the said college (the dean is so dissatisfied with the posture thereof, that he hath professed himself ready to desert his station) do very little, and ought not at all to intermeddle with the government of that house, (they should have been sold as cathedral, and that according to the covenant, as the University in convocation declared, but were I know not how preserved, possibly as a support to the then designed monarchy,) nor do they, by reason of their frauds, dilapidations, male-administration of discipline, disaffection, and general worthlessness, deserve to have any new right conferred on them. It is humbly queried, whether some such model as the ensuing (which shall be more fully represented, with the reasons of each particular circumstance, when there shall be any appointed to receive proposals) than either they, or the whole University at present is?

Let the places of the dean and canons be abolished, and the incomes thereof sequestered for the carrying on of the intended model, which may be perfected without any further expence, than what is at present lost amongst thankless, useless, or disaffected persons.

Let the honourable the governors of Westminster-school be intrusted with the supreme power of the college, and disposal of revenues.

Let no person, professor, or fellow, have any extraordinary allowances, but what shall arise from their care in instructing others; and donatives to be given from time to time by the governors, accordingly as they shall find men profit in learning, and hopeful to serve the commonwealth.

Let the novices of the foundation be provided for of such books as are prescribed them by the discipline of the house (without permission to read others till they have perfectly laid their foundation,) and accommodated in a decent way as to clothes, diet, and chambers, and chamber-furniture, and with physick in case of indisposition, at the college-charge.

Let the foundation be supplied from Westminster-school, not only for their better instruction, but for the preserving of unanimity; and that, upon their coming to the University, they be not enforced to one study, or general studies, but immediately put unto such a society and class of students as are for this or that profession.

Let there be certain times of the year fixed, in which commoners and others may be received into the college, and at no other time; to prevent disorders in studies: let that time be such as the professors shall agree upon, wherein to finish their course of lectures; and let these be distributed into classes as the other, and regulated in their diet, habits, and company, as may best suit with their intended course of life, and the being of the commonwealth, which requires that the youth be bred up to sobriety, frugality, and knowledge.

Let the students of all sorts, and faculties, be obliged, before their departure, to understand the grounds of a commonwealth, and what is the particular basis of this; that so they may be more active in their persons and relations; it being their reason, and not custom, which induces them to subjection.

Let the governors make it their care, that when persons shall arise to maturity, and capable of any employments, to promote them in several ways according to their several professions; and that none be permitted to refuse any such probation employments. As

for physicians, that they go with our merchants and ambassadors to remote countries, and that, though the emolument be not great ; and the like for such as study other faculties ; and that none decline this. That, after their return, they give an account of their observations, and deposit them in the college archives, and that they be at their return maintained as before (their places in their absence being supplied by others) till the state can find them employment.

Let there be established in the college one or two professors in divinity, who shall finish such a course therein as shall be thought fit ; especially instructing all in the several analyses of faith, and grounds of religion. Let him, or they, uphold disputations and such-like exercises.

Let there be a professor of civil law and politicks, who may instruct all in the foundations of common right, and dispose them to prefer a commonwealth before monarchy. Let him direct them in a method of particular politicks and history.

Let there be one professor in Des Cartes's philosophy and mathematicks.

Let there be one professor of Gassendus's philosophy, and general geography, who may also give directions for particular geography.

Let these each have assistants out of the fellows to be constituted, who inquire into the magnetical philosophy : let them have a school of experiments in opticks and mechanicks, for the instruction of the gentry, and such, as shall be found suitable, to assist them in their studies ; and let this be defrayed by the publick, or by levies upon each commoner that comes to study there, as they now give pieces of plate.

Let there be a professor of physick, and another of anatomy : let them read, dissect, and keep a chymist for experiments and promoting of medicines ; let this be defrayed partly at the public charge, and partly by levy upon the students in physick, and such as shall desire to be present, and partly by the standing apothecary of the college-physicians.

Let there be a professor of useful logick and civil rhetorick, for the institution of such as are to be employed in the publick ; and let them practise, not in a declamatory and light, but masculine and solid way, that is, English as well as Latin ; and that they be instructed in the way of penning letters and dispatches.

Let all, or any of these, teach such, as are not versed in Latin, in English ; and let such be distributed into agreeable company, for the bettering themselves ; and let the professors be severely prohibited from teaching any that shall be young, and not of their college. As for such as are grown in years, and yet would learn any, or all the studies afore-said, they may be admitted, and disposed of according to discretion, without prejudicing the constant course of studies to be upheld in the college.

Let there be sixty fellows in the college, with competent allowance, to supply the quality of standing tutors, who may carry on the studies of the youth in things of lesser moment, and prepare them for lectures ; examine them after lectures ; see to their manners, &c.

Let twenty of these study controversial divinity and ecclesiastical history ; yet so, as to be able to manage the practical part for the good and credit of the nation, either at home, or in employments with ambassadors. Let a third part of these alternately reside at London, that they may not be strangers to the world, and circumstances thereof ; and so be able to direct better, in order to the education of their countrymen.

Let the other twenty study after a competency of knowledge in the theory, and other qualifications, to dispose themselves for the practick and altered tutelage of such as mean to be divines ; for the education of whom, and promoting them in order to the service of the nation, the said governors may take care.

The last twenty may be divided so, as one third study physick, and tutor others therein, under their professor ; they having precedaneously learned one, or both of the philosophies specified ; and the rest may study general and particular politicks, geography, history, and all other ornaments becoming exact virtuosi ; and accordingly take care for the tutelage of others ; and that part of them be obliged to go abroad at the state's employ-

ing, then return, and after that reside a while, before they engage in any determinate course of life.

The governors of Westminster may rule the college by a vice-principal elected out of the fellows, and the fellows themselves; the power of gratifying and encouraging being reserved to them. And, further, they may constitute a censor of discipline, who may, in case of neglect, punish any fellow, professor, or student, any way related to the college arbitrarily, without being subject to any but the governors.

As for particular orders, an account of them may be given in upon demand. Let it suffice, that this project, as great as its influence will be upon the residue of the University, (if it be thought meet to continue it unaltered,) will cost no more, than doth the present college of Christ-Church; which, as it must be new-modelled one day, so it may be regulated thus without injury to the canons or students in being: they, who are most concerned in the charge, may be (if they deserve it, and if the canons, their now governors, will recommend them; which it is certain they will not) disposed of for the service of the nation, as in the dissolution of monasteries; and those, who are notoriously disaffected, and have shewed themselves such, though they may comply now, or hereafter, out of interest; or which are rude, ignorant, or debauched; may receive a condign dismissal, to be provided for, when the council of state shall have found out some passive protection, and passive preferments, for those that will yield but, at most, a passive obedience.

Several Queries concerning the University of Oxon, &c.

I. **W**HETHER the proposal of the Army, and resolve of the Parliament for the advancement of learning, or the several petitions against tithes, do most threaten the University in its present posture?

II. Whether the Independents, or Presbyterians in Oxon, be more for their private, and less for the common wealth?

III. Whether the Parliament did well to own the University, before the University owned them?

IV. Whether it be not eminently true of the University, that, in it, ‘Men of low degree are vanity, men of high degree are as a lye; to be laid in the balance, they are altogether lighter than vanity?’

V. Whether the University of Oxon did not well to petition, that Durham might not be made such an university, and give such-like degrees? And whether it be not as incumbent upon parliaments not to multiply asses, as upon the kings of Israel not to multiply horses?

VI. Whether the University of Oxon be not several times run into a *præmunire*? especially by that solemn act of perjury, in making Dr. John Wallis antiquary¹. Whether it be not a judgment, that hath since befallen Mr. Richard Cromwell, secretary Thurloe, commissioner Lisle and Fiennes, &c. that they never took notice of such perjury; though they were engaged in honour, and by an appeal to them, so to do?

VII. Whether the whole course of the University be any thing else, at present, but a formality of drinking in the most, and of eating in all? And whether he, that should plead for it with the Commonwealth’s-men, might not fall before the proposals which Abraham made to God in the behalf of Sodom, and yet the University not be preserved?

VIII. Since Dr. Wilkinson of Christ-Church hath denounced out of the pulpit, by way of prophecy, that a fire out of the sanctuary, (that is, the sectaries,) and not any culinary fire, should destroy the University; whether the publick be not concerned, that he, that speaks, speaks as the oracles of God?

IX. Whether it be an excuse for the principal heads of houses, that their statutes were bad, since they never observed them?

X. Whether, upon enquiry, it would not be found disputable, committee-men, seques-

¹ The case was stated and sold by Andrew Crook, in Saint Paul’s Church-yard.

trators, or the Oxford visitors? And whether the prejudice, which the publick hath received by the last, be not, without dispute, greater than what hath sprung from the former?

XI. Whether the doctors in divinity may not take place of knights as well as esquires; since their wives may take place of the ladies?

XII. Whether the doctors are not concerned to uphold the formalities of caps, gowns, and hoods; because there is nothing else to difference them from common fools?

XIII. Whether the present parliament be not obliged to uphold the grandeur of the doctors; since it was resolved by them that an esquire, and son to one of the most eminent persons now in parliament, and council of state, ought not, in a cloke, occasionally to sit in the church; no, not at the lower end of those seats, in which they, and each paultry acquaintance of theirs, do sit?

XIV. Whether they pull down the Universities who ruin learning, or they who ruin college-rules?

XV. Whether the Canons of Christ-Church have any thing to do, but to get children and money? Whether they are not descendants from the papistical regulars, and have twice escaped a reformation? Whether they were not so called, as other things are, by way of contrariety, as not being regular; since they rule, without fundamental statutes, without regard to custom or conscience?

XVI. Whether the Canons of Christ-Church ought not to eat the bread of affliction, and drink the water of affliction; since they refuse to eat the same bread, and drink the same drink, with the rest of the college, which, indeed, is so bad, as never was worse eaten or drunk, but by the same canons before they came to be canons?

XVII. Whether king Charles did not better serve himself and the publick, by putting in two professors to be canons of Christ-Church, than the Parliament did themselves, and the publick, by putting in eight pretenders? Whether any man can tell when the nation, or they themselves, will render their acknowledgments for the promotion of them; or why the two king's-professors are not of the number of the Canons, since they own more right, and not more malignancy?

XVIII. Whether the Canons, having given O. P.² their organs out of their cathedral, may not give the Parliament their cathedral-plate and furniture (if any of it be yet undivided), since they will not give them a good word?

XIX. Whether Dr. Langley, when he took from the students of Christ-Church a part of their small bowling-green, to build himself a coach-house; and from the alms-men a part of their ground to enlarge his private garden, without either of their consents, asked or obtained; did well to justify himself by that Scripture, 'From him that hath not, shall be taken even that which he hath?'

XX. Why did Canon Poynter pray for O. P. after he was dead, and yet never blessed God for the good old cause being revived?

XXI. Whether Canon Upton, having been created batchelor, master, and canon, and being never made for a scholar, need not to fear an annihilation?

XXII. Whether, since Canon Upton's wife bargained with her husband that he preach but once a quarter; it would not be worth the consideration of the Parliament to order, that he have no occasion to preach so often?

XXIII. Whether the wives, children, and coach-horses of the Canons of Christ-Church, are not to be taken into their number for to make up any proportion betwixt eight-thousand pounds *per annum*, for eight useless, and, most of them too, ignorant canons; and two-thousand pounds for one-hundred students, &c.?

XXIV. Whether the moral philosophy reader be not a fit tutor to Col. Philip Jones's sons? And whether the tutor to Col. Philip Jones's sons be fit to be moral philosophy reader?

XXV. Whether the boy, Dr. Staughton, of Exon college, did well to lie in his scarlet-gown that night he was made doctor; since his degree was a thing he ought not to have dreamed of?

² [Oliver Protector.]

The Praier and Complaynte of the Plowman unto Christe:
Written not long after the Yere of oure Lorde A Thousande
and thre hundred ¹.

Christus, MATTH. X.

‘If they have called the Lorde of the howse *Beelzebub*: how moch more
‘shal they so call them of hys howshold?’

[Octavo, printed in Black Letter; containing ninety-six Pages.]

To the Christen READER,

Grace be with the, and peace be multiplied in the knowlege of God the Father, and of
oure Lorde Jesus Christe. Amen.

CHRISTE oure Savioure, and his Apostels after hym, although they taught no thinge
which was not taught in the Law and the Prophetes more then a thousande yeres before,
ever and in every place, desyringe the audience to serche the olde Scriptures, and prove
whether they testified with hym or no²: yet, all this notwithstandinge, the Scribes, the
Pharises, the byschops, the prestes, the lawyers, and the elders of the people, cryed
alwayes: “What new lerninge ys this? These fellowes teach new lerninge. These be
they that trouble all the world with their new lerninge, & *cete*.” And so with a vayne
name of new lerninge, and with their autorite³ and opinion of olde lerninge and aun-
cientnes of the church, they so blinded the same people that herde Christes doctrine of
his awne mouth, sawe hys lyvyng and his miracles, and they that at his cominge to
Hierusalem mette hym by the waye, cast their clothes and grene bowes in his waye,
cryenge with an open voyce; “Blessed ys he, that cometh in the name of the Lorde:”
the same people, I saye, were so blinded and jugled with them, that the sixt daye after
they cryed: “Hange hym on the crosse: Hange hym on the crosse:” and quitte⁴ one
Barabas, a mortherer, and delyvered innocente Christ unto deth.

All this did their byschops, prestes, and lawyers, bringe to passe, only by that they
made the people beleve it was new lerninge: and that the Scripture there was no man
that cowlde understande but they; and that Christ and his disciples were men nother⁵

¹ See Oldys’ Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 103. [This very early attempt to expose the corrup-
tions and fallacies of popery, appears not to have been printed till the year 1531; when the increasing luxury,
and profligacy of the priesthood, called forth, and rendered acceptable, every production which could tend to
make them obnoxious, or to emancipate the lower orders of the community from their spiritual ignorance and
dependence. The author, who was a reformer before Wickliffe, is unknown by name; which cannot be won-
dered at, when it is considered, that nothing but the strictest personal secrecy could have secured him from the
severity of ecclesiastical censure, however limited might be the circulation of his manuscript. Such secrecy was
not less necessary at the time of its publication, two centuries after; and accordingly, we find neither name of
printer, publisher, nor place: but, though the parties concerned might remain invisible to the scrutinizing eye of
inquisitorial agents, its extreme scarcity affords good reason to suppose, that the tract itself did not escape the
effects of irritated malice and indignation; and rigorously, no doubt, was the work of extermination pursued.
But it may gratify the antiquarian reader that one copy at least escaped the general destruction, as this little piece
conveys a curious specimen of the language and orthography of the time, independent of the soundness and vigour
of the writing.]

² [‘Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me.’
John v. 39.]

³ [Authority.]

⁴ [Acquitted.]

⁵ [Neither.]

of authorite nor reputacion, but laye-men, ydiotes, fyschers, carpenters, and other of the rascall sorte. So that it was not possible that ever God wold open that unto soch a rude sorte, which the religious Phareses, the holy byschops, the vertuous prestes, the auncient doctours, the gret lerned lawyers, and the wise and sage elders knew not. But it must nedes be, that Christe and al his disciples were heretiques, scismatiques, and disceavers of the people, and well worthy to be put to some shamefull deth for it, to the example of all other; as they were in dede afterwarde.

But yet, for all this, even apon the crosse Christ overcame his enemies; and, when they thought that they had layed hym to slepe for ever, he rose agayne; and his disciples have ever had the victory apon the crosse, and testified unto the worlde the wisdom of God in these pore ydiotes, and veray folishnes and wisdom of the flesh in these gret lerned aunciente fathers.

Even now after the same maner, that ye maye grope with youre fyngers, that oure holy byshops, with all their Ragmans rolle⁵, be of the selfe same sorte, and veray childerne of their fathers, the Phareses, bishops, and prestes, which so accused Christ and his apostles of new lerninge: ye do se how they defame, sclaunder, and persecute the same worde and preachers and folowers of it, with the selfe same names; calling it new lerninge, and them new masters; and retayne the people in erreure with their fathers olde face of religiouse Phareses, (fryers, I wolde say, and monkes,) of holy byschops, of vertuous prestes, of aunciente doctors, of the gret lerned lawyers, and of the wise and sage elders. And take away the autorite and estimacion of God's worde and the credence of the preacher, with "Ye mayese there ys no man preaches so but two or three, and they have no lerninge, and the folish people which hath no lernynge folowes them: but ye shall se no man of substance, of reputacion, of autorite, or lerninge take parte with them."

And so, with these olde clokes of their fathers, the Phareses, byschops, and prestes, fyrst they perswade the people the worde of God to be heresye. And by that means they liberally prison and persecute unto the deeth all the professours of the same: even as the old Phareses with the bishops and prestes prisoned and persecuted Christe and his apostles, that all the rightuous bloude may fall on their heedes that hath ben shed; from the bloude of Steven, the first martyr, to the bloude of that innocent man of God, Thomas Hitton, whom Willyam Werham, byschop of Canturbury, and John Fyscher, byschop of Rochestur, morthered, at Maydeston in Kente, the last yere, for the same trouth. I pray God that they maye be ones⁶ turned unto the Lorde, that he maye heale them, and forgeve them that synne of ignorancy. For as for these malicious tyrauntes that persecute against their awn conscience I praye not, but leave them to the judgements of God, as manyfest synners against the Holy Goost.

As for the trouth, when they have slayne and put to sylence al the preachers of the same, and layed it to slepe; doutles God (after his old facion) shall there, by them and by those meanes that they doubt leest, reyse up the trouth againe; to the utter confusion of al hys enemies; whose judgements doth not slepe.

Now, good reader, that thou maist se playnly that it ys no new thinge, but an olde practyse of oure prelates, lerned of their fathers, the byschops, Phareses, and prestes of the olde law, to defame the doctrine of Christe with the name of new lerninge, and the teachers therof with the name of new masters; I have put forth here in printe this 'Prayer and Complaynte of the Ploweman,' which was written not longe after the yere of oure Lorde a thousand and thre-hundred, in his awne old English, chaingynge there in nothings, as fer forth as I could observe it, other⁷ the English or ortographie; addinge also there to a table of soch olde wordes as be now antiquate, and worne out of knowlege by processe of tyme. I desyre the to reade it with descrecion and earnestly, or ever thou judge; and if thou fynde anythyng in it, when thou haste conferred it with the

⁵ [See various explications of this term, in Dr. Jamieson's Etymological Dictionary.]

⁶ [Once.] ⁷ [Either.]

Scripture, to thy edificacion or lerninge, geve God thanks. And if here after, there shall chaunce to come into my handes any more soch holy reliques, (perceavinge this to be accepted,) I shall spare nother laboure nor cost to destribute it in to as many partes as I have done thys, by the help of God, to whome be all honoure, glorye, and prayse for ever. Amen.

The last daye of February, *anno* 1531.

Here followeth the Table.

Apayed, *Contented* or *pleased*.
 Ar than⁸, *Before that*.
 Behizte, *Promised*.
 Byhest, *Promyse*.
 Byhoten, *Promised*.
 Blive, *Quychely*.
 Benemen, *Take a waye*.
 Clepe, *Call*.
 Cheveteyn, *Capitain*⁹.
 Chepinge, *Market*.
 Dreynte, *Drowned*.
 Desert, *Wildernes*.
 Dome, *Judgement*.
 Fele, *Often*.
 Fullen, *Baptise*.

Forwarde, *Convenaunte* or *bargen*.
 Heryinge, *Worship* or *worshipinge*.
 Hired Men, *Parish prestes*.
 Lewed Man, *Laye man*.
 Lesewes, *Pastures* or *feldes*.
 Mawmetis, *Images*¹⁰.
 Nele, *Will not*.
 Sternship, *Cruelnes*.
 Sheperdes, *Byschops*, *persons* or *vicars*.
 Swevens, *Dreames*.
 Seggen, *Saye*.
 Thralles, *Bonde men*.
 Thraldome, *Bondage*.
 Wonniars, *Inhabitauntes* or *dwellers*.
 Zerners, *Chapmen*.

The Ploweman's Prayer.

JESU CHRIST that was y-bore of the mayde Marie, have on thy pore servantes mercye and pity, and helpe hem¹¹ in her¹² gret nede to fize azens¹³ synne, and azens the Devele that is autor¹⁴ of synne; and more nede nes¹⁵ ther never to crie to Christ for helpe, then it ys rizt¹⁶ now; for it ys fulfilled that God sayde by Isaye the Prophete¹⁷; 'Ze¹⁸ ryseth up erlich to folow dronkenes, and to drinke to¹⁹ it be even: the herpe²⁰ and other mynstresies bith in your festes and wine; but the warke²¹ of God ye ne²² beholdeth not, ne taketh no kepe²³ to the warkes of his handes: and therfore, my people ys take prisoner, for they ne had no connyng²⁴; and the noble men of my people deyeden²⁵ for honger; and the multitude of my people weren drye for thyrst, and therfore Hell hath drawen²⁶ abroad her sowle, and hath y-opened hys mouth withouten any ende.' And eft sones²⁷ sayeth Isaye the Prophete²⁸: 'The world ys floten a waye, and the hyznes²⁹ of the people ys y-made seek, and the erth ys infect of hys wonnyers³⁰; for they have broken my lawes, and y-chaunged my rizt, and han³¹ destroyed

* [This comes from the Saxon æp, which signifies, *first*, or *before*, and in modern English is written *ere*. From hence it may be judged, whether, to write *er*, be not better orthography than *ere*, wherein another letter is added, not in the original word. Somner's Saxon Dictionary.]

⁹ [Or *chieftain*.]

¹⁰ [Or *idols*.]

¹¹ [*Hem* comes from the Saxon word *heom*, which signifies *them*, for which it is used by most old English authors. Hickes. Thesaur. In like manner *her* for *their*.]

¹² [*Their*.]

¹³ [*Fight against*.]

¹⁴ [*Author*.]

¹⁵ [*Was*.]

¹⁶ [*Right*.]

¹⁷ [Isaiah v. 11.]

¹⁸ [*Ye*.]

¹⁹ [*Till*.]

²⁰ [*Harp*.]

²¹ [*Work*.]

²² [*Ne* is a pure Saxon negative, signifying *not*, or *neither*, and is here used after the manner of the Saxons; i. e. doubling the negative, to deny more strongly. So in Chaucer, 'I ne said none ill.' This double negative is still used by the vulgar, who are the last to discard the remains of Saxon lingo.]

²³ [*Heed*.]

²⁴ [*Knowledge*.]

²⁵ [*Died*, with the Saxon termination.]

²⁶ [*Thrown*.]

²⁷ [*Soon after*.]

²⁸ [Isaiah xxiv. 4, 5, 6.]

²⁹ [*Highness*, haughtiness.]

³⁰ [*Inhabitants*.]

³¹ [*Have*; probably a contraction of *haven*.]

' myn everlastinge bonde and forwarde³² betwene hem and me. And therfore cursynge
' shall devoure the erthe, and they that wonneth³³ on the erth shullen don synne³⁴. And
' therfore the erth tilyars³⁵ shullen waxe wood³⁶, and few men shullen ben³⁷ y-left apon
' the erth.' And zet³⁸ sayethe Isaye the Prophete³⁹, ' This sayeth God; For as
' moch as this people nyzeth⁴⁰ me with her mouth, and glorifieth me with her lippys,
' and her harte ys ferre⁴¹ from me; and they hanydrad⁴² more mennys commaunde-
' mentes then myne, and more draw to her doctrines then to myne. Therfore woll⁴³ I
' make a gret wondringe unto this puple⁴⁴, wisdom shall perish awaye from wise men,
' and understandinge of readie men shall bee y-hid.' And so it semeth that an other
sayenge of Isaye⁴⁵ ys fulfilled, there as God bade hym go teach the puple, and sayed, ' Go
' forth and saye to this puple, Eres heveye⁴⁶, and understand ye not; and yes⁴⁷ ze have
' fixt, and ne know ye not. Make blinde the hert of this puple, and make her eres hevy
' and close her yeen⁴⁸; lest he se with his yeen, and y-here with his eres, and under-
' stand with his hert, and be y-turned, and ych⁴⁹ hele hym of his sickenes. And Isaye
' sayed to God, How longe, Lord, shal this be? And God sayed: For to⁵⁰ that cyties ben
' desolate with outen a wonnyer, and an howse withouten a man.'

There is mychel⁵¹ nede for to make sorow, and to crye to owre Lorde Jesu Christ her-
tilich⁵² for help and for succoure, that he wole forzeve⁵³ us owre synnes, and zeve us grace
and connyng to serven⁵⁴ hym bettur here after. And God, of his endles mercy, zeve
us grace and connyng trulich to tellen which ys Christes law, in helpinge of mennes
sowles; for we beth lewde⁵⁵ men, and synneful men, and unconinge⁵⁶; and yf he woll be
owre help and owre succoure, we shullen⁵⁷ well perfourme owre purpose. And y-blessed
be owre Lorde God, that ' hydeth his wisdom from wise men, and from redye men, and
' teacheth it to small childern; ' as Christ teacheth in the Gospell.

Christen⁵⁸ men han⁵⁹ a law to kepe, the which law hath twee parties⁶⁰. Beleve in
Christ that ys God, and ys the foundement⁶¹ of her law, and upon thys foundemente, (as
he sayed to Peter, and the Gospel bereth witnes,) he woll byelden⁶² hys church: and this ys
the fyrst partie of Christes law. The seconde partie of his law beth Christes commaunde-
mentes, that beth written in the Gospell, and more verilech in Christen mennes hertes.

And as towchinge the beleve, we beleven that Christ ys God, and that there ne ys no God
but he. We beleven, never the lesse, that in the Godhed ther ben thre Parsones⁶³, the
Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Gost; and all thes thre Parsones ben one God and
not many Goddes, and all they beth ylich mizty⁶⁴, ylich good, and ylich wise, and
ever have ben, and ever shullen ben⁶⁵. We beleven this God made the worlde of nozt⁶⁶;
and man he made after his awne lykenesse in Paradise, that was a londe of blysse, and
zave⁶⁷ hym that londe for his erytage, and bad hym that he shuld not eate of the Tre of
Knowlege of Good and Evill, that was amydde⁶⁸ Paradyse. Then the Devell, that was fallen
out of Heven for hyspride, had envye to man, and by a fals suggestion he made man eate of
this tree, and breake the commaundement of God: and tho⁶⁹ was man overcomen of the
Devell, and so he lost his heritage, and was y-put out there of into the worlde, that was a
londe of travel and of sorowe undre the fyndes⁷⁰ thraldome, to be punyshed for his trespassse.
There man folowed wyckednesse and synne; and God, for synne of man, sent a flode in
to this worlde, and dreynthe⁷¹ all mankynde, save eght⁷² sowles. And after this flode, he

³² [Covenant, condition, agreement: from Sax. *forpeapad*.] ³³ [Dwell.] ³⁴ [Shall do sin.]
³⁵ [Tillers.] ³⁶ [Wild, desolate. Bib. Tr.] ³⁷ [Shall be.] ³⁸ [Yet.] ³⁹ [Isaiah xxix. 13.]
⁴⁰ [Come nigh.] ⁴¹ [Far.] ⁴² [Honoured.] ⁴³ [Will.]
⁴⁴ [People; from the French *peuple*.] ⁴⁵ [Isaiah vi. 9.] ⁴⁶ [Have ye.] ⁴⁷ [Eyes.]
⁴⁸ [Eyes.] ⁴⁹ [I.] ⁵⁰ [Until.]
⁵¹ [This comes from the Saxon word *micel*, much, great. In Chaucer it is *mikell*, *mokell*, in Danish *mykil*,
in Scotch *mukel*. Somn. Sax. Dict.] ⁵² [Heartily.] ⁵³ [Forgive.]
⁵⁴ [Serve, with Saxon termination.] ⁵⁵ [Ignorant.] ⁵⁶ [Uncunning.] ⁵⁷ [Shall. Sax.]
⁵⁸ [Christian.] ⁵⁹ [Have.] ⁶⁰ [Two parts.] ⁶¹ [Foundation.]
⁶² [Build, Saxon termination.] ⁶³ [Persons.] ⁶⁴ [Alike mighty.] ⁶⁵ [Shall be.]
⁶⁶ [Nought.] ⁶⁷ [Gave.] ⁶⁸ [In the midst of.] ⁶⁹ [Thus.] ⁷⁰ [Fiend's.]
⁷¹ [Drowned.] ⁷² [Eight.]

late⁷³ men multiplien in the worlde; and so he assayed whether man drad⁷⁴ hym or loved hym; and, amonge other, he fonde a man that hyzt⁷⁵ Abraham: this man he proved whether he loved hym and drad hym, and bade hym that he shulde offeren Isaac his sonne apon an hyll; and Abraham, as a trewe servant, fulfilled his Lordes commaundement; and, for this buxumnes⁷⁶ and treweth, God sware unto Abraham, that ‘he wold multiplie his sede as the gravell in the see, and the sterres of heven;’ and he behizt⁷⁷ to hym and to his heyres the londe of beheest⁷⁸ for eretage for ever, zyf⁷⁹ they wolden ben his trewe servantes and kepe hys heestes⁸⁰. And God helde him forwarde: for Isaac, Abraham’s sonne, begate Jacob and Esau; and of Jacob, that ys y-cleped⁸¹ Ysraell, comen God’s puple, that he chose to be his servantes, and to whome he behizt the londe of byhest: this puple was in gret thraldom in Egypt under Pharaο, that was kynge of Egypt; and they cry even to God that he shuld delyveren⁸² hem oute of that thraldom; and so he dyd: for he sente to Pharaο, Moses and his brother Aaron, and bade hym delyver his puple to don⁸³ hym sacryfice, and to fore⁸⁴ Pharaο he made Moses don many wondres, or that⁸⁵ Pharaο wold delyver his puple; and at the last by myzt⁸⁶ he delyvered his puple oute of thraldom, and led hem thorowz⁸⁷ a desert towarde the londe of byheste, and there he gave hem a law that they shulden lyven⁸⁸ after when they comen into her contrey; and in ther way thider⁸⁹ warde, the Ten Commaundementes God wrote himsele in two tables of stoon. The remnawnt of the lawe he tawzt hem⁹⁰ by Moses his servant, how they shulden do everichone⁹¹ to other; and zif they trespassed azeyn⁹² the law, he ordened⁹³ how they shulden be punished. Also he tawzt hem what maner sacrifices they shulden do to hym; and he chees⁹⁴ hym a puple to ben his prestes, that was Aaron and his children, to don sacryfices in the Tabernacle, and afterwarde in the Temple also. He chees hym the remenaunt⁹⁵ of the children of Levy, to ben servantes in the Tabernacle to the prestes; and he sayde, ‘When ze comen⁹⁶ in to the londe of beheest, the children of Levy they shullen have noon⁹⁷ heritage amonges her bretherne, for ych wold be here parte⁹⁸, and her heritage; and they shullen serve me in the Tabernacle by dayes and by nyztes⁹⁹.’ And he ordened that prestes shulden have a part of the sacryfyses that weren offred in the Tabernacle, and the fyrst begooten beestes; both of men, and beestes, and other things, as the Law telleth. And the other children of Levy, that serveden in the Tabernacle, shulden hove tythinges of the puple to her lyvelood¹⁰⁰; of the which tythinges, they shulden zeven¹⁰¹ the prestes the tenth partie in forme of offeringe. The children of Levy, both prestes and other, shulden have howses, and croftes¹⁰², and lesuvoys¹⁰³ for her beestes in the lande of byhest, and non other eretage; and so God zave hem¹⁰⁴ her londe of byhest, and bad hem that they ne shuld worship no other God then hym. Also he bade, that they shulden kepe hys commaundementes, and zif they dyden so¹⁰⁵, all her enemyes, a boutte hem, shulden drede hem, and ben her¹⁰⁶ servantes: and zif they worshippeden fals gods, and so forsoken hys laws, he byhizt¹⁰⁷ hem that he wold bringgen hem out of that londe, and maken hem serven her enemyes: but yet he sayed he nolde¹⁰⁸ not bynemen¹⁰⁹ his mercy awaye from hem, if they wolden crye mercye and amenden her defautes: and all this was y-done on God’s syde.

And here is mychell love y-showed of God to man. And who so loketh the Byble, he shall fynde that man showed him litle love azyenwarde¹¹⁰; for, when they weren y-comen in to her eritage, the forzeyten her¹¹¹ God, and worshippeden fals gods. And God sente

73. [Let.] 74. [Dreaded.] 75. [Hight, i. e. was called.] 76. [Obedience: from Sax. bocrym.]
 77. [Promised: from Sax. behatan.] 78. [Promise.] 79. [If.] 80. [Behests.]
 81. [Called.] 82. [Deliver: Sax. termin.] 83. [Do.] 84. [Before.]
 85. [Before.] 86. [By might.] 87. [Them through.] 88. [Should live.]
 89. [Thither.] 90. [Taught them.] 91. [Every one.] 92. [Against.]
 93. [Ordained.] 94. [Chose.] 95. [Remnant: from the old French word Remenant. Cotgr. Dict.]
 96. [Ye come.] 97. [None.] 98. [I will be their part.] 99. [Deut. xviii. 1.]
 100. [Their livelihood.] 101. [Give.] 102. [Inclosures near houses.] 103. [Pastures.]
 104. [Gave them.] 105. [If they did so.] 106. [Be their.] 107. [Promised.]
 108. [Ne would.] 109. [Take away.] 110. [Againward, i. e. in return.] 111. [They forgot their.]

to hem the prophetes and hys servantes foel¹¹² tymes, to bydden hem withdrawen hem from her synnes; and other they stowen¹¹³ them, or they beten hem, or the laden hem¹¹⁴ in prison, and ofte tymes God toke apon hem gret vengeance for her synnes; and when they cryeden after help to God, he sente hem help and succoure. This ys the generall proces of the Olde Testamente, that God zave to his puple by Moses his servant: and all this Testamente, and this doinge, ne was but a schadewe¹¹⁵ and a fygere¹¹⁶ of a New Testamente, that was zeven in by Christ. And it was byhoten¹¹⁷ by Jeremie the prophete, as Sainte Paul beareth witnesse in the pistle that he writeth to the Jewys. And Jeremie saith in this wise:¹¹⁸ 'Lo, dayes shall come, God sayeth, and ych¹¹⁹ woll make a new bande¹²⁰ to the hous of Israel and to the hous of Jude; not lyche the forwarde¹²¹ that I made withe her faders, in the day that I toke her honde to leden hem out of the londe of Egypte; the which forwarde they maden veyne¹²², and yche had lordshippe over hem. But this shalbe the forwarde that yche wold maken with hem after thiike¹²³ dayes: yche wole zeve my lawes with yn hem¹²⁴ in her inwardnesse, and yche wole writen hem in her hartes, and yche wole ben her God and they shullen be my puple; and after that, a man shall not teach his neyzebo¹²⁵ ne his brother. For all, (God sayeth,) from the leest to the mest¹²⁶ shullen y-knowe me; for yche wole forzeven hem¹²⁷ her synnes, and I nele¹²⁸ no more thinken on her synnes.'

This is the Newe Testamente that Christ both God and man, y-boren of the Mayden Marye, he tauzte¹²⁹ here in this worlde, to bringe man oute of synne, and out of the Devel's thraldome and service to heven; that ys, londe of blisse and heritage to all thoo¹³⁰ that beleven on hym, and kepen hys commaundementes: and for his teachinge he was done to the deth. But the thrydde daye arose azene from deth to lyfe, and fette¹³¹ Adam and Eve and many other folke out of hell; and afterwarde he came to his disciples, and comforted hem. After he steyed¹³² up to heven, to hys Fader; and thoo¹³³ he sente the Holy Gost amonges his disciples. And in tyme cominge he wole come, and demen¹³⁴ al mankynde after her werkes, and after the wordes he spake apon erth: some, to blisse both in body and in sowle, ever with outen ende; and some, to payne with outen ende, both in body and in sowle.

This is oure beleve, and all Christen mennes¹³⁵; and this beleve ys the fyrst poynte of the Newe Testamente that yche¹³⁶ Christen man ys holde stedfastly to beleve, and rather to suffer the deeth than forsaken this beleve: and so this beleve ys the bred of spirituall lyfe, in forsakinge synne, that Christe brought us to lyfe. But, for as much as mannes lyvinge ne stondeth not al onlych by bred, he hath y-zoven¹³⁷ us a drauzt¹³⁸ of water of lyfe to drinke: and who that drinketh of that water, he ne shall never afterwarde ben a thirst. For this water ys the clere teachinge of the Gospel, that encloseth seven commaundementes.

The furst is this, Thou shalt love thy God over all other thinges, and thy brother as thy self, both enemye and frende.

The seconde commaundemente ys of mekenes, in the which Christ chargeth us to forsake lordeship upon our brethern and other worldly worshippes, and so he did hym self.

The thridde commaundemente ys, in stondinge stedfastlych in truth, and forsakinge all falsnes¹³⁹.

The forth commaundemente ys, to suffre in this world diseses and wronges, withouten azenstondinges¹⁴⁰.

The fyfth commaundemente ys mercy, to forzeven oure brethern here trespas, as often tyme as they gylteth¹⁴¹, with out askinge of vengeance.

¹¹² [Many.] ¹¹³ [Stoned.] ¹¹⁴ [Laid them.] ¹¹⁵ [Shadow.]
¹¹⁶ [Figure, type.] ¹¹⁷ [Promised.] ¹¹⁸ [Jeremiah xxxi. 31.] ¹¹⁹ [I.]
¹²⁰ [Bond.] ¹²¹ [Like the covenant.] ¹²² [Made vain.] ¹²³ [Those.]
¹²⁴ [Within them.] ¹²⁵ [Neighbour.] ¹²⁶ [Most, greatest.] ¹²⁷ [Forgive them.]
¹²⁸ [Ne will.] ¹²⁹ [Taught.] ¹³⁰ [Those.] ¹³¹ [Fetched.]
¹³² [Ascended. Sax.] ¹³³ [Then.] ¹³⁴ [Judge: from Sax. deman.]
¹³⁵ [Christian men's.] ¹³⁶ [Each.] ¹³⁷ [Given.] ¹³⁸ [Draught.]
¹³⁹ [Falsehood.] ¹⁴⁰ [Against standings, i. e. withstandings.] ¹⁴¹ [Offendeth.]

The syxth commaundemente ys poernesse in spirite, but not to ben¹⁴² a begger.

The seventh commaundemente is chastyte, that ys, a forsakyng of fleshlych lykinges dyspleasinge to God.

These commaundementes enclosen the ten commaundementes of the olde Lawe and somewhat more.

This water ys a blessed drinke for Christen mennes sowle. But more harme ys, moch folke wolde drinke of this water, but they mow¹⁴³ not come thereto: for God sayeth by Ezechiel the prophete¹⁴⁴: 'When ych zeve¹⁴⁵ to you the most clene water to drinke, ye 'troubled that water with your fete; and that water, so defouled, ye zeve my shepe to 'drinke.' But the clene water ys y-hidde¹⁴⁶ fro the shepe; and but zif¹⁴⁷ God cleare this, it ys drede lest shepe deyen¹⁴⁸ for thurst: and Christ, that is the Wisdome of the Father of Heven, and welle of this wisdom, that come from heven to erth to tech man this wisdom, thorow the which man shuld overcome the slezthes¹⁴⁹ of the Devell; that is, principall enemy of mankinde; have mercy and pite of his puple, and shewe, if it be his will, how this water ys troubled, and by whom; and sith¹⁵⁰ clere this water, that his shepe mown¹⁵¹ drinken here of, and kele¹⁵² the thurst of here sowles. Blessed mote¹⁵³oure Lorde ben, for he hath y-tauzt us in the Gospell, that, ar than¹⁵⁴ he wolde come to the universel dome¹⁵⁵, that¹⁵⁶ shuld come manye in his name, and seyen¹⁵⁷ that they weren Christ: and they shulden done many wondres and begilen manye men: and many false prophetes shulden aysen and begylen moch folke. A Lorde! y-blessed mote thou ben of everich creature, which ben they that have y-seyd¹⁵⁸ that they weren Christ, and have begyled thus thy puple! Trulich, Lorde, I trowe thilke that seyn¹⁵⁹ that they be in thy stede, and bynemen¹⁶⁰ thy worship, and maken the puple worshupen hem as God, and have hyd thy lawes from the puple. Lorde, who durst sitte in thy stede and benemen the thy worshupe and thy sacrifice, and durst maken the puple worshupe hem as goddes? The Sauter¹⁶¹ telles, that God ne wole not in the Daye of Domen demen men for bodilich sacrifices and holocaustes. But God sayeth, 'Zelde¹⁶² to me sacrifice of 'herynge¹⁶³, and zelde to God thine avowes¹⁶⁴, and clepe¹⁶⁵ me in day of tribulacion; and 'yche wole defende the, and thow shalt worshupe me.'¹⁶⁶

The heringe of God stondesth in iij thinges: In lovyng God over all other thinges; in dredinge God over all other thinges; in trustinge in God over all other thinges. These thre poyntes Christ teacheth in the Gospell. But I trowe men loven hym but a lytle. For who so loveth Christ, he wole kepe his wordes; but men holden hys wordes for heresy and folye, and kepeth mennes wordes. Also men dreden more men and mennes lawes and her cursinges, then Christ and his lawes and his cursinges. Also men hopen more in men and mennes helpes, than they do in Christ and in his helpe. And thus hathe he that sitteth in God's stede bynomin¹⁶⁷ God these thre herynges; and maketh men loven hym and his lawes, more than Christ and Christe's lawes; and dreden hym also. And there as, the puple schulden zelde¹⁶⁸ to God her vowes, he seyeth that he hath power to assoylen¹⁶⁹ hem of her avowes; and so this sacrifice he nemeth away from God: and there as, the puple shulden crye to God in the days of tribulacion, he letteth¹⁷⁰ hem of her crienge to God, and bynemyth¹⁷¹ God that worshupe. This daye of tribulacion is whan man ys fallen thorow synne into the Devel's servise, and than we shulden crye to God after helpe, and axen forzevenesse¹⁷² of oure synne, and make grete sorowe for oure synne, and ben in full will to do so no more,

¹⁴² [Be. Sax. termin.]

¹⁴³ [May.]

¹⁴⁴ [Ezekiel xxxiii. 18. 19.]

¹⁴⁵ [I gave.]

¹⁴⁶ [Is hid.]

¹⁴⁷ [But if is an old English phrase for *except* or *unless*, and occurs repeatedly in Chaucer, &c.]

¹⁴⁸ [Die. Sax. termin.]

¹⁴⁹ [Sleights.]

¹⁵⁰ [So.]

¹⁵¹ [May.]

¹⁵² [Will.]

¹⁵³ [Must.]

¹⁵⁴ [Before.]

¹⁵⁵ [Doom.]

¹⁵⁶ [Read, there.]

¹⁵⁷ [Say.]

¹⁵⁸ [Said.]

¹⁵⁹ [I think these that say.]

¹⁶⁰ [Take away.]

¹⁶¹ [Psalter.]

¹⁶² [Yield.]

¹⁶³ [Worship, or praise.]

¹⁶⁴ [Vowes.]

¹⁶⁵ [Call.]

¹⁶⁶ [Psalms l. 14. 15.]

¹⁶⁷ [Deprived.]

¹⁶⁸ [Yield.]

¹⁶⁹ [Absolve: from the French.]

¹⁷⁰ [Hindereth.]

¹⁷¹ [Robbeth.]

¹⁷² [Ask forgiveness.]

ne non other synne; and than oure Lorde God wole forgeven us oure synne, and maken oure soule clene; for his mercy ys endeles.

But, Lorde, here men have bynomyn the mucche worshupe. For men seyn¹⁷³ that thow¹⁷⁴ ne myzt nor clene assoylen us of oure synne; but if we knowlege¹⁷⁵ oure synnes to prestes, and taken of hem a penawnce for oure synne, zif we mowen¹⁷⁶ speke with hem.

A Lorde! thou forgave some tyme Peter hys synnes and also Marye Magdaleyne, and other manye synfull men, withouten schryvinge¹⁷⁷ to prestes, and takynge penaunce of prestes for her synnes. And, Lorde, thou art as mighty now as thou were that time, but zif¹⁷⁸ any man have bynome the thy might. And we lewed¹⁷⁹ men beleven, that there nys¹⁸⁰ no man of so greate power; zif any man maketh hym selfe of so gret power, he heieth¹⁸¹ hym selfe a bove God; and Saint Poul speaketh of one that sitteth in the temple of God, and hizen hym a bove God, and zif any soch be, he is a false Christe.

But hereto seyn¹⁸² prestes, that when Christ made clene leprous men, he bade hem goo and show hem to prestes. And therfore they seyn that it ys a commaundement of Christ, that a man schuld shewen his synne to prestes. For as theye seyn, lepre in the old Lawe, betokeneth synne in this new lawe. A Lorde God! whether thyne Apostles knew nat thy meninge as well as men done now? And zif they hadden y-knowe¹⁸³ that thow haddest commaunded men to schryven¹⁸⁴ hem to pristis, and they ne taught not that commaundement to the puple, me thinketh they hadden ben to blame. But I trow, they knewen wel that it was non of thy commaundementes, ne nedeful to heale of mannes soule. And as me thinketh the lawe of lepre¹⁸⁵ ys nothinge to the purpose of schryvinge: for prestes in the old Law hadden certein pointes and tokenes to know whether a man were leprous or not; and zif they were leprous, they hadden power to putten hem awaie from other clene men, for to¹⁸⁶ that they weren clene; and then they hadden power to reysseyven¹⁸⁷ hym amonge his brethern, and offeren for him a sacrifice to God. This nys nothinge to the purpos of schryvinge. For ther nys but one preste, that is Christ, that maye knowe in certayn the lepre of the soule. Ne no prest maye make the soule clene of her synne, but Christ, that is prest after Melchisedekes ordre; ne no prest here beneth¹⁸⁸ maye y-wit¹⁸⁹ for certayn, whether a man be clene of his synne or clene assoyled¹⁹⁰, but zif God tell it hym by revelacion. Ne God ordered not, that his prestes schulde sette men a penaunce for her synne after the quantyte of the synne, but this ys man's ordinaunce; and it may welbe that there cometh good her of. But I wote well that God ys much unworshuped there by. For men trust more in his absolucions, and in his zeres¹⁹¹ of grace, than in Christis absolucions; and there by, ys the puple moch apayred¹⁹². For now, the sorow a man shulde make for hys synne, ys put away by thys schrift¹⁹³; and a man ys more bolde to do synne, for trust of this schrift, and of this bodylich penaunce.

A nother myschefe ys, that the puple ys y-brouzt¹⁹⁴ in to this belefe, that one preste hath a gretter power to assoylen a man of hys synne, and clenner¹⁹⁵, then an other prest hath.

A nother myschefe ys this, that some prest may assoylen hem both of synne and peyne; and in this they taken hem a power that Christ graunted no man in erth, ne he ne used it nozt on erth him selfe.

A nother myschefe ys, that these prestes sellen¹⁹⁶ forzevenes of mennes synnes, and absolucions for money; and this ys an heresyie accursed, that ys y-cleped¹⁹⁷ symonye: and all thilke¹⁹⁸ prestes that axeth price for grauntinge of spirituall grace, beth by holy lawes deprived of her presthode, and thilke that assenteth to this heresyie. And be they war*, for Helyse¹⁹⁹ the prophet toke no money of Naaman, when he was made clen of his

¹⁷³ [Say.]	¹⁷⁴ [Thou.]	¹⁷⁵ [Acknowledge.]	¹⁷⁶ [Must.]	¹⁷⁷ [Confessing.]
¹⁷⁸ [Unless.]	¹⁷⁹ [Ignorant.]	¹⁸⁰ [Ne is.]	¹⁸¹ [Lifteth?]	¹⁸² [Say. Sax.]
¹⁸³ [Known.]	¹⁸⁴ [Confess.]	¹⁸⁵ [Leprosy.]	¹⁸⁶ [Until.]	¹⁸⁷ [Receive.]
¹⁸⁸ [Beneath.]	¹⁸⁹ [Know.]	¹⁹⁰ [Absolved.]	¹⁹¹ [Years.]	
¹⁹² [Impaired, injured.]	¹⁹³ [Confession.]	¹⁹⁴ [Brought.]	¹⁹⁵ [Cleaner.]	
¹⁹⁶ [Sell.]	¹⁹⁷ [Called.]	¹⁹⁸ [Those.]	* [Qu. Aware, wary?]	¹⁹⁹ [Elisha. Vide 2 Kings. v.]

leprouse, but Giesi²⁰⁰ his servant; and therefore the lepre of Naaman abode with hym, and with his eyres evermore after.

Here ys muche mater of sorowe, to se the puple thus far y-lad away²⁰¹ from God, and worshupen²⁰² a fals god in erth, that by myzt and by strength hath y-done away the gret sacrifice of God out of his temple; of which mischefe and discomfort Danyell maketh mencyon, and Christ bereth ther of wittnesse in the Gospell: who that redeth it, understande it. Thus we have y-told apperty²⁰³, how he that sayeth he sitteth in Christe's stede, bynemeth²⁰⁴ Christ his worship and his sacrifice of his puple, and maketh the puple worshupen hym as a god on erth.

Crye we to God, and knowlege we oure synnes everich one to other, as Seynt James techeth; and praye we hertliche²⁰⁵ to everych one for other, and than we shullen hopen forzevenes of our synnes. For God that ys endeles in mercy sayeth, that 'he ne will not a synfull mannes dethe, but that he be turned from his synne and lyven.' And therefore, when he came doune to save mankynd, he gave us a law of love and of mercye, and bade, Zif a man do a trespas, amende him privilych, and zif he leve not his synne, amende hym before wittnesse; and, zif he ne amendeth not, men schulde tel to the church; and, zif he ne amendeth not thanne²⁰⁶, men schulde schone²⁰⁷ his cumpanye, as a publicane, or a man that ys misbylerved; and this lawe was y-figured in the lawe of lepre: who that redeth it, he maye se the soth²⁰⁸.

But, Lorde God! he that sitteth in thy stede, hath undo thy law of mercye, and of love. Lorde, thou byddest loven enemies as oure selfe, as thou shewest in the Gospell, there as the Samaritane hadde mercye on the Jew: and thou biddist us also preyen for hem that cursen us, and that defamen us, and pursuen us to deth. And so, Lorde, thou didist, and thyne Apostles also. But he, that clepeth hym self thi Viker²⁰⁹ on erth, and heed of thy church, he hath ondone thy lawe of love and of mercye. For, zif we speken of lovyng oure enemyes, he techeth us to fyt²¹⁰ with oure enemyes, that Christ hath forboden²¹¹. He curseth, and desireth vengeance to hem that so doth to hym: zif any man pursueth hym, he curseth hym, that it ys a sorowe [to] a Christen man to heren²¹² the cursinges that they maken, and blasphemyes in such cursinge. Of that thinge that I know, I maye here true wittnesse. But, zif we speke of lovyng of oure brethern; this ys undone by hym that sayeth, he ys God's viker in erth. For Christ, in the Gospell, byddeth us, that we shulden clepen²¹³ us no fadur upon erth; but clepen God oure Fadur, to maken us love parfytlich²¹⁴ to gether; and he clepeth hym self Fadur of fadurs, and maketh many religions, and to everich a fadur. But, wheder ys love and charite encreased²¹⁵ by thes fadurs, and by her religions, or els y-made lesse? for a frier ne loveth not a monke, ne a secular man neyther, nor zet²¹⁶ one frier another that is not of that order; and it is azein ward.

A Lord! me thinketh that there ys littell perfeccion in these religions. For, Lorde, what charite haven such men of religion, that knowen how they mown azein stande²¹⁷ synne; and fleen awaye from her brethern that ben more unconnyng than they ben, and sufferen hem to travelen in the worlde, with outen her counsell, as beestes²¹⁸? Trulich, Lorde, me thinketh that there ys litell charite, and then ys there litell perfeccion. Lorde God! when thou were on erth, thou were amonge synfull men to drawen hem from synne; and thy disciples also. And, Lorde, I trowe, thou ne grauntest not o²¹⁹ man more kunnyng than an other, all for hym selfe; and I wote well that lewed men, that ben laborers, ne travele not alonlych²²⁰ for hem selfe. Lorde, oure belefe ys, that thou ne were not of the worlde, ne thy techinge neyther, ne thy servantes that lyvenden²²¹ after thy techinge; but all they forsoken the worlde, and so every Christen man must. But, Lorde, whether

²²⁰ [Gehazi.]²²¹ [Robbeth.]²²² [Truth.]²²³ [Forbidden: from Sax. *forboda*.]²²⁴ [Perfectly.]²²⁵ [Beasts.]²²⁶ [Led away.]²²⁷ [Heartily.]²²⁸ [Vicker: i. e. the Pope.]²²⁹ [Ficker: i. e. the Pope.]²³⁰ [Increased.]²³¹ [One.]²³² [Worshipping.]²³³ [Then.]²³⁴ [Fight.]²³⁵ [Hear. Sax. termin.]²³⁶ [Yet.]²³⁷ [Only.]²³⁸ [Openly, plain.]²³⁹ [Should shun.]²⁴⁰ [Call.]²⁴¹ [May stand against.]²⁴² [Lived. Sax. termin.]

thou tauztest²²² men forsake her brethern cumpanye and traveyle of the world, to liven in ese and in rest, and out of defoul and anger of the worlde, by her brethren traveyle, and so forsaken the worlde?

A Lorde! thou ne tauztest not a man, forsaken a poor astate²²³ and traveyle, to be afterwarde a lorde of hys brethern, or ben a lordes felaw, and dwellinge with lordes; as doth men of these newe religions. Lorde, thou ne tauztest not men of thy religion thus to forsake the worlde, to lyven in perfeccion by hem selfe in ease, and by other mennes traveyle. But, Lorde, they seyen²²⁴ they ben y-bounde to thy servyse, and serven the both nixt²²⁵ and daye, in synginge her preyers both for her selfe²²⁶, and for other men that done her good, both quicke and deede; and some of hem gone a bouthe to teche thy puple when they haven leysure.

A Lord! zif they ben thy servantes; whose servantes ben we, that can not preyen²²⁷ as they done? And when thou were here on erth, for our nede, thou tauztest thy servantes to preyen thy Fadur privylich and shortlych; and zif there had y-ben a better maner of preynge, I trowethow woldest have tauzt it in helpe of thy puple. And, Lorde, thou reprovist ypocrites, that prayen in longe prayer, and in open places, to ben y-holden holy men. And thou seyst in the Gospell, 'Woo to you Pharyseis, ypocriets.' And, Lorde, thou ne chargedest not thy servantes with soch maner servyse; but thou seyst in the Gospell, that the Pharyseis worshupen the with her lippes, and her herte ys fer frome the: for they chargen²²⁸ more mennes tradicions than thy commaundementes. And, Lorde, we lewede men han a belefe, that thy goodnes ys endles, and zif we kepen thyne hestes²²⁹ than ben we thy trew servantes, and thouz we preyen²³⁰ the but a litel, and shortlych thou wilt thinken on us, and graunten us that us nedeth; for so thou byhized²³¹ us some tyme. And, Lord, I trow, that praye a man never so many quaynte prayers zif he ne kepe not thyne hestes, he ne ys not thy good servant: but, zif he kepe thyne hestes, than he ys thy good servant: and so me thinketh, Lorde, that preynge of longe preyers ne ys not the servyse that thou desirist, but kepinge of thyne hestes; and than a lewed man maye serve God, as well as a man of religion. And so, Lorde, oure hope ys, that thou wilt as sone y-here²³² a plowman's prayer, and²³³ he kepe thyne hestes, as thou wilt do a man's of religion; thouz²³⁴ that the plowman maye not have so much sylver for his preyer as men of religion: for they kunnen²³⁵ not so wel preysen her²³⁶ preyers as these other chapmen: but, Lorde, oure hope ys, that oure preyer be never the worse, thouz it be not so well sold as other mennes preyers.

Lorde! Ezechiel the Prophete seyeth²³⁷, that whan he spake to the puple thy wordes, they turned thy wordes in to songes and in to tales. And so, Lorde, men don now: they syngyn myrilich²³⁸ thy wordes, and that syngynge they clepen thy servyse. But, Lorde, I trow, that the best syngers ne heryeth²³⁹ the not most; but he that fulfilleth thy wordes, he heryeth the ful well, thouz he wepe more than synge. And, I trow, that wepinge, for brekyng of thy commaundementes, be more plesinge servyse to the, than the synginge of thy wordes. And wolde God, that men wolde serve hym in sorrow for her synnes, and they schulden afterwarde serven thee in myrth; for Christ seith, 'Y-blessed ben they that maken sorowe, for they schulden ben y-conforted²⁴⁰:' and, 'Woo to hem that ben myrrye, and have her comfort in this world²⁴⁰.' And Christ seide, 'That the world schuld joyen, and his servantes schulden be sory, but her sorowe shuld be turned in to joie²⁴¹.'

A Lorde! he, that clepeth hym selfe thy viker upon erth, hath y-ordayned an ordre of prestes to do thy servyse in church to fore²⁴² thy lewed puple, in synginge matens, even-songe, and masse. And therefore, he chargeth lewed men, in payne of cursinge, to bringe to his prestes tythings and offeringes to fynden his prestes; and he clepeth that God's

²²² [Taughtest.]

²²³ [Estate.]

²²⁴ [Say.]

²²⁵ [Night.]

²²⁶ [Themselves.]

²²⁷ [Pray. Sax.]

²²⁸ [Incline to. Chanc.]

²²⁹ [Behests.]

²³⁰ [Though we pray.]

²³¹ [Promised.]

²³² [Hear.]

²³³ [If.]

²³⁴ [Though.]

²³⁵ [Can.]

²³⁶ [Pray thir.]

²³⁷ [Ezek. xxxiii. 31. 32.]

²³⁸ [Sing merrily.]

²³⁹ [Worshippeth.]

²⁴⁰ [St. Matt. v. 5.]

²⁴¹ [St. Luke vi. 25.]

²⁴² [St. John xvi. 20.]

²⁴³ [Before.]

part, and dew to prestes that seruen hym in church. But, Lorde, in the olde Lawe, the thythings of the lewed puple ne were not dewe to prestes, but to that other childer of Levy that serveden the in the temple; and the prestes hadden her part of sacrifices, and the fyrst bygeten²⁴⁴ beestes, and other thynges, as the Law telleth. And, Lorde, Seynt Poule, thy servant, seyth, that the ordre of the presthode of Aaron cesede in Christe's cominge, and the lawe of that presthode. For Christe was ende of sacrifices y-offered up on the crosse to the Fader of Heven, to brynge man out of synne, and bycome hym selfe a prest of Melchisedekes ordre; for he was both Kynge and Prest withe oute begynnynge and ende; and both the presthode of Aaron, and also the lawe of that presthode ben y-changed in the cominge of Christ: and Seynt Poule seith, it ys reprovéd, for it brouzt²⁴⁵ no man to perfeccion; for bloode of gotes, ne of other beestes, ne mizt not done²⁴⁶ awaye synne, for to that Christ schadde²⁴⁷ his blode.

A Lorde Jesu! wether thou ordenest an ordre of prestes to offren in the auter²⁴⁸ thy flesch and thy blode to bringen men out of synne, and also out of peyne? And wether thou geve hem alonelych²⁴⁹, a power to eate thy flesch and thy blode? And wether none other man maye eate thy flesch and thy blode, with outhen leve of prestes? Lorde, we beleven, that thy flesche is verey meate, and thy blode verey drinke; and who eteth thy flesch, and drinketh thy blode, dwelleth in the, and thou in hym; and who that eteth this breed shall lyve without ende. But, Lorde, thyne disciples seyde, 'This is an harde worde;' but thou answerest hem, and seydest: 'When ze seeth Manne's Sone steyn²⁵⁰ up there he was rather²⁵¹, the Spirite ys that maketh you lyve; the wordes, that yche²⁵² have spoken to you, ben spirite and lyfe²⁵³.' Lorde, y-blessed mote thou be, for in this worde thou techest us, that he, that kepeth thy wordes, and doth after hem, eteth thy flesch, and drinketh thy blode, and hath an everlastinge lyfe in the. And, for we schulden have mynde of this lyvinge, thou gavest us the sacramente of thy flesch and thy blode, in forme of breed and wyne, at thy souper, to fore, that thou schuldest suffre thy deth; and toke breed in thine honde²⁵⁴, and seydest, 'Take ye this, and ete it, for it is my body;' and thou tokest wyne, and blessedest it, and seydest: 'This ys the blode of a newe and an everlastinge testamente, that shalbe sched for many men in forzevenesse of synnes: as oft as ze do this, do ze this in mynde of me.'

A Lorde! thou ne bede²⁵⁵ not thine disciples maken this a sacryfice to bringe men out of peynes, zif a prest offered thy body in the auter; but thou bede hem 'go and fullen²⁵⁶ all the folke in the name of the Fadur, and the Sone, and the Holy Gost, in forzevenesse of her synnes; and techeze²⁵⁷ hem to kepe those thynges that ych have commaunded 'zou²⁵⁸.' And, Lorde, thine disciples ne ordeyned not prestes principallich to make thy body in sacramente, but for to tech the puple; and good husbände men, that well govern her houtholdes, both wives and childern and her meynye²⁵⁹, they ordered to be prestes, to techen other men the law of Christ both in worde and in dede, and they lyvedeyn²⁶⁰ as trew Christen men: every daye they eten Christe's body, and dronken hys blode, to the sustenance of lyvyng of here²⁶¹ soules; and other whiles they token the sacramente of his body in forme of breed and wine, in mynde of oure Lorde Jesu Christ.

But all this ys turned upso doune²⁶²; for now, who so will lyven as thou tauzttest²⁶³, he schalben²⁶⁴ holden a fole: and zif he speke thy techynge, he schalben holden an heretyke and a cursed. Lorde, y have no lenger wonder here of, for so they seyden²⁶⁵ to the, when thou were here some tyme; and therefore we moten²⁶⁶ taken in pacyence her wordes of blasfemie, as thou dedest thy selfe, or els we were to blame. And trulich, Lorde, I trowe, that yf thou were now in the worlde, and tauzttest, as thou dedest some tyme, thou schuldest ben done to deeth; for thy teachinge ys damned for heresy of wise

²⁴⁴ [Begotten.]²⁴⁸ [Altar. Fr.]²⁵³ [St. John vi. 63.]²⁵⁷ [Teach.]²⁶⁰ [Lived. Sax.]²⁶⁴ [Shall be.]²⁴⁵ [Brought.]²⁴⁹ [Them only.]²⁵⁴ [Hands.]²⁵⁸ [Matt. xxviii. 19. 20.]²⁶¹ [Their.]²⁶⁵ [Said. Sax.]²⁴⁶ [Might not do.]²⁵⁰ [Risen.]²⁵⁵ [Bade.]²⁵⁹ [Retinue, or household attendants.]²⁶² [Upside down.]²⁶⁶ [Must. Sax.]²⁴⁷ [Shed.]²⁵¹ [Before.]²⁵⁶ [Baptize.]²⁶³ [Taughtest.]²⁵² [I.]

men of the worlde; and then moten they nedes ben heretykes that techen thy lore²⁶⁷, and all they also that travelen to lyve there after. And therfore, Lorde, zif it be thy will, helpe thyne unkunnyng and lewed servantes, that wolen, by her power and her kunnyng, helpe to destroye synne. Leve²⁶⁸ Lorde! syth thou madist woman in helpe of man, and yn a more frele²⁶⁹ degre, than man is, to be governed by man's reson; what perfeccion of charite is in these prestes, and in men of religion, that have forsaken spoushode²⁷⁰, that thou ordenest in Paradis by twy²⁷¹ man and woman, for perfeccion to forsaken traveyle, and lyven in ese by other mennes traveyle? For they mowe²⁷² not do bodilich workes for defouling of her hondes, with whome they touchen thy precieuse body in the auter.

Leve Lorde, zif good men forsaken the companye of woman, and nedes the moten have the governayle²⁷³ of man, then moten they ben y-coupled with schrewes; and therfore thy spoushode, that thou madest in clenesse from synne, it ys now y-chaunged in to lykyng of the flesch; and, Lorde, this ys a gret myschefe unto thy puple. And zounge²⁷⁴ prestes and men of religion, for defaute of wives, maken many wymen horen, and drawn thorow her yvel ensample, many other men to synne; and the ese, that they lyven in, and their welfare, ys a gret cause of this myschefe: and, Lorde, me thinketh, that these ben quaynte orders of religion, and none of thy secte, that wolen taken horen, whilke God forfendes²⁷⁵; and forsaken wyves, that God ne forfendeth not; and forsaken traveyle, that God commaundes; and gyven her selfe to ydelenes, that ys the moder of all nouztines²⁷⁶. And Lorde, Marie, thy blessed mother, and Josep, touched ofte tymes thy body, and wroughten withe here hondes, and lyveden in as much clenesse of soule, as our prestes done now, and touched thy body, and thou touchedest hem in her soules. And, Lorde, our hope is, that thou goist not out of a pore mannes soule, that travelleth for hys lyvelode with his hondes; for, Lorde, oure belefe ys, that thyne house ys manne's soule, that thou madest after thyne owne lykenes. But, Lorde God, men maketh now greet stonen²⁷⁷ houses full of glasene²⁷⁸ windowes, and clepeth thylke²⁷⁹ thyne houses and churches; and they setten in these houses mawmetes²⁸⁰ of stockes and of stones, and to fore²⁸¹ hem they knelen pryvilych and apert, and maken her preyers; and all this, they seyen, ys thy worschup, and a gret heryenge to the. A Lorde! thou forbedest some tyme to make such mawmetes, and who that had y-worschupped sych, had be worthy to be deed.

Lorde, in the Gospell thou saist, 'That true heryers of God ne heryeth hym not in that hill beside Samarie, ne in Hierusalem nayther; but trew heryers of God heryeth hym yn spirite and in trewthe.'²⁸² and, Lorde God, what heryenge ys it to bylden the a church of deed stones, and robben thy quycke churches of her bodyliche lyvelode? Lorde God! what heryenge ys it to cloth mawmetes of stockes and of stones yn sylver, and in golde, and in other good coloures? And, Lorde, I se thyne ymage in colde and in heet, in clothes all to broken, with outen schone and hosen²⁸³, an hungred and a thrust. Lorde, what heryenge ys yt to tende tapers and torches by fore blinde mawmetes²⁸⁴, that mowen not y-seyen²⁸⁵! and hyde the, that art oure light and oure lanterne to warde Heven; and put the under a boshell, that, for darkenes, we ne maye nat sene oure weye toward blisse? Lorde! what heryenge ys it to knele to fore mawmetes, that mowe not y-heren²⁸⁶, and worschupen hem with preyers, and maken thyne quyck ymages knele before hem, and asken of hem absolucions and blessinges, and worschupen hem as goddes, and putten thy quyke ymages in thraldome and in traveyle ever more, as beestes, in colde, and in heet, and in feble fare to fynden hem in lykyng of the world? Lorde! what heryenge ys it to fetch deed mennes bones out of the ground, there as they schulden kyndelich²⁸⁷ roten, and schrynen²⁸⁸ hem in gold and in silver? and suffren the quyke

²⁶⁷ [Doctrine.]

²⁶⁸ [Dear.]

²⁶⁹ [Frail.]

²⁷⁰ [Marriage.]

²⁷¹ [Betwixt.]

²⁷² [May.]

²⁷³ [Government.]

²⁷⁴ [Young.]

²⁷⁵ [Prohibits.]

²⁷⁶ [Naughtiness.]

²⁷⁷ [Stone.]

²⁷⁸ [Glass.]

²⁷⁹ [Calleth them.]

²⁸⁰ [Images.]

²⁸¹ [Before.]

²⁸² [John iv. 21. 23.]

²⁸³ [Shoes and stockings.]

²⁸⁴ [Idols.]

²⁸⁵ [Cannot see.]

²⁸⁶ [Cannot hear.]

²⁸⁷ [Naturally.]

²⁸⁸ [Shrine.]

bones of thyne ymages roten in prison for defaute of clothinghe? and suffren also thy quyke ymages perish for defaute of sustenaunce, and rooten²⁸⁹ in the hoore house in abominable lecherye? Some become theves, and robbers, and manquellers²⁹⁰, that myzten²⁹¹ ben y-holpen with the gold and sylver, that hongeth aboute deed mennes bones, and other blynde mawmetes of stockes and of stones. Lorde, here ben gret abhominacions, that thou schewdist to Ezechiel thy prophete, that prestes done in thy temple, and zit they clepen that thyne heryenge: but, leve Lorde! me thinketh that they loven the lile, that thus defoulen thy quyke ymages, and worschupen blynde mawmetes.

And, Lorde, an other gret myschefe there ys now in the worlde, an hunger that Amos thy prophete speketh of; 'that there sall comen an honger in the erth, not of breed, ne 'thrust of drinke, but of heringe²⁹² of Goddes woorde.' And thy scheepe wolden be refreshed, but their scheepardes taken of thy scheepe her lyflood²⁹³, as tythinges, &c. and lyven hem self therby where hem lyketh. Of soch schephardes thou spekest by Ezechiel thy prophete²⁹⁴, and seist, 'Woo to the schephardes of Israel, that feden hem selfe; for the 'flockes of schepe schulden ben y-fed²⁹⁵ of her schephardes: but ze²⁹⁶ eten the mylke, 'and clothden you with her wolles, and they²⁹⁷ fatte schepe ye slow²⁹⁸, and my flocke ye 'ne fed not, the sycke schepe ze ne heled not, thylke²⁹⁹ that weren to broken ze ne knyt 'not to geder³⁰⁰, thylke that perished ze ne brouzt³⁰¹ not againe; but ze ruled hem with 'sternschip and with power: and so the schepe beth sprad a brode³⁰² in devouringe of all 'the beestes of the felde.' And Jeremie the prophete sayeth³⁰³, 'Woo to the schep- 'hardes that disparpleth³⁰⁴ abroad, and so terith the flocke of my lesew³⁰⁵.'

A Lorde! thou were a good schepharde, for thou puttest thy soule for thy schepe. But, Lorde, thou teldest, that thilke that comen not in by the dore, ben nitz thefes and daye thefes; and thefe, as thou seist, cometh not but for to stele, to sleyne, and to distroye. And Zacharie the prophete seithe³⁰⁶, 'That thou woldist reren up a schepharde unkun- 'nyng, that ne wole not hele thy schepe that beth sycke, ne sech³⁰⁷ thilke that beth 'lost: upon his arme ys a swerde³⁰⁸, and upon his rizt³⁰⁹ eye; his arme schall waxe 'drye, and his rizt eye shall lese his lizt³¹⁰.' O Lorde, helpe! for thy shepe beth at gret myschefe in the schephardes defaute. But, Lorde, there cometh hyred men, and they ne feden not thy schepe in thy plentuous lesew, but feden thy schepe with swevenes³¹¹, and false miracles, and talys³¹²; but at thy trewth they ne comen not; for, Lorde, I trowe thou sendest hem never. For have they hyre of thy schepe? They ne chargeth but litle of the fedinge and the kepinge of thy schepe. Lorde, of these hyred men speketh Jeremie thy prophete³¹³, and thou seyst that worde by hym: 'I ne send hem not, and they 'ronne blyve³¹⁴: I ne speke unto hem, and they prophicieden. For zif they hadden ston- 'den in my counsell, and they had made my wordes knowen to the puple, ych³¹⁵ wolde 'have turned hem away from her yvell³¹⁶ waye, and from her wicked thouztes³¹⁷.' For, Lorde, thou seist that thy wordes be as fuyre³¹⁸, and as an hamer brekyng stones. And, Lorde, thou saist, Lo I to these prophetes metinge swevenes of lesinge³¹⁹, that have y-told her swevens, and have begyled my puple in her lesinge and in her false miracles, when y nether sente ne bede hem; and these have profitet no thinge to my puple. And as Jeremie saith³²⁰, 'From the leest to the mest, all they studien covetise³²¹; and from the pro- 'phete to the prest, all they done gyle³²².'

A Lorde! here ys mych myschefe and matere of sorow, and yet ther ys more: for zif

²⁸⁹ [Rot, Sax.]

²⁹² [Hearing.]

²⁹⁵ [Should be fed.]

³⁰⁰ [Together.]

³⁰⁴ [Dispeopleth.]

³⁰⁸ [Sword.]

³¹³ [Jer. xxiii. 21, 22.]

³¹⁷ [Thoughts.]

³²¹ [Covetousness.]

²⁹⁰ [Mankillers; from Quelle, to kill, to destroy.]

²⁹³ [Livelihood.]

²⁹⁶ [Ye.]

³⁰¹ [Brought.]

³⁰⁵ [Pasture.]

³⁰⁹ [Right.]

³¹⁴ [Run swiftly.]

³¹⁸ [Fire.]

³²² [Guile.]

²⁹⁴ [Ezek. xxxiv. 2, 3.]

²⁹⁷ [The.]

³⁰² [Spread abroad.]

³⁰⁶ [Zech. xi. 16, 17.]

³¹⁰ [Light.]

³¹⁹ [Dreams of falsehood.]

³¹⁵ [I.]

²⁹¹ [Might.]

²⁹⁸ [Slay.]

²⁹⁹ [Those.]

³⁰³ [Jerem. xxiii. 1.]

³⁰⁷ [Seek.]

³¹² [Tales.]

³¹⁶ [Evil.]

³²⁰ [Jer. viii. 10.]

a lewed man wold tech thy puple trewth of thy wordes, as he ys y-holde by thy comaundemente of charite, he shal be forboden and y-put in prison zif he do it. And so, Lorde, thilke that have the keye of conning, have y-lockt the trewth of thy techinge under many wardes, and y-hid it from thy childern. But, Lord, sith thy techinge ys y-come from Heven above, oure hope ys, that, with thy grace, it shall breken these wardys, and schowe³²³ hym to thy puple, to kele³²⁴ both the hunger and the thrust³²⁵ of the soule. And then schall no schepharde, ner no false hyridman³²⁶, begyle thy puple no more. For by thy lawe I write, as thou y-hiztest³²⁷ some tyme, that, from the lest to the mest, all they schullen knowen thy will; and weten³²⁸ how they schullen plesse the ever more incertayne.

And, leve Lorde, zif it be thy will, helpe at this nede, for there ys none help but in the. Thus, Lorde, by hym that maketh hymselfe thy viker in erth ys thy commaundemente of love to the, and to oure brothern, y-broken both to hym and to thy puple. But, Lorde God, mercye and pacyence that beth tweyne of thy commaundementes beth destroyed, and thy puple hath forsake mercy. For, Lorde, David in the Souter³²⁹ saith, 'Blessed beth they that do ne dome and riztfullnes in everich tyme³³⁰.'

O Lorde, thou hast y-tauzt us as riztfulnesse of Heven, and hast y-beden³³¹ us forzeven oure brothern as oft as they trespasen azenst us. And, Lorde, thyne olde lawe of justice was, that such harme as a man did his brother, such he schuld suffer by the law, as eye for an eye, a toth for a toth: but Christ made an ende of thys law, that one brother schulde not desyre wrake³³² of an other; but not that he wolde that synne schulde ben unpunished, for there to hath he y-ordened³³³ kinges and dukes, and other lewed officers under hem, whilke, as Sainte Paule saith³³⁴, 'ne carien not the swerde in vayne; for they ben the ministres of God, and warkers³³⁵ to wrath, to hem that evill done.' And thus hath Christ y-made an ende of this olde lawe, that one brother maye nat suen an other hym selfe, for that to wreken³³⁶ with out synne for brekyng of charite. But this charite, Lorde, hath thy viker y-broke, and sais, that we synnen but zif³³⁷ we suen for oure rizt: and wele I wote, that thou tauzttest us some tyme to zeve³³⁸ our mantell also, ever that³³⁹ we schulden suen for oure cote. And so, Lorde, beleven we, that we ben y-bounden to do ne by thy lawe that ys all charite, and officers dutie is to defenden us from thilke thevery, thouz³⁴⁰ we complaynen not; but, Lorde, thi law ys turned upso downe.

A Lorde! what dome ys it, to slene a thefe that take a manne's cattell a wey from hym, and suffren a spousebreker to lyve, and a lechour that killeth a woman's soule? And yet thy law stoned the spousebrekers and leichours, and lette the theves lyven and have other punishment.

A Lorde! what dome ys it, to slene a thefe for steling of a horse; and to let hym lyve unpunished, and to mayntene hym, that robbeth thy pore puple of here lyfelode³⁴¹, and the soule of his fode? Lorde, it was never thy dome to sayen that a man ys an heretike and cursed for brekyng of man's lawe, and demyn hym for a good man that breketh thyne hestes. Lorde, what dome ys it to cursen a lewed man, zif he smyte a prest; and not cursen a prest, that smiteth a lewed man and leseth³⁴² his charite? Lorde, what dome ys it to cursen the lewed puple for tithynges, and not curse the parson that robbeth the puple of tithynges; and ne techeth hem not God's law, but fedeth hem with payntinge of stonen walles, and songes of Laten that the puple knowen not? Lorde, what dome ys it to punysch the pore man for his trespas, and suffren the rich continuen in hys synne for a quantite of money? Lorde, what dome ys it to slene an unkunynge lewed man for hys synne, and suffren a prest, other³⁴³ a clerke, that doth the same synne, scapen a lyve? Lord, the synne of the prest, or of the clerke, ys a gretter trespas then it ys of a lewed unkunynge man, and gretter ensample of wickednesse to the comune puple. Lord, what maner puple

³²³ [Show.]

³²⁷ [Promised.]

³³¹ [Bidden.]

³³⁵ [Workers.]

³⁴⁰ [Though.]

³²⁴ [Kill.]

³²⁸ [Know.]

³³² [Revenge.]

³³⁶ [Revenge.]

³⁴¹ [Livelihood.]

³²⁵ [Thirst.]

³²⁹ [Psalter.]

³³³ [Orduined.]

³³⁷ [Unless.]

³⁴² [Loseth.]

³²⁶ [Priest.]

³³⁰ [Psal. cvi. 3.]

³³⁴ [Rom. xiii. 4.]

³³⁸ [Give.]

³³⁹ [Before.]

³⁴³ [Or.]

be we, that nother³⁴⁴ kepen thy domes and thy riztfulnesse of the Old Testamente, that was a law of drede; ne thy domes and thy riztfulnesse of thy New Testamente, that is a lawe of love and of mercye: but han an other law and taken of both thy lawes that is lykinge to us, and the remenaunte of hethen mennes lawes? And, Lorde, this ys a gret myscheffe.

O Lorde! thou sayst in thy lawe, 'Ne deme³⁴⁵ ze not, and ze ne schulen³⁴⁶ not ben demed: For the same mesure that ye meten to other men, men shall meten to zou azen warde³⁴⁷. And, Lorde, thou seist³⁴⁸ that 'by her werken³⁴⁹ we schulen knowen hem'³⁵⁰. And by that we knowen that thou ne commaunded us to demen mennes thoughtes, ner her werkes, that ne weren not azenst³⁵¹ thy lawe expressly. And zet³⁵², Lorde, he that seyeth he ys thy vikar, wil demen our thouztes³⁵³, and asken us what we thynken; nat of the Lorde, ne of thy hestes (for they caren litle for hem), but of him and of his, whilke they setten above thyne; and maken us accusen oure selfe, or els they willen accursen us; for oure accusers mowen³⁵⁴ we not knowen. And, Lorde, thou seidest in thyne olde lawe, that under two witnesses at the lest, or three, schulde stande every matter: and that the witnesses schulden ever be the first that schulden helpen to kyl hem.

And when the Scribes and these Phareses sometyme brouzten³⁵⁵ before the a woman that was y-take³⁵⁶ in spousebrekyng, and axeden of the a dome; thou didest write on the erth, and than thou gave this dome: 'He that ys with outhen synne, throwe fyrst at her a stone;' and, Lorde, they wenten forth away from the and the woman; and thou forzeve the woman her trespas, and bede her goo forth and synne no more.

Swete Lorde, yf the prestes token kepe³⁵⁷ to thy dome, they wolden ben agast to demen³⁵⁸ men as they done. O Lord! zif one of them breke a commaundement of thy lawe, he wole axen mercy of the, and not a peyne that ys dewe for the synne; for peyne of deth were to litel. O Lorde! how doren³⁵⁹ they demen any man to the deth for brekyng of her lawes, other assenten³⁶⁰ to such lawe? For brekyng of thy lawe they wolen setten³⁶¹ men penaunce; or pardon hem and helpe and mainteynen hem, as oft as they trespasen. But, Lorde, zif a man ones breke her lawes, or speke azenst³⁶² hem, he maie done penaunce but ones, and astur ben brunt³⁶³. Trulich, Lorde, thou seist, but zif everich of us forzeve other his trespas, thy Fadur ne wole not forzeven us oure synnes. And, Lorde, when thou henge on the crosse, thou preydest to thy Fadur to have mercy on thyne enemyes. And zet they seyn, Lorde, that they ne demen no man to the deth; for they seyn, they ne mowen³⁶⁴ by her lawe demen any man to deth. A leve Lorde! even so saiden her fornfadurs³⁶⁵, the Phareses, that it ne was nat lefull³⁶⁶ for hem to kyllen any man. And zet they bidden Pilate to done the to the deth, azenst his own conscience; for he wolde gladly have y-quitte the, but for that they thretted hym with the emperoure, and brouzten azenst³⁶⁷ the false witesse also: and he was an hethen man. A Lorde! how moch trewer dome was there in Pilate, that was an hethen justice, than in oure kynges and justices, that wolen demen to the deth, and bern yn the fyre, hym that the prestes delyveren unto hem, with outhen witesse or prefe³⁶⁸? For Pilate ne wolde not demen the, for that the Phareses seyden, that zif thou ne haddest not ben a misdoer, we ne wolde nat delyver him unto the, for to³⁶⁹ they brouzten in her false witnesses azenst the. But, Lorde, as thou saidest some tyme, that it schulde ben lizter³⁷⁰ at Domesdaye to Tyro, and to Sydon, and Gomorra, than to the cities where thou wrouzt³⁷¹ wondres and miracles; so I drede, it shalben more lizte to Pilate in the dome, then to oure kynges and domesmen, that so demen withoute witesse and prefe. For, Lorde, to demen thy

344 [Neither.]

345 [Judge.]

346 [Shall.]

347 [St. Matt. vii. 1.]

348 [Sayest.]

349 [Work.]

350 [Matt. vii. 16.]

351 [Against.]

352 [Yet.]

353 [Thoughts.]

354 [Must.]

355 [Brought.]

356 [Taken.]

357 [Take heed.]

358 [Judge.]

359 [Dare. Sax.]

360 [Or assent. Sax.]

361 [Will set. Sax.]

362 [Against.]

363 [Brent, or burnt.]

364 [May not. termin.]

365 [Their forefathers.]

366 [Lawful.]

367 [Brought against.]

368 [Proof.]

369 [Before.]

370 [Lighter, i. e. better.]

371 [Wroughtest.]

folke for heretikes, ys to holden the an heretike; and to brennen hem ys to brennen the; for thou seidest to Paule, when he persecuted thy puple: 'Saul, Saul, wherfore persecutest thou me?' and in the dome thou shalt seye, 'That ye have done to the lest of myne, ye have done to me.' Thus, Lorde, ys thy mercy and justice fordone by hym, that seith he is thy viker in erth; for he nether kepeth it hym selfe, nor nille not suffer other to do it.

The thridde commaundement, that ys pacience and sufferaunce, ys also y-broken by thys viker. Lorde, thou byddist sufferen both wronges and strokes, withouten azeinstondinge³⁷²; and so thou didist thy selfe to zeven³⁷³ us ensample to sufferen of oure brethern. For sufferinge norissbeth love, and azeinstondeth debate: and all thy lawe ys love, or else thinge that draweth to love. But, Lorde, men techen that men schulden pleten³⁷⁴ for her right, and fizten³⁷⁵ also therfore; and els they seyn men ben in pereyle, and thou bede in the old lawe men fize for her cuntrey. And thy selfe haddist two swerdes in thy cumpanye, when thou schuldest go to thy passion; that, as these clerkes seyn, betokeneth a spirituall swerde and a temporall swerde, that thou zove³⁷⁶ to thy viker to rule with thy church. Lorde, this is a sliz³⁷⁷ speche. But, Lorde, we beleve, that thou art kyng of blisse, and that ys thyne heretage and mankyndes cuntrey, and in this worlde we ne ben but straungers and pelgrimes. For thou, Lorde, ne art not of this world, ne thy lawe nether, ne thy trew servantes that kepen thy lawe. And, Lorde, thou were kyng of Juda by enheritage, zif thou woldest have y-had it; but thou forsoke it, and pletedest³⁷⁸ not therfore, ne fouzte³⁷⁹ not therfore.

But, Lorde, for thy kynde herytage, and mankyndes cuntrey that ys a londe of blisse, thou fouztest miztelych³⁸⁰. In bataile thou overcome thy enemye, and so thou wonne thyne herytage. For thou that were a Lorde miztiest in bataile, and also Lorde of vertues, art riztfullich³⁸¹ kyng of blisse; as David seith in the Sauter³⁸². But, Lorde, thyne enemye smote the dispitelych, and had power of the, and henge the up on the crosse as thou haddist ben a thefe, and bynomyn the all thy clothes, and stekede³⁸³ the to the harte with a spere.

O Lorde! this was an harde assaute of a batayle, and here thou overcome by pacyence miztylich thyne enemyes, for thou ne woldest not done azenst³⁸⁴ the will of thy Fadir. And thus, Lorde, thou tauztest thy servantes to fize³⁸⁵ for here cuntrey. And, Lorde, this fiztinge was in figure y-tauzte in the olde lawe. But, Lorde, men holden now the schadewe of the olde fiztinge, and leven the lize³⁸⁶ of thy fiztinge, that thou tauztest openlych, both in worde and dede.

Lorde, thou zove³⁸⁷ us a swerde to fize azeinst oure enemyes for oure cuntrey; that was thyne holy techinge, and Christen mennes law. But, Lorde, thy swerde ys put in a shethe, and in prestes warde, that have forsake the fiztinge that thou tauztist. For, as they sein, it ys azeyns³⁸⁸ her order to ben men of armes in thy bataile, for it ys unsemelich, as they seyn, that thy viker in erth, other his prestes, schulden suffer of other men. And therfore, zif any man smite hym, other³⁸⁹ any of his clerkes, he ne taketh it not in pacience; but and he smiteth with hys swerde of cursinge, and afterwarde with his bodylich swerde, he doth hem to deth. O Lorde, me thinketh that this is a fiztinge azeynst kynde, and moch azeynst thy techinge. O Lorde, whether thou axsedist after swerdes, in tyme of thy passion, to azeynstonde³⁹⁰ thyne enemyes? Nay, forsoth thou, Lorde: for Peter, that smote for gret love of thee, hadde no gret thonke³⁹¹ of the for his smitinge. And, Lorde, thou were mizty ynow³⁹² to have azeynstonde thyne enemyes; for, thorowz thy lokinge they fellen doune to grounde. Lorde, y-blessed mote thou be! Here thou techest us that we schulden

³⁷² [Withstanding.]

³⁷³ [Give.]

³⁷⁴ [Plead.]

³⁷⁵ [Fight.]

³⁷⁶ [Gave.]

³⁷⁷ [Sly.]

³⁷⁸ [Pleaded.]

³⁷⁹ [Fought.]

³⁸⁰ [Mightily.]

³⁸¹ [Rightfully.]

³⁸² [Psalter.]

³⁸³ [Pierced. Sax.]

³⁸⁴ [Do against.]

³⁸⁵ [Fight.]

³⁸⁶ [Light.]

³⁸⁷ [Gave.]

³⁸⁸ [Against.]

³⁸⁹ [Or.]

³⁹⁰ [Withstanding.]

³⁹¹ [Thanks.]

³⁹² [Enough.]

suffren: for thou were mizty ynow to have azeinstonde thine enemyes, and thou haddest wepen, and thy men weren harty to have smitten.

O swete Lorde, how maye he for schame clepen hym selfe thy viker and heed of thy church, that maye not for schame suffere? Sith thou art a Lorde, and suffredist of thy sugetys³⁹³ to zeven us ensample; and so did thy trew servantes.

O Lorde, whether thou zeve to Peter a spirituall swerde to curse, and a temporall swerde to sle³⁹⁴ mennes bodyes? Lorde, I trowe not; for then Peter, that loved the so-moch, wolde have smite with thy swerdes. But, Lorde, he tauzt us to blessen hem that cursen us; and suffren, and not smiten. And, Lorde, he fedde thy puple as thou bede hym; and therefore he suffrede the deth as thou diddist.

O Lorde, why clepeth any man hym Peter's successour, that hath forsake pacience, and fedeth thy puple with cursinge and with smytinge? Lorde, thou seydest in thy Gos-pell, (when thy disciples knewen well that thou were Christ,) that thou 'mostest go to Jeru-salem, and sufferen of the Scribes and Pharysees, spittings, reprofes, and also the deth.' And Peter toke the a syde, and said, 'God for beede that.' And, Lorde, thou seydist to Peter, 'Go by hinde me, Sathanas, thou sclaudrest me in Israel. For thou ne savourest not 'thilke thinges that ben of God, but thilke that ben of men'³⁹⁵. Lorde, to mennes witte it ys unresonable, that thou, or thy viker (zif thou madist anny on erth), schulden soffren of youre sugettes³⁹⁶.

A Lorde! whether thou ordenist an ordre of fizters³⁹⁷, to turn men to the beleve? Other ordenist, that knitzes³⁹⁸ schulden swere to fizte for thy wordes?

A Lorde! whether thou bede, that zif a man turne to the feith, that he schulde zeve his goodes and catell to thy viker, that hath gret lordschips, and more than hym nedeth? Lorde, y wote well, that in the beginninge of that church, men that weren converted, threwen a doune her goodes before the Aposteles fete. For all they weren in charite, and non of them saide, 'This ys myne;' ne Peter made hym selfe no lorde of these goodes. But, Lorde, now he that clepeth hym selfe thy viker upon erth, and successoure to Peter, hath y-broke thy commaundement of charite; for he ys becomen a lorde: and he hath broken also thy commaundemente of mercye, and also of pacyence. Thus, Lorde, we ben fallen in to gret mischefe and thraldome; for oure cheveteyn³⁹⁹ hath forsaken werre and armes, and hath treted to have peace with oure enemyes.

A Lorde! zif it be thy will, drawe oute thy swerde out of his scheth⁴⁰⁰, that thy ser-vantes may fizte there with azeynst her enemyes, and put cowardise out of oure hartes; and comfort us in bataile, ar than thou come with thy swerde in thy mouth to take ven-geaunce on thyne enemies. For, zif we ben acorded with oure enemies tyll the tyme come, it ys drede lest thou take vengeance both of hem, and of us, to gader. A Lorde! there nys no helpe now yn this gret myschefe, but onlych in the.

Lorde! thou zeve us a commaundemente of treweth, in byddinge saye, "Ze ze, Nay nay," and swere for no thinge: thou zeve us also a maundemente of mekenes, and a nother of porennes. But, Lorde, he that clepeth hym selfe thy viker on erth, hath y-broken these commaundementes; for he maketh a law to compell men to swere; and, by hys lawes, he techeth, 'That a man, to save hys lyfe, maye forswere and lye.' And so, Lorde, thorowz comfort of hym, and of his lawes, the puple ne dredeth nat to swere and to lye, ne oft tymes to forsweren hem. Lorde, here is litill treuth.

O Lorde! thou hast y-brouzte us to a lyvinge of soule, that staundes in belevinge in the, and kepinge thyne hestes; and, when we breken thy hestes, than we slen⁴⁰¹ oure soule; and lesse harme it were to suffer bodylich deth.

Lorde, kynge Saule brake thyne hestes, and thou toke his kyngdome from his eyres⁴⁰² ever more after hym, and gave it to David thy servante, that kept thyne hestes. And thou saidest, by Samuel thy prophet, to Saul kynge, that it ys a maner heryenge⁴⁰³ of

³⁹³ [Subjects.]³⁹⁷ [Fighters.]⁴⁰¹ [Slay. Sax.]³⁹⁴ [Slay.]³⁹⁸ [Knights.]⁴⁰² [Heirs.]³⁹⁵ [Matt. xvi. 21, 22, 23.]³⁹⁹ [Chieftain.]⁴⁰³ [Worshipping.]³⁹⁶ [Subjects.]⁴⁰⁰ [Sheath.]

false goddes to breke thyne hestes. For who that loveth the over all thinges, and dredeth the also, he nole⁴⁰⁴ for nothings breke thyne hestes.

O Lorde! zif brekyng of thyne hestes be heryenge of false goddes; I trowe, that he that maketh the puple breke thyne hestes, and commaundeth that his hestes ben kept of the puple, maketh hym self a false god on erth; as Nabugodonosor did some tyme, that was kyng of Babylon. But, Lorde, we forsaken such false goddes, and beleven that there ne ben no more goddes than Thou. And thouz thou suffre us awhile to ben in disease for knowleginge of the, we thonken the with oure harte; for it ys a token that thou lovest us, to zeven us, in this worlde, some penaunce for oure trespas.

Lorde, in the olde lawe, thy trewe servantes token the deth, for they wolde not eten swynes flesch that thou haddest forboden⁴⁰⁵ hem to ete. O Lorde! what treweth ys in us to eten unclene mete of the soule, that thou hast forboden? Lorde, thou saist, 'He that doth synne, ys servante of synne;' and then, 'He that lyeth in forsweringe hym selfe, ys servaunte of lesinge; and then he ys a servaunte to the Devill, that is a liar and fadur of lesinges. And, Lorde, thou saist, 'No man maye serve two Lordes at ones.' O Lorde, then everich liar, for the tyme that he lyeth other forswereth hym selfe, forsaketh thy servyce for drede of hys bodilich deth, and becometh the Devil's servaunt.

O Lord! what treweth ys in him, that clepeth hymselfe servaunte of thy servauntes; and, in hys doinge, he maketh hym a lorde of thy servauntes? Lorde, thou were both Lorde and Master, and so thou saide thy self; but zet in thy warkes thou were as a servaunte. Lorde, thys was a gret treweth and a gret mekenes: but, Lorde, thou bede thy servauntes that they ne schulden have lordschip over her brethern. Lorde, thou saidest kynges of the hethen men han lordschupe over her suggetes⁴⁰⁶, and they that usen her power ben y-cleped well doers. But, Lorde, thou saidest it schulde not be so amonges thy servauntes: but he that were most schulde be as a servaunte. Thus, Lorde, thou tauztest thy disciples to ben meke. Lorde, in the old lawe thy servauntes durst have no lordschyppe of her brethern, but zif that thou bede hem. And zet thy⁴⁰⁷ schulden not do her brethern, as they diden to thralles that serveden hem: but they schulden do to her brethern, that were her servauntes, as to her awn brethern: for all they were Abraham's children. And at a certain tyme they schulden lettin her brethern passen from hem in fredom, but zif they wolden wilfullych abyden still in servise.

O Lorde, thou zave us in thy cominge a lawe of parfite love; and in token of love, thou clepedest thy selfe oure brother. And to maken us perfecte in love, thou bede that we schulden clepe to us no fadur up on erth, but thy Fadur of Heven we schulden clepen oure Fadur. Allas, Lorde! how violentlych oure brethern and thy childern ben now y-putte in bodilich thraldome, and in dispite, as beestes ever more in grevous traveill, to fynde proude men in ease? But, Lorde, zif we taken thys defoule and this desease in pacience and in mekenes, and kepen thyne hestes, we hopen to ben fre. And, Lorde, zeve oure brethern grace to comen oute of thraldome of synne that they ben fallen in, thorowz the desyringe and usage of lordschupe up on her brethern. And, Lorde, thyne prestes in the old lawe hadden no lordschupis amonge her brethern, but houses and lesewes for her beestes: but, Lorde, our prestes now have gret lordschupe and putten her brethern in gretter thraldome than lewed men that ben lordes. Thus ys mekenesse forsake.

Lorde! thou byddest in the Gospell, that when a man ys y-bede to the feest, he shulde sitte in the lowest place; and then he maye be sette hyer with worshup, when the lorde of the feest beholdeth how his gestes sitteth. Lorde, it ys drede that they, that sitten now in the hyest place, schullen ben beden in tyme to cominge sitte byneth: and that wole be schame and vileyne for hem. And it ys thy sayenge, 'Thilke that hyeth hym selfe schall be plowed, and thilke that loweth hym selfe schullen ben an heyzed⁴⁰⁸.' O Lorde! thou byddest in thy Gospell to ben ware of the ypocresye of Phareses, for it ys a pointe of pride contrary to mekenes. And, Lorde, thou saist that 'they love furst sittinges at the

⁴⁰⁴ [*Ne will.*]

⁴⁰⁵ [*Forbidden.*]

⁴⁰⁶ [*Subjects.*]

⁴⁰⁷ [*They.*]

⁴⁰⁸ [*Raised.*]

‘so peer⁴⁰⁹, and also the principall chayres in churches, and gretinges in chepinge⁴¹⁰, and to ben y-cleped masteres of men⁴¹¹.’ And, Lorde, thou saist, ‘Ne be ye nat cleped masteres; for One ys youre master, and that ys Christ; and all ye ben brethern. And ne clepe ~~ne~~ to zow⁴¹² no fadur upon erth; for One ys youre Fadur, that ys in Heven⁴¹³.’ O Lorde! this ys a blessed lesson, to teche men to ben meke. But, Lorde, he that clepeth hym selfe thy viker on erth, he clepeth hym selfe fadur of fadures, azeyns⁴¹⁴ thy forbedinge. And all these worshupes thou hast forboden, he appreveth⁴¹⁵ hem, and maketh hem masteres to manye, that techen thy puple her owne techinge, and leven⁴¹⁶ thy techinge that ys medefull, and hyden it by quaynte gloses⁴¹⁷ from thy lewed puple, and feden thy puple with swevenes⁴¹⁸ that they meten⁴¹⁹, and tales that doth litell profite, but moch harme to the puple. But, Lorde, these glosers seggeth⁴²⁰, that they ne desyren nat the state of mastrie to ben worschuped thereby, but to profite the more to thy puple, when they prechen thy worde. For as they seggen the puple wolen leven⁴²¹ more the preching of a mayster that hath y-taken a state of scole⁴²², than the preching of a nother man that hath not y-take the state of maystrye. Lorde, whether it be any nede the maystres beren witnesse to thy techinge, that it is trewe and good? Or, Lorde, whether maye any maystre mowe by his estate of maystrye, that thou hast forboden, drawe any man from hys synne; rather then an other man that is nat a maystre, ne wole be non; for it ys forboden hym in thy Gospell? Lorde, thou sendest no maystres to preach the puple, and thou knowlegist⁴²³ in the Gospell to thy Fadur, that he ‘hath y-hid hys wisdom from wise men and redye men, and schewed⁴²⁴ it to litle childern.’ And, Lorde, maystres of the law hylden⁴²⁵ thy techinge folye; and seiden, that thou wouldest destroye the puple with thy techinge. Trulych, Lorde, so these maystres seggeth⁴²⁶ now: for they have y-written many bokes azeyns thy techinge that is treweth; and so the prophesie of Hieremie ys fulfilled, when he sayeth: ‘Trulich the false poyntiz⁴²⁷ of the maysters of the law hath y-wrouzte lesinge’. And now ys the tyme y-come that Saynte Poule speaketh of there he sayeth, ‘Tyme schall come, whan man schulle not susteine holsome techinge. But they schullen gadre to hope⁴²⁸ maystres with hutchinge⁴²⁹ eares, and from treweth they schullen turnen a waye her heringe, and turnen her to tales that mastres have y-maked, to schowen her maystrye and her wisdom⁴³⁰.’

And, Lorde, a man schall leve⁴³¹ more a mannes werkes than hys wordes; and the dede scheweth well of these maysters, that they desyren more maystrye for her own worschupe, than for profite of the puple. For, when they be maystres, they ne prechen not so oft as they did before. And zif they prechen, comunlych it ys before rych men, there as they mowen bere⁴³² worschupe and also profite of her preching. But before pore men they prechen but seldem, when they ben maystres: and so by her workes we may sene that they ben false glosers. And, Lorde, me thinketh that whoso wole kepen thyne hestes hym nedeth no gloses: but thilke that clepen her selfe Christen men, and lyven azeynst thy techinge and thyne hestes, nedelych they mote glose thyne hestes after her lyvinge, other else men schulden openlych y-know her ypocrisie and falsheed.

But, Lorde, thou saist that there nys nothinge y-hid, that it schall not be schewed some tyme. And, Lorde, y-blessed mote thou be! For some what thou schewest us now of our myscheves, that we ben fallen in thorowz the wisdom of maystres, that have by sleyzthes⁴³³ y-lad⁴³⁴ us a waye from the and thy techinge, that thou that were mayster of Heven tauzt vs for love, when thou were here some tyme to hele of oure soules, withouten error or heresy. But maystres of the worldes wisdom, and her founder, haue y-damned it for heresy and for erreure.

⁴⁰⁹ [Supper.]⁴¹³ [Matt. xxiii. 8, 9.]⁴¹⁷ [Cantings, &c.]⁴²¹ [Love. Sax.]⁴²⁵ [Held. Sax.]⁴²⁹ [Itching.]⁴³³ [Sleights.]⁴¹⁰ [The market.]⁴¹⁴ [Against.]⁴¹⁸ [Dreams.]⁴²² [i. e. Degree.]⁴²⁶ [Saith.]⁴³⁰ [2 Tim. iv. 3, 4.]⁴³⁴ [Led.]⁴¹¹ [Mark xii. 38.]⁴¹⁵ [Approveth.]⁴¹⁹ [Dream.]⁴²³ [Acknowledged.]⁴²⁷ [Points.]⁴³¹ [Love.]⁴¹² [You.]⁴¹⁶ [Qu. Leave?]⁴²⁰ [Saith.]⁴²⁴ [Showed.]⁴²⁸ [Qu. Heap to gather?]⁴³² [May bear.]

O Lord ! me thinketh it ys a gret pride thus to reprove thy wisdom and thy techinge. And, Lorde, me thinketh that this Nabugodonosor kynge of Babylon, that thus hath reproveth thy techinge and thine hestes, and commaundeth on all wise to kepen hys hestes, maken thy puple heryen hym as a god on erth, and maketh hem his thralles and his servautes.

But, Lorde, we lewed men knowne no God but the, and we (with thyne helpe and thy grace) forsaken Nabugodonosor and hys lawes. For he, in his prowde estate, wole have all men onder hym, and he nele⁴³⁵ be under no man. He ondoth⁴³⁶ thy lawes that thou orde- nest to be kept, and maketh his awne lawes as hym lyketh ; and so he maketh hym kynge aboven all other kynges of the erth, and maketh men to worschupen hym as a god, and thy gret sacryfice he hath y-done awaye.

O Lorde ! here ys thy commaundement of mekenes mischefflych to broken, and thy blessed commaundement of porenesse ys also to broken and y-hid from thy puple. Lorde, Zacharie thy prophete sayth, that thou that schuldest ben oure kynge schuldest ben a pore man, and so thou were : for thou saidest thy selfe, 'Foxes have dennes, and briddes⁴³⁷ of 'heven nestes, and Mannes Sone hath nat where to legge⁴³⁸ hys heed on.' And thou saidest, 'Y-blessed ben pore men in spirite, for the kyngedome of Heven ys hern'⁴³⁹ : and 'Woo to rych men, for they han her comforte in this worlde.' And thou bade thy disciples to ben ware of all covetyse ; for thou saidest, 'In the abundaunce of a mannes havynge, 'ne ys nat his lyfode.' And so thou techist, that thilke that han⁴⁴⁰ more then her nedeth to her lyvinge, lyven⁴⁴¹ in covetyse. Also thou saist that, 'but zif a man forsake all 'thinges that he oweth, he ne maye not ben thy disciple.' Lord, thou saist also, 'that 'thy worde that ys y-sowe⁴⁴² in rych mennes hartes bringeth forth no fruite : for rychesse 'and the businesse of this worlde maketh it withouten fruite.'

O Lorde ! here ben many blessed techinges, to tech men to ben pore and love porenesse. But, Lorde, harme ys, pore men and porenesse ben y-hated, and rych men ben y-loved and honoured. And zif a man be a pore man, men holden hym a man with out grace ; and zif a man desyreth porenesse, men holden hym a fole. And zif a man be a rich man, men clepen⁴⁴³ hym a gracious man ; and thilke that ben bysie in getinge of rychesse, ben y-holde wise men and redye. But, Lorde, these rych men sayen, that it ys both le- full⁴⁴⁴ and medefull to hem to gadre rychesse to geder. For they ne gadreth it not for her selfe⁴⁴⁵, but for other men that ben nedy ; and, Lorde, her werkes schowen⁴⁴⁶ the treweth. For, zif a pore nedy man wolde borowen of her rychesse, he nole⁴⁴⁷ leve hym none of hys good ; but zif he mowe be seker⁴⁴⁸ to have it againe by a certeyn daye. But, Lorde, thou bede that a man schulde lene⁴⁴⁹ and not hoping zeldinge⁴⁵⁰ azeyne of hym that he leneth to : and thy Fadur of Heven wole quyte⁴⁵¹ hym hys mede. And, zif a pore axe a rych man any good, the rych man wole zeve hym but a litell, and zet it schalbe litell worth. And, Lorde, me thinketh that here ys litell love and charite, both to God and oure brethern. For, Lorde, thou techest in thy Gospell, that what men do to thy ser- vautes, they done to the. A Lorde ! zif a pore man axe good for thy love, men zeveth hym a litle of the worst. For these rych men ordeynen breed and ale, for Goddes men, of the worst that they have. O Lorde ! syth all they⁴⁵² good that men have cometh of the ; how dare any zeve the of the worste, and kepe to hym selfe the best ? How mowe soch men saye, that they gaderen rychesse for others nede as well as her selfe ; syth her werkes ben contrary to her wordes ? And that ys no gret treweth. And be ze seker⁴⁵³ these goods that rych men han, they ben God's goodes y-take to youre kepinge, to loke how ze wolen by setten to the worshupe of God. And, Lorde, thou saist in the Gospell, that 'who so is trewe in litell, he ys trewe in that thinge that is more : and who that ys false 'in a little thinge, who wole taken hym to warde thinges of a gretter value ?' And ther-

⁴³⁵ [Ne will, i. e. will not.]

⁴³⁶ [Undoeth.]

⁴³⁷ [Birds.]

⁴³⁸ [Lay. Sax.]

⁴³⁹ [Theirs. Sax.]

⁴⁴⁰ [Have. Sax.]

⁴⁴¹ [Live.]

⁴⁴² [Sown.]

⁴⁴³ [Call.]

⁴⁴⁴ [Lawful.]

⁴⁴⁵ [Themselves.]

⁴⁴⁶ [Show. Sax. termin.]

⁴⁴⁷ [Will not.]

⁴⁴⁸ [Sure.]

⁴⁴⁹ [Lend.]

⁴⁵⁰ [Yielding.]

⁴⁵¹ [Requite.]

⁴⁵² [The.]

⁴⁵³ [Sure.]

fore be ye ware, that han God's goodes to kepe. Spende ye thilke trulich to the worchupe of God, lest ze lesen⁴⁵⁴ the blisse of Heven, for the untrewedispendinge of God's goods in this worlde.

O Lord! these rych men seggen⁴⁵⁵, that they done moch for thy love. For many pore laborers ben y-founde by hem, that schulden fare febelich⁴⁵⁶, ne were not they and her redinesse for soth⁴⁵⁷; me thinketh, that pore laborers zeveth to these rych men more then they zeven hem azeyn warde. For the pore man mote⁴⁵⁸ gone to hys laboure in colde and in hete, and in wete and drye, and spende hys flesh and hys bloude in the rych mennés workes apon God's ground, to fynde the rych man in ese, and in lykyng, and in good fare of mete and of drinke, and of clothinge. Here ys a gret zifte⁴⁵⁹ of the pore man; for he zeveth his awn body. But what zeveth the rych man hym azeynwarde? Certes, febele mete, and febele drinke, and feble clothinge. What ever they seggen, soch be her workes; and here ys litell love. And who soever loketh wel a boutte, all the worlde fareth thus as we seggen: and all men stodyeth on every syde, how they maye wexe rych; and everych man almost ys a schamed to ben holden a pore man.

And, Lorde, I trowe, (for thou were a pore man) men taken litell regarde to the, and to thy techinge; but, Lorde, thou come to zeve us a new testamente of love, and therefore it was semelych⁴⁶⁰ that thou came in porenesse, to prove who wolde love the and kepen thyne hestes. For, zif thou haddist y-come in forme of a rych man and of a lorde, men woulde, rather for thy drede then for thy love, have y-kepte thyne hestes; and so, Lorde, now thou mizte well y-see which loven the as they schulde, in kepyng thyne hestes. For who that loveth the in thy porenesse and in thy lowenesse, nedes he mote love the in thy lordschupe and thy hizenesse.

But, Lorde, the worlde ys turned upse downe, and men loven pore men but a litell, ne porenesse nother⁴⁶¹; but men ben aschamed of porenesse, and therefore, Lorde, I trowe, that thou arte a pore kyng; and therfore I trowe, that he that clepeth hym selfe thy viker on erth, hath forsake porenesse, as he hath y-do⁴⁶² the remenaunte of thy law, and ys by come a rych man and a lorde, and maketh hys tresoure apon the erth, that thou forbedest in the Gospell; and, for his rizt⁴⁶³ and his rychesse, he wole plete⁴⁶⁴, and fezte⁴⁶⁵, and curse; and yet, Lorde, he wole segge⁴⁶⁶ that he forsaketh all thinges that he oweth, as thy trewe discipule mote done, after thy techinge in the Gospell.

But, Lorde, thou ne tauztest not a man to forsaken hys goodes, and pleten for hem, and fezten, and cursen; and, Lorde, he taketh on hym power to assoylen⁴⁶⁷ a man of all maner thinges, but zif it be of dette. Trewlych, Lorde, me thinketh he knoweth litell of charite; for, who that beth in charite, possesseth thy goodes in comune, and nat in propre, at hys nezboures nede.

And than schall there none of hem seggen, "Thys ys myne," but, "It is goodes, that God graunteth to us to spenden to hys worschupe:" and so, zif any of hem boroweth a porcion of thilke goodes, and dispendeth hem to God's worschupe, God ys apayed⁴⁶⁸ of this spendinge, and aloweth hym for hys trew doinge; and zif God ys apayed of the dispendinge, that ys the principall Lorde of thilke goodes, how darre any of his servauntes axen there of acountes, other⁴⁶⁹ chalengen it for dette? Certen, of one thinge I am in certen; that these that charge so moch dette of worldly catell, they knowen litell of Christes law of charite: for, zif ych⁴⁷⁰ am a bayly⁴⁷¹ of God's goodes in the worlde, and zif I se my brother in nede, ych am y-holden by charite to parte with hym of these goodes to his nede; and zif he spendeth hem well, to the worschupe of God, I mote be well apayed, as thouz⁴⁷² ych my selfe had spendid hem to the worschupe of God. And, zif the principall Lorde ys well payed of my brother's doinge, and the dispendinge of hys goodes, how maye I segge, for schame, that my brother ys dettoure to me of the goodes that I

⁴⁵⁴ [*Lose. Sax.*]⁴⁵⁵ [*Say. Sax.*]⁴⁵⁶ [*Feebly.*]⁴⁵⁷ [*Truth.*]⁴⁵⁸ [*Must.*]⁴⁵⁹ [*Gift.*]⁴⁶⁰ [*Seemly.*]⁴⁶¹ [*Neither.*]⁴⁶² [*Done.*]⁴⁶³ [*Right.*]⁴⁶⁴ [*Plead.*]⁴⁶⁵ [*Fight.*]⁴⁶⁶ [*Say.*]⁴⁶⁷ [*Absolve.*]⁴⁶⁸ [*Pleased, satisfied.*]⁴⁶⁹ [*Or.*]⁴⁷⁰ [*I.*]⁴⁷¹ [*Bailiff, or steward.*]⁴⁷² [*Though.*]

toke hym to spenden in God's worschupe at hys nede? And, zif my brother spendeth amys the goodes that I take hym, ich am dyscharged of my delyveraunce of the goodes, zif I take hym in charite thilke goodes at his nede; and ych am y-holden to ben sory of hys yvell dispendinge, ne I maye not axen the goodes, that I toke hym to his nede, in forme of dette; for, at hys nede, they weren hys, as well as myne. And thus ys my brother y-holde to done to me, zif he seiz⁴⁷³ me in nede; and, zif we ben in charite, lytell schulde we chargin of dette, and ne we schulde not axen so dettes, as men that knowen not God; and than be we pore in forsakyng all thinges that we owen. For, zif we ben in charite, we wolen nother fytze, nor curse, ne plete, for oure goodes with oure brethern.

O Lorde! thus thou tauztest thy servauntes to lyven, and so they lyveden, while they hadden good schepherdes, that fedden thy scheepe, and ne robbed hem not of her lyfelode; as Peter, thy good schepherde, and thy other apostles. But, Lorde, he that clepeth hymselfe thy viker up on erth, and successoure to Peter, he robbeth thy puple of her bodylich lyfelode; for he ordeneth proude schepherdis to lyven in ese, by the tenth partye⁴⁷⁴ of pore mennes traveyll; and he zeveth hem leve to lyven where hem lyketh: and zif men ne wolen not wilfullych zeven hem these tythinges, they wolen haven hem azeinst her will, by maystrye and by cursinge, to maken hem rych.

Lorde, how maye any man segge, that sych schepherdes that loven more the wole than the scheep, and feden not thy scheep in body, ne in soule, ne ben such ravenours and theves? And who maye segge, that the maintenoure of such schepherdes ne ys not a maintenoure of theves and robbers? How wole he assoyle schepherdes of her robbingge, with out restitution of her goodes, that they robben thy scheep of azeinst her will? Lorde of all schepherdes! blessed mote thou be, for thou lovedest more the scheep than her wole: for thou fedest thy scheep both in body and in soule; and for love of thy scheep, thou toke thy deth to bring thy scheep out of wolves mouthes. And the most charge, that thou zove to Peter, was, 'To fede thy scheep.' And so he did tewelich, and toke the deeth for the and for thy scheep; for he come in to the folde of the scheep by the, that were the dore. And so, I trowe, a fewe other did as he did, thouz⁴⁷⁵ they clepen hemselfe successours to Peter; for her workes schowen what they ben: for they robben, and sleen, and distroyen. They robben thy scheep of the tenth parte of her traveyle, and feden hemselfe in ese. They sleen thy scheep; for they pyenen⁴⁷⁶ hem for hunger of her soule to the deth. They distroyen thy scheep; for with mizte and with sternschipe they rulen thy scheep, that for drede, they ben disparpled⁴⁷⁷ a brode in mownteynes; and there the wilde beestes of the felde distroyeth hem, and devoureth hem, for defaute of a good schepherde.

O Lord! zif it be thy will, delyver thy scheep oute of such schepherdes warde, that retcheth⁴⁷⁸ not of thy scheep, han they her wole to make hem selfe rich; for thy scheep ben in gret mischefe, and foule accumbred with her schepherdes. But, for thy schepherdes wolden ben excused, they have y-geten hem hyridmen⁴⁷⁹ to fede thy puple, and these comen in scheepe's clothinge; but, dredeles, ther werkes schewen⁴⁸⁰, that with in forth they ben but wolves; for, han they her hyre, they ne retcheth but a litell how sorrilich thy scheep ben kepte. For, as they seggen hem selfe⁴⁸¹, they ben but hyrid men, that han no charge of thy scheep: and, when they schulden feden thy scheep in the plentuous lesewe of thy techinge, they stonden betwene hem and her lesewe, so that thy scheep ne han but a sizte⁴⁸² of thy lesewe, but eten they schallen not therof: but they feden hem in a sorry sowre lesewe of lesinges and of talys, and so thy scheep fallen in to grevous sycknesse thorowz thys yvel lesewe. And, zif any scheep breke over in to thy lesewe, to tasten the swetnes therof, anon these hyrid men dryve hym oute with houndes. And thus thy scheep, by these hyrid men, ben y-kepte oute of her kyndlych lesewe, and ben y-fed

⁴⁷³ [Sees.]

⁴⁷⁷ [Dispeopled?]

⁴⁸⁰ [Show. Sax.]

⁴⁷⁴ [Part.]

⁴⁷⁸ [Careth.]

⁴⁸¹ [Say themselves.]

⁴⁷⁵ [Though.]

⁴⁷⁹ [Hired-men; i. e. priests.]

⁴⁸² [Sight.]

⁴⁷⁶ [Pine. Sax. termin.]

wyth sowre grasse and sorry baren lesewes; and zet they feden hem but seldem, and when they han sorrilich fed hem, they taken gret hyre, and gone awaye from thy scheep, and letten hem a worth: and, for dreede lest thy scheep wolden in her absence go to thy swete lesewe, they have enclosed it all aboute so stronglych, and so hize⁴⁸³, ther maye no scheep comen there with in; but, zif it be a Walisch⁴⁸⁴ leper of the mounteynes, that maye, with his longe legges, lepen over the wallys. For, thyrid men ben full certen, that zif thy scheep hadden ones tasted the sweetnesse of thy lesewe, they ne wold no more ben y-fed of these hyrid men in her soure lesewes, and therfore these hyrid men kepen hem out of thy lesewe: for, hadden the scheep ones y-tasted well of thy lesewe, they wolden, with oute a ledder⁴⁸⁵, go thider to her mete; and than mote these hyrid men sechen hem a nother laboure to lyve by, than kepinge of scheepe. And they ben fell⁴⁸⁶ and war⁴⁸⁷ ynowe therof, and therfore they feden thy scheep with soure mete, that nauzte⁴⁸⁸ ys, and hiden from thy schepe the swetnesse of thy lesewe. And so, thouz these hyrid men gone in scheep's clothinge, in her workes they ben wolves, that much harme done to thy scheep as we have y-told.

O Lorde! they comen as schepe; for they seggen that they ben pore, and have forsaken the worlde to lyven parfetych⁴⁸⁹ as thou tauzttest in the Gospell. Lorde, this ys scheep's clothinge. But, Lorde, thou ne tauzttest not a man to forsaken the travelouse livynge in porenesse in the worlde, to lyven in ese with rychesse by other mennes traveyle, and have lordshupe on her brethern. For, Lorde, this ys more to forsaken the, and go to the worlde. O Lorde! thou ne tauzttest not a man to forsake the worlde, to lyven in porenesse of begginge by other menne's traveyle, that ben as feble as they ben. Ne, Lorde, thou ne tauzttest not a man to lyven in porenesse of begginge, that were stronge ynouz to traveyle for hys lyfelode. Ne, Lorde, thou ne tauzttest not a man to ben a begger, to beghen of men more then hym nedeth; to bylden gret castels, and maken gret festes to thilke that han no nede.

O Lorde! thou ne tauzttest not men this porenes; for it ys oute of charite: but thy porenesse that thou tauzttest norscheth⁴⁹⁰ charite. Lorde, syth Poule saith, 'That he that forsaketh the charge of thilke that ben homelich with hym, hath forsaken his faith, and ys worse then a misbeleved man.' How than mowe these men seggen that they beleven in Christ, that han forsake her pore feble frendes, and let hem lyve in traveyle, and in disese, that traveyled full sore for hem, when they weren zounge and unmizty⁴⁹¹ to helpen hem self? And they wolen lyve in ese by other mennes travayle ever more, in begginge with outen schame.

Lorde, thou ne tauzttest not this maner porenesse, for it ys oute of charite; and all thy lawe ys charite, other thinge that norscheth charite: and these hyridmen, these schepherdes sende aboute to kepe thy scheep, and to feden hem other whiles in sorry bareyne lesewes. Lorde, thou ne madest none such schepherdes ne kepers of thy scheep, that weren zerners⁴⁹² aboute cuntreys; and wolden ones oder⁴⁹³ twyes a zere⁴⁹⁴ fede sorrylich thy scheep, and for so litle traveyle taken a gret hyre, and sythen⁴⁹⁵ all the zere afterward do what hem lyketh, and let thy scheep perish for defaute of kepinge. But thy schepherdes abyden still with her scheep, and feden hem in thy plentuous lesewe of thy techinge, and gone byfore thy scheep, and techen hem the waye in to that plentuous and swete lesewe, and kepen thy flocke from raveninge of the wilde beestes of the feelde.

O Lorde! delyver thy scheep out of the warde of these schepherdes, and these hyrid men, that stonden more to kepe her ryches that they robben of thy scheep, than they stonden in kepinge of thy scheep.

O Lorde! when thou come to Jerusalem some tyme, thou drove out of the Temple sellers of beestes and of other chaffare, and saidest, 'Myne house schulden ben cleped

⁴⁸³ [High.]⁴⁸⁴ [Welsh?]⁴⁸⁵ [Leader.]⁴⁸⁶ [i. e. Keen? Vide Jamieson's Etymolog. Diction.]⁴⁸⁷ [Wary?]⁴⁸⁸ [Nought.]⁴⁸⁹ [Perfectly.]⁴⁹⁰ [Nourisheth.]⁴⁹¹ [Unmighty, i. e. unable.]⁴⁹² [Journeyers?]⁴⁹³ [Or.]⁴⁹⁴ [Year.]⁴⁹⁵ [i. e. Then.]

an house of preyers, but they maden a den of theves of it.' O Lorde! thou art the Temple in whom we schulden preyen thy Fadur of Heven; and Salomon's Temple, that was y-belded at Jerusalem, was fygure of this Temple. But, Lorde, he that clepeth hym selfe thy viker upon erth, and saith that he occupieth thy place here on erth, ys by come⁴⁹⁶ a chapman in the temple, and hath his chapmen walkynge in dyverse cuntreys, to sellen his chaffare, and to maken hym rych. And he saith, thou gave hym so gret a power aboven all other men, that what ever he byndeth ether⁴⁹⁷ unbyndeth in erth, thou byndest ether unbyndest the same in heven. And so of grete power, he selleth other men forzevenesse of her synne; and for moch money he will assoylen a man so clene of hys synne, that he behoteth⁴⁹⁸ men the blisse of Heven, withouten any peyne after that they be deed, that zeven⁴⁹⁹ hym much money. Byschopriches and churches, and such other chaffares, he selleth also for money, and maketh hym self rych; and thus he begileth the puple.

O Lorde Jesu! here ys much untrueth, and myschefe, and mater of sorow. Lorde, thou saidest some tyme, that thou woldest be with thy servauntes in to the ende of the world: and thou saidest also, 'There as tweyne or thre⁵⁰⁰ ben y-gadred to gedder in thy name, that thou art in the mydle of hem⁵⁰¹.' And, Lorde, then it was no nede to the to maken a leftenaunte, sith thou wolte be evermore amonges thy servauntes.

Lorde, thou axedest of thy disciples, who they trowed⁵⁰² that thou were? And Peter answered and saide, 'That thou art Christe, God's sone.' And thou saidest to Peter, 'Thou art y-blessed, Symon Barjona, for flesh and bloude ne schowed not this to the, but my Fadur that ys in Heven. And I say to the, that thou art Peter; and apon this stone ych wole byld my church, and the zates of Hell ne schullen nat availen azens it. And to the ych wole geve the keyes of Heven, and what ever thou byndest upon erth shall be bounde in Heven, and what ever thou unbyndest on erth schalbe unbounden in Heven⁵⁰³.' This power also was graunted unto the other disciples as well as to Peter; as the Gospel opunlych telleth. In this place men seggen, that thou graunted to Peter's successours the selve⁵⁰⁴ power that thou zave to Peter. And therfore the byschop of Rome (that saith he ys Peter's successour) taketh thys power to hym, to bynden and unbynden in erth what hym lyketh. But, Lorde, ych have much wondre how he maye for schame clepen hymselfe Peter's successour. For Peter knowledged that thou were Christ and God, and kepte the hestes of thy law; but these han forsaken the hestes of thy law, and hath y-maked a law contrary to thyne hestes of thy lawe. And so he maketh hymselfe a fals Christ and a fals god in erth: and I trouwe thou zave hym no power to undo thy law. And so, in takinge this power up on him, he maketh hym a fals Christe and Ante-christ. For who may be more azens Christ than he that in his wordes maketh hymselfe Christe's viker in erth, and in his werkes undoth the ordinaunce of Christe, and maketh men byleven that it ys nedefull to the heale of menne's soules to byleven that he ys Christe's viker in erth, and what ever he byndeth in erth ys y-bounden in Heven? And under this coloure he undoth Christe's lawe, and maketh men on alwise to kepen his lawe and his hestes. And thus men maye y-seen that he ys azens Christ, and therfore he ys Ante-christ, that maketh men worshupen hym as a god on earth; as that proude kynge Nabugodonosor did, sumtyme that was kynge of Babylone.

And therfore we lewed men, that knowen no God but the Jesu Christ, beleven in the (that art oure God, and oure Kynge, and our Christ,) and thy lawes; and forsaken Ante-christ and Nabugodonosor (that ys a fals god, and a fals Christ), and his lawes, that ben contrary to thy techinge. And, Lorde, strenzth thou us azenst oure enemies; for they ben aboute to maken us forsake the and thy lawe, other ellis⁵⁰⁵ to putten us to deth. O

⁴⁹⁶ [Become.]

⁵⁰⁰ [Two or three.]

⁵⁰³ [Matt. xvi. 16, 17, 18, 19.]

⁴⁹⁷ [Or.]

⁵⁰¹ [Matt. xviii. 20.]

⁵⁰⁴ [Same.]

⁴⁹⁸ [Promiseth.]

⁵⁰² [Believed.]

⁵⁰⁵ [Or else.]

⁴⁹⁹ [Give.]

Lorde! onlych in the is our trust to helpe us in this myschefe, for thy gret goodnesse that ys with outen end.

Lorde, thou ne tauztest not thy disciples to assoylen men of her synne, and setten hem a penaunce for her synne, in fastinge ne in prayenge, ne othere almous dede⁵⁰⁶; ne thy selfe; ne thy disciples useden no such power here on erth. For, Lorde, thou forzeve men her synnes, and bede hem synne no more: and thy disciples fulled⁵⁰⁷ men in thy name in forzevenesse of her synnes. Nor they toke no such power apon hem as oure prestes dare now. And, Lorde, thou ne assoyledest no man both of his synne, and of his peyne that was dewe for his synne; ne thou grauntedst no man such power here on erth. And, Lorde, me thinketh that zif ther were a purgatorye, and eny erthlyche man had power to delyveren synfull men from the peynes of purgatorye, he schulde, and he were in charite, saven everich man that were in waye of salvacion from thilke peynes; syth they make hem gretter than any bodilych peynes of thys worlde. Also, zif the bischop of Rome had such a power, he hymselfe schulde never comen in purgatorye, ne in Hell. And sith we se well, that he ne hath no power to kepen hymselfe, ne other men nother, out of these bodilich peynes of the worlde, and he maye go to Hell for hys synne, as another man maye; I ne byleve nat that he hath so great a power to assoylen men of her synne, as he taketh up on hym aboven all other men: and I trowe that in thys he hyeth hymselfe above God.

As touchinge the selling of byschopryches and personages⁵⁰⁸, I trow it be a poynte of falshede. For azens God's ordinaunce he robbeth pore men of a porcion of their sustinaunce and selleth it, other zeveth it to fynde proude men in ydlenesse, that done the lewed puple litell prophet⁵⁰⁹ and much harme, as we tolde before. Thus ben thy commaundementes of treweþ, of mekenesse, and of porenesse, undone by hym, that clepeth hym selfe thy viker here upon erth.

A Lorde! thou zave us a commaundemente of chastite; that ys a forsakyng of fleschliche lustes. For thou brouztest us to a lyvyng of soul, that ys y-governed by thy worde. For, Lorde, thou ordeynedist woman more frele than man to byn y-governed by man's rule, and his helpe to plesse the and kepe thyne hestes. Ne thou ne ordeynedist that a man schuld desyre the company of a woman, and maken her his wife, to lyven with her in his lustys, as a swyne doth, or a horse: and hys wife ne lyked hym nat to hys lustes; Lorde, thou ne zave not a man leve to departen hym from his wife and taken hym a nother.

But, Lorde, thy maryage ys a commune acorde between man and woman, to lyven togeder to her lyves ende, and in thy servyse eyther the bettur for other's helpe; and thilke that ben thus y-come to geder ben joined by the, and thilke that God joyneth maye no man departe. But, Lorde, thou saist that 'zif a man se a woman to coveten her, than he doth with that woman letcherye in his harte.' And so, Lorde, zif a man desyre his wife in covetyse of such lustes, and not to flye from whoredome, his weddinge ys letcherye; ne thou ne joynest hem nat to geder. Thus was Ragul's douzter y-wedded to seven husbandes, that the Devell strangled; but Tobye toke her to lyve with her in clenness, and bringinge up of her childern to thy worschyp, and on hym the Devell ne had no power: for the weddinge was y-maked in God, for God, and thorouz God.

A Lorde! the puple ys ferre y-go from this maner of weddinge. For now men wedden her wives for fayrenesse, other for rychesse, or some such other fleschlych lustes. And, Lorde, so it preveth by hem for the most parte. For a manne shall not fynde two wedded in a londe, where the husbonde loves the wife, and the wife is buxom to the man, as they shulden after thy law of mariage. But other⁵¹¹ the man loves not his wife, or the wife is not buxom to her man: and thus⁵¹², Lorde, ys the rule of prefe that neuer faileth to preve whether it be done by the or no. And, Lorde, all this myschefe ys comen amonge

⁵⁰⁶ [*Almsdeed.*]⁵¹⁰ [*Frail.*]⁵⁰⁷ [*Baptized.*]⁵¹¹ [*Either.*]⁵⁰⁸ [*Parsonages.*]⁵¹² [*This.*]⁵⁰⁹ [*Profit.*]

thy puple, for that they knowe not thy worde; but her scheperdes and hyrid men feden hem with her swevenes and lesynges. And, Lorde, where they schulden gon before us in the felde, they seggen that her order ys to holy for thy mariage. And, Lorde, he that calleth hymselfe thy viker up on erth will not suffren prestes to taken hem wyves, for that it ys azeins his law: but, Lorde, he will dispensen with hem to kepen horen for a certen sum of mon. And, Lorde, all horedome ys forfended in thy law. And, Lorde, thou never forfendest⁵¹³ prestes her wives, ner thy apostles nether. And well I wote, in our londe prestes hadden wives until Anselmus' dayes, in the yere of oure Lorde God a leven hundred and twenty and nyne, as Huntindon writes. And, Lorde, this makes puple, for the most parte, leven⁵¹⁴ that letcherye ys no synne. Therefore, we lewed men preyen the that thou wolt sende us sheperdes of thyne owne, that wolen feden thy flock in thy lesewe, and gon before hem selfe, and so writen thy lawe in oure hartes, that from the leest to the mest all they mayen knowen thee. And, Lorde, geve oure kynge, and his lordes, harte to defenden thy trew scheperdes, and thy sheep from oute of the wolves mouthes, and grace to know the, that art the trew Christ, the Sonne of thy Hevenly Fader, from the Ante-christ; that ys, the sonne of pride.

And, Lorde, geve us, thy poore scheep, pacience and strenzth to suffer for thy law the cruelnes of the myschevous wolves: and, Lorde, as thou hast promysed, shorten these dayes. Lorde, we axen this now, for more nede was there never.

⁵¹³ [*Prohibitest.*]

⁵¹⁴ [*Believe.*]

The Lord Digby's Speech in the House of Commons, to the Bill for Triennial Parliaments, Jan. 19, 1640.

[Quarto; containing sixteen pages.]

Mr. SPEAKER,

I RISE not now, with an intent to speak to the frame and structure of this bill, nor much by way of answer to objections that may be made; I hope there will be no occasion of that, but that we shall concur, all unanimously, in what concerneth all so universally.

Only, Sir, by way of preparation, to the end that we may not be discouraged in this great work by difficulties that may appear in the way of it, I shall deliver unto you my apprehensions, in general, of the vast importance and necessity that we should go thorough with it.

The result of my sense is, in short, this: that, unless (for the frequent convening of parliaments) there be some such course settled, as may not be eluded, neither the people can be prosperous and secure, nor the king himself solidly happy. I take this to be the *unum necessarium*: let us procure this, and all our other desires will effect themselves. If this bill miscarry, I shall have left me no public hopes; and, once passed, I shall be freed of all public fears.

The essentialness, Sir, of frequent parliaments to the happiness of this kingdom, might be inferred unto you, by the reason of contraries,—from the woeful experience which former times have had of the mischievous effects of any long intermission of them.

But, Mr. Speaker, why should we climb higher than the level we are on, or think further than our own horizon, or have recourse for examples in this busines to any other promptuary than our own memories; nay, than the experience almost of the youngest here?

The reflection, backward, on the distractions of former times upon intermission of parliaments; and the consideration, forward, of the mischiefs likely still to grow from the same cause, if not removed, doubtless, gave first life and being to those two dormant statutes of Edward III. for the yearly holding of parliaments. And shall not the fresh and bleeding experience, in the present age, of miseries from the same spring, not to be paralleled in any other, obtain an awakening or resurrection of them?

The intestine distempers, Sir, of former ages upon the want of parliaments, may appear to have had some other co-operative causes; as, sometimes, unsuccessful wars abroad; sometimes, the absence of the prince; sometimes, competitions of titles to the crown; sometimes, perhaps, the vices of the king himself.

Let us but consider the posture, the aspect of this state, both towards itself, and the rest of the world, the person of our sovereign, and the nature of our sufferings, since the third of his reign: and there can be no cause colourably inventible, whereunto to attribute

¹ [‘On the 19th of January, (says Dr. Kippis, Biog. Brit, vol. v. 213.) Lord Digby was called forth to display his eloquence on a very important topic. This was the bill for preventing inconveniences which happen by long intermission of parliaments. The sentiments advanced by him, in favour of frequent parliaments, are so truly patriotic, and so congenial, we doubt not, to the feelings of most of our readers, that they will peruse them with peculiar pleasure.’ Vide a further encomium on Lord Digby’s eloquence in the same work, p. 211; and in Harl. Miscell. Vol. V. p. 441.]

This speech having been more accurately printed in the Parliamentary History, vol. ix. p. 197, has been collated therewith, and corrected wherever it appeared necessary.]

them, but the intermission, or (which is worse) the undue frustration of parliaments; by the unlucky use, if not abuse, of prerogative in the dissolving them.

Take into your view, Mr. Speaker, a kingdom in a state of the greatest quiet and security that can be fancied; not only enjoying the calmest peace itself, but to improve and secure its happy condition; all the rest of the world, at the same time, in tempests, in combustions, in uncomposable wars.

Take into your view, Sir, a king, sovereign of three kingdoms, by a concentrating of all the royal lines in his person, as undisputably as any mathematical ones in Euclid; a king firm and knowing in his religion, eminent in virtue; a king that hath, in his own time, given all the rights and liberties of his subjects a more clear and ample confirmation, freely and graciously, than any of his predecessors (when the people had them at advantage) extortedly;—I mean, in the Petition of Right.—This is one map of England, Mr. Speaker.

A man, Sir, that should present unto you, now, a kingdom, groaning under that supreme law, which *salus populi periclitata* would enact; the liberty, the property, of the subject fundamentally subverted, ravished away, by the violence of a pretended necessity; a triple crown shaken with distempers; men of the best conscience ready to fly into the wilderness for religion!—Would not one swear, this were the antipodes to the other?—And yet, let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, this is a map of England too; and both at the same time true.

As it cannot be denied, Mr. Speaker, that since the Conquest, there hath not been in this kingdom a fuller concurrence of all circumstances in the former character, to have made a kingdom happy, than for these twelve years last past; so it is most certain, that there hath not been, in all that deduction of ages, such a conspiracy (if one may so say) of all the elements of mischief in the second character, to bring a flourishing kingdom, if it were possible, to swift ruin and desolation.

I will be bold to say, Mr. Speaker, (and I thank God we have so good a king, under whom we may speak boldly of the abuse of his power by ill ministers, without reflection upon his person,) that an accumulation of all the public grievances since *Magna Charta*, one upon another, unto that hour in which the Petition of Right passed into an act of parliament, would not amount to so oppressive, I am sure not to so destructive, a height and magnitude to the rights and property of the subject, as one branch of our beslaying since the Petition of Right! The branch, I mean, is the judgment concerning Ship-money.

This being a true representation of England in both aspects, let him, Mr. Speaker, that (for the unmatched oppression and enthralling of free subjects, in a time of the best king's reign, and in memory of the best laws enacting in favour of subjects' liberty,) can find a truer cause than the ruptures and intermission of parliaments; let him, and him alone, be against the settling of this inevitable way for the frequent holding of them.

It is true, Sir, wicked ministers have been the proximate causes of our miseries; but the want of parliaments, the primary, the efficient cause: ill ministers have made ill times; but that, Sir, hath made ill ministers.

I have read, amongst the laws of the Athenians, a form of recourse in their oaths and vows of greatest and most public concernment to a threefold Deity, *supplicium exauditori, purgatori, malorum depulsori*. I doubt not but we, here assembled for the common-wealth in this parliament, shall meet with all these attributes in our sovereign. I make no question, but he will graciously hear our supplications, purge away our grievances, and expel malefactors; that is, remove ill ministers, and put good in their places.—No less can be expected from his wisdom and goodness.

But, let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, if we partake not of one attribute more in him; if we address not ourselves unto that, I mean *bonorum conservatori*, we can have no solid, no durable comfort in all the rest: for, let his Majesty hear our complaints never so compassionately; let him purge away our grievances never so efficaciously; let him punish and dispel ill ministers never so exemplarily; let him make choice of good ones never so

exactly: yet, if there be not a way settled to preserve and keep them good, the mischiefs and they will all grow again like Samson's locks, and pull down the house upon our heads:—believe it, Mr. Speaker, they will.

It hath been a maxim amongst the wisest legislators, that whosoever means to settle good laws, must proceed in them with a sinister opinion of all mankind; and suppose, that whosoever is not wicked, it is for want only of the opportunity. It is that opportunity of being ill, Mr. Speaker, that we must take away, if ever we mean to be happy; which can never be done, but by the frequency of parliaments.

No state can wisely be confident of any public minister's continuing good, longer than the rod is over him.

Let me appeal to all those that were present in this house at the agitation of the Petition of Right: and let them tell us truly, of whose promotion to the management of affairs do they think the generality would at that time have had better hopes, than of Mr. Noy and Sir Thomas Wentworth; both being at that time, and in that business, as I have heard, most keen and active patriots; and the latter of them (to the eternal aggravation of his infamous treachery to the common-wealth, be it spoken) the first mover, and insister to have this clause added to the Petition of Right, 'That, for the comfort and safety of his subjects, his Majesty would be pleased to declare his will and pleasure, that all his ministers should serve him according to the laws and statutes of the realm.'

And yet, Mr. Speaker; to whom now can all the inundations upon our liberties, under pretence of law; and the late shipwreck, at once, of all our property; be attributed more than to Noy: and those, and all other mischiefs, whereby this monarchy hath been brought almost to the brink of destruction, so much to any as to that grand apostate to the common-wealth, the now lieutenant of Ireland?²

The first, I hope, God hath forgiven in the other world; and the latter must not hope to be pardoned it in this, till he be dispatched to the other.

Let every man but consider those men as once they were;—the excellent law for the security of the subject, enacted immediately before their coming to employment, in the contriving whereof themselves were principal actors;—the goodness and virtue of the king they served,—and yet the high and public oppressions that in his time they have wrought: and surely there is no man but will conclude with me, that as the deficiency of parliaments hath been the *causa causarum* of all the mischiefs and distempers of the present times; so the frequency of them is the sole catholic antidote that can preserve and secure the future from the like.

Mr. Speaker, let me yet draw my discourse a little nearer to his Majesty himself, and tell you, that the frequency of parliaments is most essentially necessary to the power, the security, the glory of the king.

There are two ways, Mr. Speaker, of powerful rule, either by fear, or love; but one of happy and safe rule, that is, by love, that *firmissimum imperium quo obedientes gaudent*:—to which Camillus advised the Romans. Let a prince consider what it is that moves a people principally to affection, and dearness, towards their sovereign; he shall see that three needs no other artifice in it, than to let them enjoy, unmolestedly, what belongs unto them of right. If that have been invaded and violated in any kind, whereby affections are alienated; the next consideration for a wise prince, that would be happy, is how to regain them; to which three things are equally necessary:—reinstating them in their former liberty; avenging them of the authors of those violations; and, securing them from apprehensions of the like again.

The first, God be thanked, we are in a good way of: the second, in a warm pursuit of; but the third, (as essential as all the rest,) till we be certain of triennial parliaments, at the least, I profess I can have but cold hopes of.

I beseech you then, Gentlemen, since that security for the future is so necessary to that blessed union of affections, and this bill so necessary to that security; let us not be so

² [Sir T. Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.]

wanting to ourselves, let us not be so wanting to our sovereign, as to forbear to offer unto him this powerful, this everlasting philter,—to charm unto him the hearts of his people, whose virtue can never evaporate.

There is no man, Mr. Speaker, so secure of another's friendship, but will think frequent intercourse and access very requisite to the support, to the confirmation of it: especially, if ill offices have been done between them; if the raising of jealousies hath been attempted. There is no friend but would be impatient to be debarred from giving his friend succour and relief in his necessities.

Mr. Speaker, permit me the comparison of great things with little: what friendship, what union, can there be so comfortable, so happy, as between a gracious sovereign and his people? And what greater misfortune can there be to both, than for them to be kept from intercourse, from the means of clearing misunderstandings, from interchange of mutual benefits?

The people of England, Sir, cannot open their ears, their hearts, their mouths, nor their purses, to his Majesty, but in parliament:—We can neither hear him, nor complain, nor acknowledge, nor give, but there.

This bill, Sir, is the sole key that can open the way to a frequency of those reciprocal endearments, which must make and perpetuate the happiness of the king and kingdom.

Let no man object any derogation from the king's prerogative by it. We do but present the bill; it is to be made a law by him: his honour, his power, will be as conspicuous, in commanding at once that a parliament shall assemble every third year, as in commanding a parliament to be called this or that year. There is more of majesty in ordaining primary and universal causes, than in the actuating particularly of subordinate effects.

I doubt not but that glorious king, Edward III., when he made those laws for the yearly calling of parliaments, did it with a right sense of his dignity and honour.

The truth is, Sir, the kings of England are never in their glory, in their splendour, in their majestic sovereignty, but in parliaments.

Where is the power of imposing taxes? Where is the power of restoring from incapacities? Where is the legislative authority?—Marry, in the king, Mr. Speaker. But how?—In the king, circled in, fortified and evirtuated by his parliament.

The king, out of parliament, hath a limited, a circumscribed jurisdiction; but, waited on by his parliament, no monarch of the East is so absolute in dispelling grievances.

Mr. Speaker, in chasing ill ministers, we do but dissipate clouds that may gather again; but, in voting this bill, we shall contribute, as much as in us lies, to the perpetuating our sun, our sovereign, in his vertical, in his noon-day lustre.

The Opinion of Mr. Perkins and Mr. Bolton, and others, concerning the Sport of Cock-Fighting. Published formerly in their Works, and now set forth to shew, That it is not a Recreation meet for Christians, though so commonly used by those who own that Name. By Edmund Ellis¹, Master of Arts, and some Time Fellow of Baliol-College in Oxford.

2 Sam. vi. 22.

‘I will yet be more vile than thus.’

Oxford: printed by A. L. in the Year 1660.

[Quarto; containing twenty pages.]

To my most dearly beloved and honoured Friends, Edmund Fortescue, of Fal-lapit in Devonshire, Esq. and Mr. Dennis Grenville², younger Son of Sir Bevill Grenville, Knight.

SIRS,

I PRESENT you these papers, chiefly for these two reasons. First, because I know you are sincerely of the same opinion, which, by them, I manifest to the world, that I am of; and therefore they must needs be acceptable unto you. Secondly, because you understand me aright in those actions, which the generality of other men, good and bad, who have occasion to take notice of them, esteem as monstrous and improper for me; not rightly apprehending their symmetry and proportion to such principles, as they themselves must necessarily acknowledge to be good for me to act by: and, whilst there is any sin to be discerned in me (which, alas! must needs be, as long as I continue in this earthly tabernacle) it cannot be otherwise; by reason of the confused notions men commonly have, of such actions as proceed from a soul differently inclined: to wit, by the strength it retains of the old nature, and by what it hath received of the new. That stream of grace, which flows continually through the whole course of the lives and conversations of those who are born again, mixing itself with the ocean, as it were, of so many sins and infirmities, and civil actions, is no more to be discerned by the generality, than a stream of fresh in salt waters; it is the taste, not the sight, the knowledge of the heart, not of the brain, that apprehends the integrity of any man's actions: neither do I any more be-

¹ [Edmund Ellis (or Elys, as Anthony Wood calls him) was maternally descended from an antient and respectable family residing at Hacombe in Devonshire, where he was born. Having been prepared for the university, by a Mr. W. Hayter, at Exeter, he was entered as a commoner of Balliol-College, Oxford, in 1651; and four years afterwards, obtained a fellowship; which, after taking his degrees, he resigned, *an.* 1659; retiring to the village of East Allington, Devon; to the rectory of which he succeeded his father, by the presentation of his fellow-collegian Sir Edmund Fortescue. ‘Here (says our Oxford historian) he continued in good repute for his learning, and zeal for the church of England, till after king William III. came to the crown; when he was deprived of his living, for refusing the oaths appointed by the parliament, for all persons that ‘enjoyed places of trust, to take.’ He then retired to Totness, where he was living in 1693, in a ‘studious and retired condition.’ *Athenæ Oxon.* ii. 943.]

This Edmund Elys wrote a refutation of the ‘Brief Notes on the Creed of St. Athanasius,’ which are printed in the Fifth Volume of this Work, page 380.]

² [Vide an account of Dennis Grenville, in Wood's *Athenæ*, ii. 959.]

lieve, that all good men thoroughly apprehend those actions, which sometimes they are pleased to censure, than that any man, who has (as they say) a judicious palate, should be able to distinguish wines, or any other liquors, when he does but see them.

My dear friends, farewell; and pray earnestly, that my faith may not fail me: for, methinks, coming out into the sea of the world upon this occasion, my conscience commanding me, I am in the case that Peter was in, Matth. xiv. 29, when he walked on the water to go to Jesus, as soon as he said, "Come."

' To my honoured Friend, Mr. EDMUND ELLIS.

' MY dearest Friend; Since you have given me notice of this your noble design, I think myself obliged to congratulate you in it, and to bless God for it, being so highly obliged unto you for those good instructions, and pious admonitions, which from time to time, I have received from you: and although I have not trod so exactly in those ways, which you have directed me to, yet it is my earnest prayer to God, that gentlemen would endeavour but as I have done; which if they did, surely such vain sports and bloody recreations, which you treat of, would no longer be pleasing to them. I know, (to my grief I speak it) that the generality of gentlemen are no more capable to apprehend your discourses, than a man, the pores of his head being stopped by the extremity of cold, is able to distinguish betwixt ill and wholesome scents. It has been an experiment, tried through all ages since the Creation, That the workers of iniquity hate light; that they cannot endure to be told of any sin, which they indulge unto themselves. The more ingenious the men be, (unless truly Christian, unless they live according to Christ's Gospel, and would rather lose an eye, their right-hand, nay, their lives, than wittingly and willingly commit the least sin,) the more, you must expect, they will rail and revile you. Whatever they pretend to your face, they would cut your throat with all their hearts; they play the wolf in the sheep's clothing; hide the vulture's heart under the dove's breast. What can you expect from such men, but scoffs, &c.? who in corners (not in public, for fear that small rod of justice, which is yet left, might make them smart) laugh at God, and despise what they themselves preach:—a wonder, that God inflicts not some immediate punishment on such notorious offenders, who deride the wisdom of the mystery of the Blessed Trinity. But, alas! what will become of such men? who do not only "neglect, but despise so great Salvation." Though God's revenging hand, which is able to grind them to powder, does forbear them for some small season; yet they shall surely one day most sadly feel it, when coals of fire and brimstone, and an horrible tempest, shall be showered down on their heads by the revenging hand of an angry God.

' How many thousands of gentlemen are there in this nation, who far more dread the thoughts of a year's imprisonment, (being by that to be deprived of their jolly companions,) than that sad divorce betwixt the soul and body! Their eyes are so dim, by their long persistence in the ways of darkness, that they cannot see the paths of light; and rather than they will pain themselves to pluck off that film, which darkens their sight, they will perish for ever. They will rather be God's enemies, so they gain a good reputation in the world, being called prudent, discreet, &c. (though that is but a mistake,) than be His faithful stewards, and be backbitten and railed on, by the ignorant of these our days. Did but men practise, as they say they believe, we should not see so great debaucheries, as now there are: they had rather be in their studies, with tears in their eyes, and books in their hands, than at the ale-house, tossing off cups, and delighting to see the innocent blood of poor creatures. This, your discourse, will try the pureness of men's hearts, as fire gold. You must expect, that the mouths of those, who continually bark at you, being already open, will not close without some noise; they will try their utmost to affright you from undertaking such noble designs, whereby you do eminently serve God, and satisfy the desires of your brethren.

' Well, my dear friend, go on and prosper in all your endeavours, and be sure, that,

‘ though men do strive to cast aspersions on your candid name ; yet, in their hearts, they
 ‘ fear and reverence you. They are afraid to own that in public before men, which, in
 ‘ private chambers, they twattle before boys. I say, my friend, let them be what they
 ‘ will, they are beneath your notice, since, by such opprobrious speeches, they cease
 ‘ from being Christians: they cannot apprehend terrestrial friendship ; how then can they
 ‘ heavenly ?—It is a general observation, That several men of one profession always dis-
 ‘ commend and undervalue one the other’s work ; and truly this is the same case with
 ‘ you. You and others are all baptized in Christ’s name, and since you own what there
 ‘ you vowed to do, in which they are so defective, they envy and revile you, they hate to
 ‘ see themselves out-done by one of their own calling. Therefore you must expect, that
 ‘ all formal Christians, who will not go to Heaven, unless they might have the world for
 ‘ their companion on their journey ; “ who have a form of godliness, but deny the power
 ‘ thereof ; who mind earthly things ; who are lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God ;
 ‘ who delight in the creature more than the Creator : ” I say, you may be sure, that the
 ‘ greatest part of those, who call themselves Christians, being ignorant of the spirit and
 ‘ life of religion ; having religion only in their fancy, and thinking the very acts of it but
 ‘ wild chimeras, make it an *ens rationis*, or an empty notion, will despise and undervalue
 ‘ your writings. But, blessed be that God, who has and will uphold you against the de-
 ‘ vilish oppositions of malicious men ; who has made that gall, which has been cast in your
 ‘ teeth, to prove “ sweeter than honey in your belly.”

‘ I could say more, did I not fear that I have already tired you. I can assure you,
 ‘ that no man can have a more perfect friendship for any one, than I have for you. You
 ‘ know, that I am,

‘ My dearest Friend,

‘ Your most affectionate

‘ EDMUND FORTESCUE.’

‘ March 20, 1659.

THOUGH it be my opinion, that the sport of Cock-fighting is absolutely sinful, yet I would not have thee think, as the vulgar will be ready to say, that I esteem as unregenerate all those who are of a contrary judgment. I do not so little consider that of the Apostle, ‘ In many things we offend all : ’ and certainly, the immediate cause of our offences, the perverseness of the will, always proceeds from the understanding, or judgment perverted, in apprehending any thing the wrong way, by which it is inclined to accept, or refuse the object, or thing proposed. But though I do not conceive that the ignorance of the impiety of this sport is altogether inconsistent with a regenerate state, or the habit of true godliness, in some degree ; yet I am not afraid to make known to the world, that I cannot imagine how any man, whilst he is actually like unto God, the Father of mercies, can possibly delight and recreate himself, in seeing his fellow-creatures (which are infinitely less inferior to us, than we to our, and their Creator) so subtle and active to wound and destroy each other. Having this opinion of the sport of Cock-fights, and seeing it so frequently used in the country where I live ; no man, that I can hear of, opposing it as absolutely sinful, I could not retain the confidence I have, that I am, indeed, a faithful servant of the great God in the Gospel of his Son, and a true lover of the souls of men, if I should not venture to oppose it myself ; though I am not ignorant, that, endeavouring to destroy this common opinion, that this sport is not meet for Christians, I must necessarily expect to be counted a fool-hardy and imprudent fellow. Methinks I hear many men saying unto me, appearing in public upon this occasion, as Eliab, 1 Sam. xvii. 28, said to his brother David, ‘ I know thy pride, and the naughtiness of thine heart.’ This, indeed, would somewhat disturb me, if I did not consider, that omniscience is one of the attributes of the God whom I serve.

Thinking with myself, what means I should use to effect this design, to convince the world, that the temper and disposition of any man’s soul, whilst he actually delights in such a sport, must necessarily be offensive to God ; at last I considered, (though it be my

opinion) that for any man, who has attained to a competent degree of the art of expression, to publish those notions which he has gathered from his own experience of such Christian truths, as are, in some sort, generally believed, in his own words, is a work most acceptable to the God of truth: for, certainly, those notions of spiritual things which fix themselves, and reside in the head only of the generality of those 'who are called Christians,' are usually guided unto the heart by such expressions of the same things, as come from the hearts of others. Yet, I say, at last I considered, that truths of this nature, which are like to find so much opposition, will hardly be received by any, who now oppose them, unless they be brought in, as it were, with drum and trumpet; I mean, by the hands of some famous and excellent writers: and therefore I would not, at present, write of this subject, any more than only to speak my opinion; but have rather chosen to shew the world, what some eminent divines have written of it, which I conceive was never yet read and considered by any of those who delight in such sports, and profess to walk as Christ walked.

And here, in the name of a Christian, I call to my aid (in endeavouring to evince this, that such a temper, as may actually consist with a delight in such sports, must needs be unchristian) all those who are of the same opinion; and, withal, are conscious to themselves, that God has given them an art of persuasion, an ability of conveying their own thoughts into the breasts of others, not only of those who are simply void of them, but of those also who oppugn and resist them. Such men I entreat upon all occasions, to manifest their dislike of such sports, and their reasons for it.

If these papers shall chance to be seen by the worthy and renowned author of the 'Whole Duty of Man,' I shall humbly entreat him, as one who serves with him under Christ, the Captain of our salvation, to afford me some aid in this combat with the world; if he be of the same judgment, as, by his works, I presume he is. I doubt not, but the small thoughts and fancies, which those who delight in this sport, are apt to conceive in favour of it, which arise in their minds, like mists and dark vapours, to obscure the reason of any thing they can ordinarily hear spoken against it, would suddenly vanish, like a morning cloud, when the sun appears, if it should be opposed by so noble a person; whose style, like a diamond, is bright and solid; whose excellent rhetorick, and beauty of expression, does not, like weaker beauty, consist chiefly in colour and complexion, (in words, which are so apt to take, as they say,) but in symmetry and exact proportion. And I hope, the amiable subject of his beauteous expressions will, in time, by the help of God's Spirit, draw into itself the love of many, who, as yet, are lovers of the world. If the thoughts I have expressed of this sport be not suitable to his, I desire to be better informed by him. For, I must profess, at present, it scandals me extremely to see Christians, those who profess to have their bosoms a nest for the Heavenly Dove, to be companions of the Lamb of God, to recreate themselves in blood, though it be of the meanest creatures; and to me no man's reason seems more strong, or expression more clear, than what I find in the writings of this excellent person. So that, whatever he shall be pleased to write on this subject, it will either make me see myself in an error, or lead me on further in the way of truth; if my opinion be true indeed, which, as yet, I have no reason to doubt, but that so many speak against it.

All that I have to say farther is this, that, if I did not as much despise the shame, as I am thought to desire the praise of the world, I would rather lose the hand I write with, than employ my pen upon such an occasion: but I fear not the terms of fool, or madman. It was said of my Saviour, 'He hath a devil.' My Lord was reviled, shall I be applauded? What greater comfort can a Christian have, than in thinking how like he is to 'the Lord of glory,' not only in what he did, but even also in what he suffered?

Of Cock-Fights, and such like Sports.

THE baiting of the bear, and cock-fights, are no meet recreations. The baiting of the bull hath its use, and therefore it is commanded by civil authority; and so have not

‘ these. And the antipathy, and cruelty, which one beast sheweth to another, is the fruit of our rebellion against God; and should rather move us to mourn, than to rejoice.’ These are the words of the most learned and godly Mr. Perkins, in that famous treatise of the ‘ Cases of Conscience,’ printed in quarto, A. D. 1632, p. 346.

That man of God, Mr. Bolton, was of the same mind with Mr. Perkins, concerning such sports: ‘ Consider,’ says he (in his excellent treatise, intituled, ‘ General Directions for a comfortable Walking with God,’ p. 156.) ‘ that rule which divines give about recreations. We must not make God’s judgments and punishments, either upon man or beast, the matter and object of them. Now, the best divines hold, that enmity amongst themselves was a fruit of our rebellion against God, and more general judgment inflicted upon the creature after the fall: which misery coming upon them by our means, should rather break our hearts, and make them bleed, than minister matter of glorying in our shame, and vexing those very vexations which our impiety hath put upon them. Alas, sinful man! what an heart hast thou, that canst take delight in the cruel tormenting of a dumb creature? Is it not too much for thee to behold, with dry eyes, that which only thy sin hath impressed upon it; but that thou must barbarously also press its oppressions, and make thyself merry with the bleeding miseries of that poor harmless thing, which, in its kind, is much more, and far better serviceable to the Creator than thyself? Yet I deny not, but that there may be another lawful use of this antipathy, for the destroying of hurtful, and the enjoying of useful creatures; so that it be without any taint or aspersion of cruelty on our parts, or needless tormenting of the silly beasts.’

Mr. Dod, and Mr. Cleaver, (scorned by none but those whose revilings are praises) in their exposition of these words of Solomon, Prov. xii. 10, ‘ A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast,’ having spoken against the hard usage of labouring beasts, as horses, &c. conclude thus: ‘ And yet, in another sort, more extremity than this is used against other sorts of creatures, and that is, when men make a sport of making them miserable; when it is a pleasure to put them to pain; when it is a pass-time to behold their torment and tearing. This proceedeth not of a tender heart; this is not the work of righteousness; this delight will leave no comfort behind it. Have our sins in Adam brought such calamities upon them, and shall we add unto them by cruelty in our own persons? Have our corruptions been a cause of that fierceness that is in many of them one against another, and shall we solace ourselves in seeing them execute it?’

What holy Chrysostome would have said of this sport, if he had had an occasion to treat of it, we may easily gather from these words in his twenty-ninth Homily on the Epistle to the Romans: Σφόδρα εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἁγίων ψυχαὶ ἡμεροὶ, καὶ Φιλάνθρωποι, καὶ περὶ τὰς οἰκείας, καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους. Καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀλόγων αὐτῶν ταύτην ἐκτείνουσι τὸν ἡμερότητα; διὰ τὸτο καὶ σοφὸς τις ἔλεγε· Δίκαιος οἰκτεῖται ψυχὰς κτηνῶν αὐτῶ.

The souls of those, that are truly pious, are exceeding mild and gentle, not only towards relations, but strangers also. And this lenity, or softness of heart, they extend even to irrational creatures: therefore, the Wise-man saith, ‘ A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast,’ Prov. xii. 10.

To all those who affect this Sport.

SIRS,

HAVING shewn you what these men thought of the sport you affect, I shall entreat you, if you believe sin to be a matter of eternal concernment, to consider seriously what here you have read. If you are not convinced at present, that these learned and godly men were in the right, yet I doubt not but you will be in time, if you more fully consider the matter without prejudice: at least, if you are regenerate persons. For, I conceive, by the instinct of the new creature, a man may often perceive that to be a sin, whose sinfulness is not capable of any express, or verbal demonstration, *viz.* apprehending it so to be, merely through a sense of the antipathy it has to that in him, which he knows is born of God. Whether or no this be but a fanatic notion; and whether or no the printing of these

papers, and such like actions of mine, be indeed so foolish, and imprudent, as the world judges them to be, I will appeal only (for my own satisfaction) to the only wise God. Yet I shall not deny to render an account of any of my actions, in which I do, and must usually thwart the example of the generality of men, good and bad, to any man, whose authority obliges him, in any respect, to demand it of me, as my lawful superior, or conscience, as my fellow-Christian.

**Mr. Howell's Vindication of himself, from the Charge of being
no Friend to Parliaments, and a Malignant.**

London: Printed, 1677¹.

[Quarto; containing ten pages.]

BY that which hath been spoken², which is the language of my heart, I hope no indifferent judicious reader will doubt of the cordial affection, of the high respects and due reverence I bear to Parliament, as being the wholesomest constitution (and done by the highest and happiest reach of policy) that ever was established in this Island, to perpetuate the happiness thereof: therefore, I must tell that gentleman, who was author of a book intituled, 'The Popish Royal Favourite,' (lately printed and exposed to the world) that he offers me very hard measure: nay, he doth me apparent wrong, to term me therein, 'no friend to Parliament, and a Malignant;' a character, which as I deserve it not, so I disdain it.

For the first part of his charge, I would have him know, that I am as much a friend, and as real an affectionate humble servant and votary to the Parliament, as possibly he can be; and will live and die with these affections about me: and I could wish, that he were secretary of my thoughts a while; or (if I may take the boldness to apply that comparison his late Majesty used in a famous speech to one of his Parliaments,) I could wish there were a crystal window in my breast, through which the world might espy the inward motions and palpitations of my heart; then would he be certified of the sincerity of this protestation.

For the second part of his charge, to be 'a Malignant,' I must confess to have some malignity that lurks within me, much against my will; but it is no malignity of mind; it is amongst the humours, not in my intellectuals. And I believe, there is no natural man, let him have his humours never so well balanced, but hath some of this malignity reigning within him. For, as long as we are composed of the four elements, whence these humours are derived, and with whom they symbolize in qualities; which elements the philosophers hold to be in a restless contention amongst themselves, and the Stoick thought that the world subsisted by this innate, mutual strife; as long, I say, as the four humours, in imitation of their principles, the elements, are in perpetual reluctancy, and combate for predominancy; there must be some malignity lodged within us, as adusted choler, and the like: whereof I had late experience, in a dangerous fit of sickness it pleased God to lay upon me, which the physicians told me proceeded from the malignant

¹ [Vide an account of the author in *Athenæ Oxon.* and *Gen. Biog. Dict.* 1798. In the list of Howell's works, given by Wood, we find 'A vindication of some passages reflecting upon him, in a book called, *The Popish Royal Favourite*; penned by Mr. Prynne, Lond. 1644.' And 'A clearing of some occurrences in Spain, at his Majesty's being there, cited by Mr. Prynne, out of the *Vocal Forest*.' Printed with the former.—Qu. whether the present tract be not a later edition of these two pieces united?]

² [*i. e.* In his *Pre-eminence and Pedigree of Parliament*, printed in Vol. I. of this *Miscellany*, p. 35.]

hypochondriacal effects of melancholy ; having been so long in this saturnine black condition of close imprisonment, and buried alive between the walls of this fatal Fleet³. These kinds of malignities, I confess, are very rife in me ; and, they are not only incidental, but connatural to every man according to his complexion. And were it not for this incessant struggling and enmity against the humours for mastery, which produceth such malignant effects in us, our souls would be loth ever to depart from our bodies, or to abandon this mansion of clay.

Now, what malignity my accuser means, I know not : if he means malignity of spirit, as some antipathy or ill impression upon the mind, arising from disaffection, hatred, or rancour, with a desire of some destructive revenge, he is mightily deceived in me ; I malign or hate no creature that ever God made, but the Devil, who is the author of all malignity ; and, therefore, is most commonly in French, *le Malin Esprit*, 'the malignant spirit.' Every night before I go to bed, I have the grace (I thank God for it) to forgive all the world, and not to harbour, or let roost in my bosom, the least malignant thought : yet, none can deny, but the aspersions, which this my accuser casts upon me, were enough to make me a malignant towards him ; yet, it could never have the power to do it. For I have prevailed with myself to forgive him this wrong censure of me, issuing rather from his not-knowledge of me, than from malice ; for we never mingled speech, or saw one another in our lives, to my remembrance ; which makes me wonder the more, that a professor of the law (as he is) should pronounce such a positive sentence against me so slightly.

But, methinks, I overhear him say, that the precedent discourse of Parliament is involved in generals ; and the tropick axiom tells us, that *Dolus versatur in universalibus*, 'there is double-dealing in universals.' His meaning is, that I am no friend to this present Parliament (though he speaks in the plural number, parliaments), and consequently, he concludes me a Malignant. Therein, I must tell him also, that I am traduced : and I am confident it will never be proved against me, from my actions, words, or letters, (though divers of mine have been intercepted,) or any other misdemeanour ; though some things are fathered upon me, which never dropped from my quill. Alas ! how unworthy and incapable am I to censure the proceedings of that great senate, that high synedrion, wherein the wisdom of the whole state is epitomized ? It were a presumption in me, of the highest nature that could be. It is enough for me to pray for the prosperous success of their consultations : and, as I hold it my duty, so I have good reason so to do, in regard I am to have my share in the happiness ; and could the utmost of my poor endeavours, by any ministerial humble office, (and sometimes, the meanest boatswain may help to preserve the ship from sinking) be so happy, as to contribute any thing to advance that great work, (which I am in despair to do, while I am thus under hatches in this Fleet), I would esteem it the greatest honour that possibly could befall me ; as I hold it now to be my greatest disaster, to have fallen so heavily under an affliction of this nature, and to be made a sacrifice to public fame ; than which there is no other proof, nor that yet urged against me, or any thing else produced after so long, so long captivity, which hath brought me to such a low ebb, and put me so far behind in the course of my poor fortunes, and, indeed, more than half undone me. For, although my whole life, since I was left to myself to swim, as they say, without bladders, has been nothing else but a continued succession of crosses, and that there are but few red letters found, God wot, in the almanack of

³ [The author was confined in the Fleet-prison for some years, by order of a committee of the Parliament : probably on account of his adherence to the Royal party ; though Anthony Wood insinuates, that he was thrown into prison, for debts contracted through his own extravagance ; and indeed some of his own letters give room to suspect it. But whatever was the cause, he bore it cheerfully : among many proofs of which, the following epitaph upon himself is one :

" Here lies entomb'd a walking thing,
Whom Fortune with the states did fling
Between these walls.—Why ?—Ask not that :
That blind whore doth she knows not what."

Gen. Biog. Dict. 15 vols. 1798.]

my age (for which I account not myself a whit the less happy), yet, this cross has carried with it a greater weight; it hath been of a larger extent, longer continuance, and lighted heavier upon me, than any other; and, as I have present patience to bear it, so I hope for subsequent grace to make use of it accordingly, that my old motto may be still confirmed, Παθήματα μαθήματα.

He produceth my attestation for some passages in Spain, at his Majesty's being there; and he quotes me right, which obligeth me to him. And I hope all his quotations, wherein he is so extraordinary copious and elaborate in all his works, are so; yet I must tell him, that those interchangeable letters⁴ which passed between his Majesty and the Pope, which were originally couched in Latin; the language wherein all nations treat with Rome, and the empire with all the princes thereof; those letters, I say, are adulterated in many places, which I impute not to him, but to the French chronicler⁵, from whom he took them in trust. The truth of that business is this: the world knows there was a tedious treaty of an alliance betwixt the infanta Donna Maria (who now is empress) and his Majesty, which, in regard of the slow affected pace of the Spaniard, lasted about ten years; as that in Henry the Seventh's time, betwixt prince Arthur, and afterwards queen Catharine, was spun out above seven. To quicken, or rather to consummate the work, his Majesty made that adventurous journey, through the whole continent of France, into Spain; which voyage, though there was a great deal of gallantry in it (whereof all posterity will ring, until it turn at last to a romance), yet it proved the bane of the business; which it is not the errand of so poor a pamphlet as this to unfold. His Majesty being there arrived, the ignorant common people cried out, 'The prince of Wales came thither to make himself a Christian.' The Pope writ to the inquisitor-general, and others, to use all industry they could to reduce him to the Roman religion; and one of Olivares's first compliments to him, was, "That he doubted not but that his Highness came thither to change his religion." Whereunto he made a short answer, "That he came not thither for a religion, but for a wife." There were extraordinary processions made, and other artifices used, by protraction of things, to make him stay there of purpose till the spring following, to work upon him the better: and the Infanta herself desired him (which was esteemed the greatest favour he received from her all the while) to visit the nun of Carion; hoping that the said nun, who was so much cried up for miracles, might have wrought one upon him: but her art failed her. Nor was his Highness so weak a subject to work upon, according to his late Majesty's speech to doctor Maw and Wren: who when they came to kiss his hands, before they went to Spain to attend the prince their master, "he wished them to have a care of Buckingham; as touching his son Charles, he apprehended no fear at all of him; for he knew him to be so well-grounded a Protestant, that nothing could shake him in his religion." The Arabian proverb is, that the sun never soils in his passage, though his beams reverberate never so strongly, and dwell never so long upon the miry lake of Mæotis, the black-turfed moors of Holland, the aguish woose of Kent and Essex, or any other place, be it never so dirty. Though Spain be a hot country, yet one may pass and repass through the very centre of it, and never be sun-burnt, if he carry with him bon-grace; and such a-one his Majesty had.

Well; after his Majesty's arrival at Madrid, the treaty of marriage went on still (though he told them at his first coming, that he came not thither like an ambassador, to treat of marriage; but as a prince, to fetch home a wife); and, in regard they were of different religions, it could not be done without a dispensation from the Pope; and the Pope would grant none, unless some capitulations were stipulated in favour of the Romish Catholics in England: the same in substance were agreed on with France. Well; when the dispensation came, which was negotiated solely by the king of Spain's ministers, (because his Majesty would have as little to do as might be with Rome,) pope Gregory the Fifteenth, who died a little after, sent his Majesty a letter, which was delivered by the

⁴ These Letters (translated from the French) are printed immediately after this Vindication.

⁵ [Andrew du Chesne, called the father of French History. Vide the conclusion of the following tract.]

nuncio, whereof an answer was sent a while after. Which letters were imprinted and exposed to the view of the world; because his Majesty would not have people whisper, that the business was carried in a clandestine manner. And truly, besides this, I do not know of any letter, or message, or compliment, that ever passed betwixt his Majesty and the Pope, before or after. Some addresses, peradventure, might be made to the cardinals, to whom the drawing of those matrimonial-dispatches was referred, to quicken the work; but this was only by way of civil negotiation.

Now, touching that responsory letter from his Majesty, it was no other than a compliment in the severest interpretation; and such formalities pass betwixt the crown of England and the great Turk, and divers heathen princes. The Pope writ first, and no man can deny, but by all moral rules, and in common human civility, his Majesty was bound to answer it; especially, considering how punctual they are in those countries to correspond in this kind, how exact they are in repaying visits, and the performance of such ceremonies. And had this compliance been omitted, it might have made very ill impressions, as the posture of things stood then; for it had prejudiced the great work in hand, I mean the match, which was then in the heat and height of agitation. His Majesty's person was there engaged, and so it was no time to give the least offence. They, that are never so little versed in business abroad, do know that there must be addresses, compliances, and formalities of this nature (according to the Italian proverb, 'That one must sometimes light a candle to the Devil,') used in the carriage of matters of state, as this great business was, whereon the eyes of all Christendom were so greedily fixed; a business which was like to bring with it such an universal good, as the restitution of the Palatinate, the quenching of those hideous fires in Germany, and the establishing of a peace through all the Christian world.

I hope none will take offence, that in this particular, which comes within the compass of my knowledge, (being upon the stage when this scene was acted,) I do this right to the king my master; in displaying the truth, and putting her forth in her own colours: a rare thing in these days.

Touching the 'Vocal Forest,' an allegorical discourse, that goes abroad under my name, a good while before the beginning of this parliament, which this gentleman cites (and that very faithfully) I understand there be some that mutter at certain passages therein, by putting ill glosses upon the text, and taking with the left hand, what I offer with the right. Nor is it a wonder for trees which lie open, and stand exposed to all weathers, to be nipped. But I desire this favour, which, in common justice, I am sure in the court of Chancery cannot be denied me; it being the privilege of every author, and a received maxim through the world, *Cujus est condere, ejus est interpretari*. I say, I crave this favour, to have leave to expound my own text, and I doubt not then but to rectify any one in his opinion of me, and that, in lieu of the plums which I give him from those trees, he will not throw the stones at me.

Moreover, I desire those that are over-critical censurers of that piece, to know, that as in divinity it is a rule, *Scriptura parabolica non est argumentativa*; so it is in all other kinds of knowledge: parables (whereof that discourse is composed) though pressed never so hard, prove nothing. There is another rule also, That parables must be gently used, like a nurse's breast; which if you press too hard, you shall have blood instead of milk.

But as the author of the 'Vocal Forest'⁶ thinks he hath done neither his country, nor the commonwealth of learning, any prejudice thereby (that maiden fancy having received so good entertainment and respect abroad, as to be translated into divers languages, and to gain the public approbation of some famous universities); so he makes this humble protest unto all the world, that though the design of that discourse was partly satirical,

⁶ ['Dodona's Grove, or the Vocal Forest. Lond. 1640. 4to. Much cried up (says Wood) and taken into the hands of curious people at its first publication. The second part of it was printed at London, in 1650. 8vo. and though not so much admired as the first (which was translated into French, and printed several times), yet there was a translation made of it, into the new refined French, by one of the prime wits in the academy of Beaux Esprits of Paris. 1652. 4to.' Ath. Oxon. ii. 382.]

(which peradventure induced the author to shrowd it of purpose under shadows of trees; and where should satyrs be, but amongst trées?) yet it never entered into his imagination to let fall from him the least thing that might give any offence to the high and honourable court of Parliament, whereof he had the honour to be once a member, and hopes he may be thought worthy again. And were he guilty of such an offence, or piacle, rather, he thinks he should never forgive himself, though he were appointed his own judge. If there occur any passage therein, that may admit a hard construction, let the reader observe, that the author doth not positively assert, or pass a judgment on any thing in that discourse, which consists principally of concise, cursory narrations, of the choicest occurrences and criticisms of state, according as the pulse of time did beat then: and matters of state, as all other sublunary things, are subject to alterations, contingencies, and change, which makes the opinions and minds of men vary accordingly; not one amongst twenty is the same man to-day as he was four years ago, in point of judgment, which turns and alters according to the circumstance and success of things. And it is a true saying, whereof we find common experience, *Posterior dies est prioris magister*: 'The day following is the former day's school-master.' There is another aphorism, 'The wisdom of one day is foolishness to another;' and it will be so, as long as there is a man left in the world.

I will conclude with this modest request to that gentleman of the long robe; that, having unpassionately perused what I have written in this small discourse, (in penning whereof my conscience guided my quill all along as well as my hand,) he would please to be so charitable and just, as to reverse that harsh sentence upon me, 'To be no friend to Parliaments, and a Malignant.'

Behold! Two Letters: the one written by the Pope to the (then) Prince of Wales, now King of England; the other, an Answer to the said Letter, by the said Prince, now his Majesty of England¹.

Printed in the Year of Discoveries, 1642.

[Quarto; containing four pages.]

The Pope's Letter.

"Most Noble Prince, Salvation and Light of the Divine Grace:

FORASMUCH, as Great-Britain hath always been fruitful in virtues, and in men of great worth, having filled the one, and the other world, with the glory of her renown; she doth also very often draw the thoughts of the holy apostolical chair, to the consideration of her praises. And, indeed, the church was but then in her infancy, when the KING of Kings did choose her for his inheritance; and so affectionately, that we

¹ ['No sooner was the Prince arrived in Spain [to negotiate his intended marriage with the Infanta], but all the Spaniards thought he was come to change his religion before he espoused the Infanta; no one imagining there could be any other motive for his journey. Nay, count Gondomar very seriously desired the earl of Bristol not to oppose so pious a design; and, if the earl is to be credited, the count intimated to him, that the marquis of Buckingham was not against it. The earl of Bristol perceiving, if the court of Spain had any such hopes,

believe the Roman eagles have hardly outpassed the banner of the Cross. Besides, that many of her kings, instructed in the knowledge of the true salvation, have preferred the cross before the royal sceptre, and the discipline of religion before covetousness; leaving examples of piety to other nations, and to the ages yet to come. So that, having merited the principalities and first places of blessedness in heaven; they have obtained, on earth, the triumphant ornaments of true holiness. And although, now the state of the English church is altered; we see, nevertheless, the court of Great-Britain adorned and furnished with moral virtues, which might serve to support the charity that we bear unto her, and be an ornament to the name of Christianity, if, withal, she could have, for her defence and protection, the orthodox and Catholic truth. Therefore, by how much the more, the glory of your most noble father, and the apprehension of your royal inclination, delights us; with so much more zeal, we desire that the gates of the kingdom of heaven might be opened unto you, and that you might purchase to yourself the love of the universal church.

“Moreover, it being certain that Gregory the Great, of most blessed memory, hath introduced to the English people, and taught to their kings the law of the Gospel, and the respect of apostolical authority: we, as inferior to him in holiness and virtue, but equal in name and degree of dignity, it is very reasonable, that we, following his blessed footsteps, should endeavour the salvation of those provinces; especially at this time, when your design, most noble prince, elevates us to the hope of an extraordinary advantage. Therefore, as you have directed your journey to Spain, towards the Catholic king, with desire to ally yourself to the house of Austria, we do much commend your design; and, indeed, do testify openly, in this present business, that you are he that takes the principal care of our prelacy. For, seeing that you desire to take in marriage a daughter of Spain, from thence we may easily conjecture, that the ancient seeds of Christian piety, which have so happily flourished in the hearts of the kings of Great-Britain, may (God prospering them) revive again in your soul. And, indeed, it is not to be believed, that the same man should lovesuch an alliance, that hates the Catholic religion, and should take delight to oppress the holy chair. To that purpose, we have commanded, to make continually most humble prayers to the Father of Lights, that he would be pleased to put you as a fair flower of the Christianity, and the only hope of Great-Britain, in possession of that most noble heritage, that your ancestors have purchased for you, to defend the authority of the sovereign high-priest; and to fight against the monsters of heresy. Remember the days of old, inquire of your fathers, and they will tell you the way that leads to heaven; and what way the temporal princes have taken to attain to the everlasting kingdom. Behold the gates of heaven opened, the most holy kings of England, who came from England to Rome accompanied with angels, did come to honour, and do homage to the LORD of Lords, and to the Prince of the Apostles in the apostolical chair: their actions and their examples being as so many voices of God, speaking and exhorting you to follow the course of the lives of those, to whose empire you shall one day attain.

“Is it possible that you can suffer, that the hereticks should hold them for impious, and condemn those that the faith of the church testifies to reign in the heavens with Jesus Christ; and have command and authority upon all principalities and empires of the earth? Behold, how they tender you the hand of this truly happy inheritance, to conduct you safe and sound at the court of the Catholic king, and that desire to bring you back again

‘it would be apt to retard the marriage, spoke of it to the Prince, and conjured him to impart the secret to him, if there was really any thing in it. But the Prince firmly denied it, and expostulated with the ambassador for having so ill an opinion of him. Whereupon, the earl of Bristol entreated him neither to do nor say any thing whatever that might feed the hopes of the Spanish court in that respect, for fear of obstructing the marriage. Nevertheless, he was attacked several times; one while by ecclesiasticks, who took all occasion to dispute with him about religion; another while by courtiers, who represented to him how powerful England would grow, if she would return to the obedience of the Pope. He even received a long letter from Gregory XV. exhorting him to come into the bosom of the church, and imitate his glorious ancestors, who had done so great things for the defence of religion.’ Rapin’s History of England, ii. 221.]

into the lap of the Roman church; beseeching (with unspeakable sighs and groans) the God of all mercy for your salvation, and do tender you the arms of the apostolical charity, to embrace you with all Christian affection; you that are her desired son, in shewing you the happy hope of the kingdom of heaven. And indeed you cannot give a greater consolation to all the people of the Christian estates, than to put the Prince of the Apostles in possession of your most noble island, whose authority hath been held so long in the kingdom of Great-Britain, for the defence of kingdoms, and for a divine oracle; which will easily arrive, and that without difficulty, if you open your heart to the Lord that knocks, upon which depends all the happiness of that kingdom.

"It is of our great charity that we cherish the praises of the royal name; and that which makes us desire that you and your royal father might be styled with the names of deliverers, and restorers of the ancient and paternal religion of Great-Britain, which we hope for; trusting in the Providence of God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, and who causeth the people of the earth to receive healing, to whom we will always labour, with all our power, to render you gracious and favourable. In the interim, take notice, by these letters, of the care of our charity, which is none other than to procure your happiness; and it will never grieve us to have written them, if the reading of them stir but the least spark of the Catholic faith, in the heart of so great a prince, who we wish to be filled with long continuance of joy, and flourishing in the glory of all virtues².

"Given at Rome, in the palace of St. Peter, the
20th of April, 1623, in the third year of our
poppedom."

Pope Gregory the Fifteenth having wrote the foregoing letter to the Prince of Wales, it was presented to him by the nuncio³ of his Holiness in Spain, he being accompanied with the Italian lords that then were in the court.

The Prince of Wales, having received this Letter, made the following Answer, which was after published.

"Most Holy Father,

"I RECEIVED the dispatch from your Holiness, with great content; and with that respect, which the piety and care, wherewith your Holiness writes, doth require. It was an unspeakable pleasure to me, to read the generous exploits of the kings, my predecessors; to whose memory, posterity hath not given those praises and elogies of honour, as were due to them. I do believe, that your Holiness hath set their examples before my eyes, to the end, that I might imitate them in all my actions; for, in truth, they have often exposed their estates and lives for the exaltation of the holy chair; and the courage, with

² [This letter was originally written in Latin. There is, among the Harl. MSS. 'Copia literarum Grægorii Papæ XV. ad Carolum Walliæ Principem, in Hispaniâ degentem. Dat. Romæ, 20 die Aprilis, A.D. 1623.']

³ ["The Prince's Answer to the Pope's nuncio that brought him this letter," is thus given in the Cabala, 1654. 4to.: 'I kiss his Holiness' feet for the favour and honour he doth me; so much the more esteemed, by how much the less deserved of me hitherto: and his Holiness shall see what I do hereafter, and I think my father will do the like. So that his Holiness shall not repent him of what he hath done.']

The following letter is preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, and thus entitled:—
'Prince Charles to the King (but in Steenie's hand) about his enclosing a copy of his answer to the Pope: also the articles and oaths, private and public, that the king and his baby are to take, &c.' (Harl. MSS. 6987. 46.)

'Dear Dad and Gossip,

Madrid, June 6th, 1623.

'The Pope having written a courteous letter to me, your baby, I have been bold to write him an answer, without your Majesty's leave, the copy whereof is here enclosed: We make no doubt but to have the opinions of these busily divines reversed (for already the Condé of Olivarez hath put out ten of the worst), so your Majesty will be pleased to begin to put in execution the favour towards your Roman Catholic subjects, that ye will be bound to do by your oath, as soon as the Infanta comes over, which we hope you will do for the hastening of us home, with this protestation to reverse all, if there be any delay of the marriage. We send you here the articles as they are to go, the oaths private and public, that you and your baby are to take, with the coun-

which they have assaulted the enemies of the cross of Jesus Christ, hath not been less, than the care and thought which I have; to the end, that the peace and intelligence, which hath hitherto been wanting in Christendom, might be bound with a true and strong concord. For, as the common enemy of peace watcheth always to put hatred and dissension amongst Christian princes; so I believe that the glory of God requires that we should endeavour to unite them. And I do not esteem it a greater honour to be descended from so great princes, than to imitate them, in the zeal of their piety; in which it helps me very much to have known the mind and will of our thrice honoured lord and father, and the holy intentions of his Catholic Majesty, to give a happy concurrence to so laudable a design: for it grieves him extremely to see the great evils that grow from the division of Christian princes, which the wisdom of your Holiness foresaw, when it judged the marriage which you pleased to design, between the Infanta of Spain and myself, to be necessary to procure so great a good: for it is very certain, that I shall never be so extremely affectionate to any thing in the world, as to endeavour alliance with a prince, that hath the same apprehension of the true religion with myself. Therefore, I entreat your Holiness to believe, that I have been always very far from encouraging novelties, or to be a part of any faction against the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion: but, on the contrary, I have sought all occasions, to take away the suspicion, that might rest upon me; and that I will employ myself for the time to come, to have but one religion, and one faith, seeing that we all believe in one Jesus Christ. Having resolved in myself, to spare nothing that I have in the world, and to suffer all manner of discommodities, even to the hazarding of my estate and life, for a thing so pleasing unto God; it rests only, that I thank your Holiness, that you have been pleased to afford me the leave; and I pray God to give you a blessed health, and his glory, after so much pains, which your Holiness takes in his church.

Signed,

“CHARLES STUART.”⁴

N. B. These are translations of the two letters contained in the French History of England⁵, &c. which was twice printed in Paris, *cum privilegio*.

‘cils; wherein, if you scare at the least clause of your private oath (where you promise that the Parliament shall revoke all the penal laws against the Papists within three years) we thought good to tell your Majesty our opinions; which is, that if you think you may do it in that time (which we think you may,) if you do your best, although it take not effect, you have not broken your word; for this promise is only as a security that you will do your best. The Spanish ambassador, for respect of the Pope, will present unto you the articles as they came from Rome; as likewise for to require, that the delivery of the Infanta may be deferred to the Spring: his commission is to press for this, but to be satisfied with what we have yielded to here. We both humbly beg of your Majesty, that you will confirm these articles soon, and press earnestly for our speedy return. So, craving your blessings, we rest,

‘Your Majesty’s humble and obedient

‘Son and servant,

‘CHARLES.

‘Your Majesty’s most humble

‘Slave and dog,

‘STEENIE.’

(i. e. the Duke of Buckingham.)

Had this letter been attainable, how greedily would it have been snatched at by the Puritans, whose only motive in the publication of the other, was to render the king obnoxious to his subjects, by evincing his favourable reception of the overtures from the court of Rome.]

⁴ [The original draught of this remarkable letter is preserved in the British Museum (Harl. MSS. 6987. 47.) and there are several copies in our historians. Lord Clarendon says very properly of it, writing to Secretary Nicholas from Jersey, ‘The letter to the Pope is, by your favour, more than compliment, and may be a warning that nothing is to be done or said in that nice argument, but what will bear the light.’ State Papers, ii. 337.

The letter itself is given very differently in Rushworth, and the sagacious Rapin surmises, that as it did not appear till after the civil wars, it is equally probable that one of the parties qualified, whilst the other aggravated the expressions.]

⁵ [‘The History of England, Scotland, and Ireland, written in French by Andrew du Chesne, geographer to the king of France, Lib. 22. fol. 1162.’]

A Modern Account of Scotland; being an exact Description of the Country, and a true Character of the People and their Manners. Written from thence by an English Gentleman.

Printed in the Year 1670.

[Quarto; containing twenty pages.]

IF all our European travellers direct their course to Italy, upon the account of its antiquity, why should Scotland be neglected, whose wrinkled surface derives its original from the chaos? The first inhabitants were some stragglers of the fallen angels, who rested themselves on the confines, till their captain Lucifer provided places for them in his own country. This is the conjecture of learned criticks, who trace things to their originals; and this opinion was grounded on the Devil's brats yet resident amongst them (whose foresight, in the events of good and evil, exceeds the oracles at Delphos) the supposed issue of those pristine inhabitants.

Names of countries were not then in fashion, those came not in till Adam's days; and history, being then in her infancy, makes no mention of the changes of that renowned country: in that interval betwixt him and Moses, when their chronicle commences, she was then baptized (and most think with the sign of the cross) by the venerable name of Scotland, from *Scota*, the daughter of Pharaoh, King of Egypt. Hence came the rise and name of these present inhabitants, as their chronicle informs us, and is not to be doubted of, from divers considerable circumstances: the plagues of Egypt being entailed upon them, that of lice (being a judgment unrepealed) is an ample testimony, these loving animals accompanied them from Egypt, and remain with them to this day; never forsaking them (but as rats leave a house) till they tumble into their graves. The plague of biles and blains is hereditary to them, as a distinguishing mark from the rest of the world, which (like the Devil's cloven hoof) warns all men to beware of them. The judgment of hail and snow is naturalized and made free denison here, and continues with them from the sun's first ingress into Aries, till he has passed the thirtieth degree of Aquary.

The plague of darkness was said to be 'thick darkness to be felt,' which most undoubtedly these people have a share in, as the word *σκοτιή*, darkness, implies; the darkness being applicable to their gross and blockish understandings (as I had it from a scholar of their own nation). Upon these grounds this original is undeniably allowed them; and the country itself (in pyramids) resembles Egypt, but far exceeds them both in bulk and number: theirs are but the products of men's labours, but these are nature's own handy-work; and if Atlas would ease a shoulder, here he may be fitted with a supporter.

Italy is compared to a leg, Scotland to a louse, whose legs and engrailed edges represent the promontories and buttings out into the sea, with more nooks and angles than the most conceited of my lord-mayor's custards. Nor does the comparison determine here: a louse preys upon its own fosterer and preserver, and is productive of those minute animals called nits; so Scotland, whose proboscis joins too close to England, has sucked away the nutriment from Northumberland, as the country itself is too true a testimony; and, from its opposite a—, has calved those nitty islands, called the Orcades and the Shetland (*quasi* Shite-land) Islands.

The arms of the kingdom was anciently a red lion rampant in a field of gold; but, *anno Domini* 787, they had the augmentation of the double tressure, for assisting the French king; but his Majesty's arms in Scotland is a mere *hysteron proteron*; the pride of the people being such, as to place the Scots arms in the dexter quarter of the escutcheon, and make the unicorn the dexter supporter, with the thistle at his heel, with a suitable motto,

Nemo me impunè lacessit, true enough; whoever deals with them shall be sure to smart for it. The thistle was wisely placed there, partly to shew the fertility of the country, (nature alone producing plenty of these gay flowers,) and partly as an emblem of the people; the top thereof having some colour of a flower, but the bulk and substance of it, is only sharp, and poisonous pricks.

Woods they have none; that suits not with the frugality of the people, who are so far from propagating any, that they destroy those they had, upon this politic state-maxim, that corn will not grow on the land pestered with its roots, and their branches harbour birds; animals above their humble conversation, that exceeds not that of hornless quadrupedes: marry, perhaps, some of their houses lurk under the shelter of a plump of trees (the birds not daring so high a presumption) like Hugh Peters's puss in her majesty, or an owl in an ivy-bush. Some fir-woods there are in the high-lands, but so inaccessible, that they serve for no other use than dens for those ravenous wolves with two hands, that prey upon their neighbourhood, and shelter themselves under this covert; to whom the sight of a stranger is as surprizing as that of a cockatrice. The valleys for the most part are covered with beer, or bigg, and the hills with snow; and as in the northern countries the bears and foxes change their coats into the livery of the soil, so here the moor-fowl, called Termagants, turn white, to suit the sample; though the inhabitants still stand to their Egyptian hue.

They are freed from the charge and incumbrance of inclosures, the whole being but one large waste, surrounded with the sea. Indeed, in many places you may see half a rood of land divided with an earthen bank, into many differing apartments, according to the quality of beasts that are to possess them.

The whole country will make up a park, forest, or chace, as you will please to call it; but, if you desire an account of particular parks, they are innumerable, every small house having a few sodds thrown into a little bank about it; and this, for the state of the business, forsooth, must be called a park, though not a pole of land in it.

If the air was not pure and well refined by its agitation, it would be so infected with the stink of their towns, and the steams of the nasty inhabitants, that it would be pestilential and destructive; indeed, it is too thin for their gross senses, that must be fed with suitable viands: their meat not affecting their distempered palates, without having a damnable hogoe; nor musick their ears, without loud and harsh discord; and their nostrils (like a Jew's) chiefly delight in the perceptible effluvia of an old sir —.

Fowl are as scarce here as birds of paradise, the charity of the inhabitants denying harbour to such celestial animals, though gulls and cormorants abound; there being a greater sympathy betwixt them. There is one sort of ravenous fowl amongst them, that has one web-foot, one foot suited for land, and another for water; but, whether or no this fowl, being particular to this country, be not a lively picture of the inhabitants, I shall leave to wiser conjectures.

Their rivers, or rather arms of the sea, are short; few places in Scotland being above a day's journey from the sea; but they are broad, deep, and dangerous, pestered with multitudes of porpoises, or sharks (some of them, perhaps, amphibious too,) that live more on land than water, and destroy their salmon, the great commodity of this country; which, being too good for the inhabitants, are barreled up, and converted into merchandise, &c. The banks and borders of these rivers, especially near their towns, are adorned with hardy Amazons, though inverted; their valour being chiefly from the waist downwards; which parts they readily expose to all the dangers of a naked rencounter. The exercise of their arms (I should say feet) is much about linen; sheets are sufferers; a fit receiver is provided (not unlike a shallow pulpit to remind them of their idol sermons) wherein foul linen is laid to suffer persecution: so they turn up all, and tuck them about their waists, and bounce into a buck-tub; then go their stock, and belabour poor lint, till there be not a dry thread on it. Hence came the invention of fulling-mills; the women taught the men, and they put in practice.

The country is full of lakes and loughs, and they wel stocked with islands; so that a

map thereof looks like a pillory-coat bespattered all over with dirt and rotten eggs, some pieces of the shells, floating here and there, representing the islands.

Their cattle are only representatives of what are in other countries; these being so epitomized, that it is hard to know what class they relate to. Their horses are hardy, and not without gall, (as some say, other horses are,) using both tooth and nail to mischief you: that they may not use more state than their masters, they go bare-foot, which preserves them from the gout; and, if Hudibrass's horse had been of this race, he had not needed a corn-cutter. Their furniture or harness, is all of the same matter, all wood from head to tail; bridle, saddle, girth, stirrups, and crupper, all wood: nothing but a withy will bind a witch, and if these be called witches, I shall not oppose it, since, by their untoward tricks, one would guess the Devil to be in them; their bridles have not bits, but a kind of musroll of two pieces of wood; their crupper is a stick of a yard's length, put a-cross their docks; both ends thereof being tied with woven wood to the saddle. Their bed and board too, is all of the same dry straw; and when they have it up, whip on harness, and away. Their neat are hornless, the owners claiming sole propriety in those ornaments; nor should I deny them their necklace too, for methinks that hoisted wood would mightily become them. Their sheep too have the same preferment, they are coupled together, near their master's palace. Some animals they have by the name of hogs, but more like porcupines, bristled all over, and these are likewise fastened to the free-hold by the former artifice; all their quadrupedes, dogs only excepted, (in which sort they much abound,) are honoured with wooden bracelets about their necks, legs, or arms, &c.

Their cities are poor and populous, especially Edinburgh, their metropolis; which so well suits with the inhabitants, that one character will serve them both, *viz.* high and dirty. The houses mount seven or eight stories high, with many families on one floor; one room being sufficient for all occasions, eating, drinking, sleeping, and sh— The most mannerly step but to the door, and nest upon the stairs. I have been in an island, where it was difficult to tread without breaking an egg; but to move here, and not murder a t—, is next to an impossibility; the whole pavement is pilgrim-salve, most excellent to liquor shoes withal, and soft and easy for the bare-foot perambulators. The town is like a double comb (an engine not commonly known amongst them), one great street, and each side stocked with narrow alleys, which I mistook for common-shores; but, the more one stirs in a t—, the more it will stink.

The other cities and towns are copies from this original, and therefore need no commentators to explain them: they have seven colleges, or rather schools, in four universities; the regents wear what coloured clothes, or gowns, they please, and commonly no gowns at all; so that it is hard to distinguish a scholar from an ordinary man, since their learning shines not out of their noses: the younger students wear scarlet gowns, only in term-time; their residence is commonly in the town, only at school-hours they convene in the college, to consult their oracle Buchanan; their chief studies are for pulpit-preferment, to prate out four or five glasses, with as much ease, as drink them; and this they attain to in their stripling years, commencing Mr. of Arts (that is meant only Mr. of this art) before one would judge them fit for the college; for as soon as they can walk as far as the school, which they will do very young, (for like lapwings they run, with shells on their heads,) they are sent thither, where they find no benches to sit on (only one for the Mr.) but have a little heath and fadder strewed for them to lie upon; where they litter together, and chew the cud on their fathers' horn-books, and, in good time, are preferred to the Bible: from this petty school, away with them to the grammar-school, *viz.* the college; where, in three or four years' time, they attain to (their *ne plus ultra*) the degree of A. M. that is, they can, *extempore*, coin graces and prayers for all occasions: if you crack a nut, there is a grace for that; drink a dish of coffee, ale, or wine, or what else, he presently furnishes you with a grace for the nonce; so if you pare your nails, go to stool, or any other action of like importance, he can as easily suit you with a prayer, as draw on a glove; and the wonder of all is, that this prayer shall be so admirably framed, that it may indifferently quadrate with any occasion; an excellency no where so common, as in

this country. Thus you see the young man has commenced and got strength enough to walk to the kirk, and enter the chair; where we shall find him anon, after we have viewed the out-sides of their kirks, some of which have been of ancient foundations, and well and regularly built: but order and uniformity is in perfect antipathy to the humour of this nation, these goodly structures being either wholly destroyed (as at St. Andrews and Elgin, where, by the remaining ruins, you may see what it was in perfection) or very much defaced: they make use of no choirs; those are either quite pulled down, or converted into another kirk; for it is common here to have three, four, or five kirks under one roof, which, being preserved entire, would have made one good church, but they could not then have had preaching enough in it. Out of one pulpit now they have thirty sermons *per week*, all under one roof; plenty of spiritual provision, which gusts much better with a mixture of the flesh; as you may guess by their stools of repentance in every kirk, well furnished with whore-mongers and adulterers of both sexes. In Venice, the shadows only of courtesans are exposed to public view in effigie; but here the whore, in person, has a high place provided her in the view of the whole congregation, for the benefit of strangers; who, some think, need not this direction, but may truck for all commodities with the first they meet with. They use no service-book, nor whore of Babylon's smock (as they term a surplice), nor decency, nor order in their divine or rather contumelious service. Would a king think himself honoured by subjects, that petitioned him with bonnet veiled; but cocked his cap, while his request was granting? while precious Mr. Presbyter grimaces, prays, or howls, the monster Rabble veils; but as soon as text is taken, blue-bonnet takes place again, and this pulpit-prater is esteemed more than God's ambassador, having the Holy Spirit at his beck to prompt him every word he speaks, yet not three sentences of sense together, such blasphemy as I blush to mention.

Their christenings, as all other things, are without form, only water poured on the infant, and such words used as Sir John's mephostophilus supplies him with; and so the child commences Christian, as good (or better) than the best of them. Some think marriage an unnecessary thing amongst them, it being more generous and usual amongst them to take one another's words. However, it is thus performed: The young couple, being attended with tagrag and bobtail, gang to kirk, where Mr. Scruple, like a good casuist, controverts the point in hand to them, and schools Mr. Bridegroom in his lesson; then directs his discourse to Mrs. Bride, who, being the weaker vessel, ought to have the more pains taken with her: he chalks out the way she is to walk in, in all its particulars; and joins their hands, and then let them fall to in God's name. Home they go with loud ravishing bag-pipes, and dance about the green, till they part by couples to repetition, and so put the rules in practice; and perhaps Sir Roger follows Mrs. Bride to her apartment, to satisfy her doubts, where he uses such pungent and pressing arguments, as she never forgets as long as she lives.

When any one dies, the bell-man goes about ringing their passing-bell, and acquaints the people therewith, in form following: 'Belovid brouthrin and susters, I let yau to wot 'that thir is an fauthful broothir lawtli departed awt of this prisant varld, awt thi plesuir 'of Aulmoughti Good, (and then he veils his bonnet,) his naum is Volli Voodcock, thrid 'son to Jimmoy Voodcock a cordinger; he ligs aut thi sext door vethin thi nord gawt, 'close on thi nawthwr rawnd, and I wod yaw gang to hus burying on Thrusdau before 'twa a cloak,' &c. The time appointed for his burying being come, the bell-man calls the company together, and he is carried to the burying-place, and thrown into the grave, as dog Lyon was; and there is an end of Wolli. Few people are here buried in their kirks, except of their nobility, but in the kirk garths, or in a burying-place on purpose, called the Hoof, at the further end of the town, (like our Quakers,) inclosed with a wall, so that it serves not only as a burying-place, but an exchange to meet in: perhaps in one part of it their courts of judicature are kept; in another are butts to shoot at for recreation. All agree that a woman's tongue is the last member she moves; but the Latin proverb, *Mulier ne credas*, &c. seems to prove it after death. I am sure the pride of this people

never leaves them, but follows them to their long homes (I was about to have said to the Devil); for the meanest man must have a grave-stone full fraught with his own praises, though he was the vilest miscreant on earth; and miserable *memento mori's*, both in English and Latin, nay Greek too, if they can find a Greek word for cordinger, the calling he was of; and all this in such miserable Scotch orthography, that it is hard to distinguish one language from another.

The castles of defence in this country are almost impregnable, only to be taken by treachery or long siege, their water failing them soonest. They are built upon high and almost inaccessible rocks, only one forced passage up to them, so that a few men may easily defend them. Indeed all the gentlemen's houses are strong castles, they being so treacherous one to another, that they are forced to defend themselves in strong-holds. They are commonly built upon some single rock in the sea, or some high precipice near the mid-land, with many towers, and strong iron grates before their windows (the lower part whereof is only a wooden shutter, and the upper part, glass), so that they look more like prisons than houses of reception. Some few houses there are of late erection, that are built in a better form, with good walks and gardens about them, but their fruit rarely comes to any perfection. The houses of the commonalty are very mean, mud-wall and thatch the best; but the poorer sort live in such miserable huts as never eye beheld, it is no difficulty to p— over them; men, women, and children, pig all together in a poor mouse-hole of mud, heath, and such-like matter. In some parts where turf is plentiful, they build up little cabbins thereof, with arched roofs of turf, without a stick of timber in it; when the house is dry enough to burn, it serves them for fuel, and they remove to another. The habit of the people is very different, according to the qualities, or the places they live in; as low-land or high-land men. The low-land gentry go well enough habited, but the poorer sort go (almost) naked; only an old cloke, or a part of their bed-clothes, thrown over them. The Highlanders wear slashed doublets, commonly without breeches, only a plad tied about their waists, &c. thrown over one shoulder, with short stockings to the gartering-place; their knees and part of their thighs being naked: others have breeches and stockings all of a piece of plad-ware, close to their thighs; in one side of their girdle sticks a durk or skean, about a foot or half a yard long, very sharp, and the back of it filed into divers notches, wherein they put poison; on the other side, a brace, at least, of brass pistols: nor is this honour sufficient; if they can purchase more, they must have a long swinging sword.

The women are commonly two-handed tools, strong-posted timber; they dislike Englishmen, because they have no legs, or (like themselves) posts to walk on. The meaner go barefoot and barehead, with two black elf-locks on either side their faces; some of them have scarce any clothes at all, save part of their bed-clothes pinned about their shoulders, and their children have nothing else on them but a little blanket: those women, that can purchase plads, need not bestow much upon other clothes, these cover-sluts being sufficient. Those of the best sort, that are very well habited in their modish silks, yet must wear a plad over all for the credit of their country.

The people are proud, arrogant, vain-glorious boasters, bloody, barbarous, and inhuman butchers. Cozenage and theft is in perfection amongst them, and they are perfect English-haters; they shew their pride in exalting themselves, and depressing their neighbours. When the palace at Edinburgh is finished, they expect his Majesty will leave his rotten house at Whitehall, and live splendidly amongst his own countrymen the Scots: for they say, that Englishmen are very much beholden to them, that we have their king amongst us. The nobility and gentry lord it over their poor tenants, and use them worse than galley-slaves; they are all bound to serve them, men, women, and children: the first fruits are always the landlord's due, he is the man that must first board all the young married women within his lairdship, and their sons are all his slaves, so that any mean laird will have six or ten, or more followers; besides, those of his own name, that are inferior to him, must all attend him (as he himself must do his superior, of the same name, and all of them attend the chief): if he receives a stranger, all this train must be at

his beck, armed as aforesaid ; if you drink with them in a tavern, you must have all this rubbish with you ; and if you offend the laird, his durk shall soon be sheathed in your belly, and after his, every one of his followers, or they shall suffer themselves that refuse it, that so they may be all alike guilty of the murder. Every laird of note, hath a gibbet near his house, and has power to condemn and hang any of his vassals ; so they dare not oppose him in any thing, but must submit to his commands, let them be never so unjust and tyrannical. There are too many testimonies of their cruelty amongst themselves in their own chronicles. Forty of their kings have been barbarously murdered by them ; and half as many more have either made away themselves, for fear of their torturing of them, or have died miserably in strait imprisonment. What strange butcheries have been committed in their feuds, some of which are in agitation at this day, *viz.* Argyle with the Macclaness and Macdonnells, about Mula island, which has cost already much blood, and is likely will cost much more before it will be decided ; their spirits are so mean, that they rarely rob, but take away life first ; lying in ambuscade, they send a brace of bullets, on ambassage, through the traveller's body ; and, to make sure work, they sheath their durks in his lifeless trunk ; perhaps, to take off their fire-edges, as new knives are stuck in a bag-pudding. If an Highlander be injured, those of his own name must defend him, and will certainly have satisfaction from the offenders : a late instance whereof was at Inverness, a considerable town, where one of the Macdonnells was slain, but, shortly, the chief of the name came down against the town with fifteen-hundred of his own name, and threatened to fire the town ; but the inhabitants compounded with them for two-thousand pounds.

Their cruelty descends to their beasts, it being a custom, in some places, to feast upon a living cow ; they tie in the middle of them, near a great fire, and then cut collops of this poor living beast, and broil them on the fire, till they have mangled her all to pieces : nay, sometimes they will only cut off as much as will satisfy their present appetites, and let her go, till their greedy stomachs call for a new supply ; such horrible cruelty, as can scarce be paralleled in the whole world ! Their theft is so well known, that it needs no proving ; they are forced to keep watch over all they have, to secure it ; their cattle are watched day and night, or otherwise they would be overgrown by morning. In the highlands, they do it publicly before the face of the sun ; if one man has two cows, and another wants, he shall soon supply himself from his neighbour, who can find no remedy for it. The gentry keep an armoury in their own houses, furnished with several sorts of fire-arms, pikes, and halberds, with which they arm their followers, to secure themselves from the rapine of their neighbourhood. The Lowland language may be well enough understood by an Englishman, but the Highlanders have a peculiar *lingua* to themselves, which they call *Erst*, unknown to most of the Lowland men, except only in those places that border on them, where they can speak both. Yet, these people are so currish, that if a stranger inquire the way in English, they will certainly answer in *Erst*, and find no other language than what is forced from them with a cudgel. If Cornelius Agrippa had travelled Scotland, sure cookery had not been found in his vanity of sciences ; such is their singular skill in this art, that they may defy the world to rival them. King James's treat for the Devil, that is, a poll of ling, a joll of sturgeon, and a pig, with a pipe of tobacco for digestion, had been very complete, if the ordering thereof had been assigned to a cook of this country, who can suit every dish, with its proper hogoe, and bring corruption to your table, only to mind men of mortality. Their meat is carrion when it is killed, but, after it has been a fortnight a-perfuming with the aromatic air, strained through the clammy trunks of flesh flies, then it passes the trial of fire under the care of one of those exquisite artists, and is dished up in a sea of sweet Scotch butter, and so covered and served hot up to the table. O how happy is he that is placed next to it, with a privilege to uncover it, and receive the hot steams of this dainty dish, almost sufficient to cure all distempers ! It will be needless to instance, in particulars so plain and evident to all that have travelled through the country, that they may certainly bear away the bell from all their neighbouring nations, or, indeed, from the whole world. Their nobility

and gentry have tables plentifully enough furnished, but few or none of them have their meat better ordered. To put one's head into their kitchen-doors, is little less than destructive; to enter Hell alive, where the black fairies are busied in mangling dead carcasses, and the fire and brimstone, or rather stew and stink, is ready to suffocate you; and yet, which is strange, these things are agreeable to the humours of the people. The poorer sort live of haddock, whiting, and sour milk (which is cried up and down their streets, 'Whea buyes sawer milk?') and upon the stinking fragments that are left at their laird's table. Prodigious stomachs, that, like the Gulon, can feed on their own excrements, and strain their meat through their stomachs, to have the pleasure of devouring it again!

Their drink is ale made of beer-malt, and tunned up in a small vessel, called a cogue; after it has stood a few hours, they drink it out of the cogue, yest and all; the better sort brew it in larger quantities, and drink it in wooden queighs, but it is sorry stuff, yet excellent for preparing birdlime; but wine is the great drink with the gentry, which they pour in like fishes, as if it were their natural element: the glasses, they drink out of, are considerably large, and they always fill them to the brim, and away with it; some of them have arrived at the perfection to tope brandy at the same rate. Sure these are a bowl above Bacchus, and of right ought to have a nobler throne than a hog'shead.

Musick they have, but not the harmony of the spheres, but loud terrene noises, like the bellowing of beasts. The loud bagpipe is their chief delight; stringed instruments are too soft to penetrate the organs of their ears, that are only pleased with sounds of substance.

The highways in Scotland are tolerably good, which is the greatest comfort a traveller meets with amongst them; they have not inns, but change-houses (as they call them), poor small cottages, where you must be content to take what you find, perhaps eggs with chucks in them, and some lang-cale; at the better sort of them, a dish of chopped chickens, which they esteem a dainty dish, and will take it unkindly if you do not eat very heartily of it; though, for the most part, you may make a meal with the sight of the fare, and be satisfied with the steam only, like the inhabitants of the world in the moon. Your horses must be sent to a stabler's, (for the change-houses have no lodging for them,) where they may feed voluptuously on straw only, for grass is not to be had; and hay is so much a stranger to them, that they are scarce familiar with the name of it.

The Scotch gentry commonly travel from one friend's house to another, so seldom make use of a change-house; their way is to hire a horse and a man for two-pence a mile: they ride on the horse thirty or forty miles a day; and the man, who is his guide, foots it beside him, and carries his luggage to boot. The best sort keep only a horse or two for themselves and their best friend, all the rest of the train foot it beside them. The commonalty are so used to worship and adore their lairds, that, when they see a stranger in any tolerable equipage, they honour him with the title of laird, at least, "An't please you, my laird such a one; or an't please you, my laird Dr." at every bare word, forsooth.

The nobility shew themselves very great before strangers; they are conducted into the house by many of their servants, where the lord, with his troop of shadows, receives them with the grand paw; then enter into some discourse of their country, till you are presented with a great queigh of syrup of beer; after that a glass of white-wine, then a rummer of claret, and sometimes after that a glass of sherry-sack, and then begin the round with ale, again; and ply you briskly; for it is their way of shewing you are welcome, by making you drunk: if you have longer time to stay, you stick close to claret, till Bacchus wins the field, and leaves the conquered victims groveling on the place where they received their overthrow. At your departure you must drink a *dongha doras*; in English, a stirrup-cup; and have the satisfaction to have my lord's bagpipe (with his loud pipes, with his lordship's coat of armour on a flag) strut about you, and enchant you with a 'Loth to depart.'

Their money is commonly dollars, or mark-pieces, coined at Edinburgh; but their way of reckoning is surprizing to a stranger. To receive a bill of an hundred pounds in one of their change-houses, when one would not suppose they had any of the value of an hundred pence. They call a penny a shilling, and every twenty shillings, *viz.* twenty pence, a pound; so the proportion of their pound to ours, is twelve to one. Strangers are sure to be grossly imposed upon in all their change-houses, and there is no redress for it. If an Englishman should complain to their magistrates, they would all take a part against him, and make sure to squeeze him.

The conclusion of the abridgment of the Scotch chronicle, is the rare and wonderful things of that country; as, in Orkney, their ewes bring forth two lambs apiece; that in the northermost of Shetland islands, about the summer solstice, there is no night; that in the park of Cumbernaule are white kine and oxen; that at Slanes there is a petrifying water in a cove; that at Aberdeen is a vitrioline well, that they say is excellent to dissolve the stone, and expel sand from the reins and bladder, and good for the cholick, being drunk in July; &c. These prodigious wonders in one country are admirable, but these are not half of them. Lough Ness never freezes; in Lough Lommond are fishes without fins: and, 2dly, the waters thereof rage in great waves without wind, in calm weather: and, 3dly and lastly, therein is a floating island. In Kyle is a deaf rock, twelve feet every way; yet a gun, discharged on one side of it, shall not be heard to the other. In another place is a rocking-stone of a reasonable bigness, that if a man push it with his finger, it will move very lightly, but, if he address his whole force, it availeth nothing: with many more marvels of like nature, which I would rather believe than go thither to disprove. To conclude, the whole bulk and selvedge of this country is all wonder too great for me to unriddle; there I shall leave it as I found it, with its agreeable inhabitants in.

A land where one may pray, with curst intent,
Oh! may they never suffer banishment.

Nashe's 'Lenten Stuffe ; containing, The Description and first Procreation and Increase of the Towne of Great Yarmouth, in Norffolke : With a new Play, never played before, of the Praise of the Red Herring. Fitte of all Clearks of Noblemen's Kitchens to be read ; and not unnecessary by all Serving-Men, that have short Boord-Wages, to be remembred.

Famam peto per undas.

London: Printed for N. L. and C. B. and are to be sold at the West End of Paule's, 1599.²

[Quarto; containing eighty-three pages.]

To his worthie, good Patron, *Lustie Humfrey*³, according as the Townsmen do christen him ; *Little Numps*, as the Nobilitie and Courtiers do name him ; and *Honest Humfrey*, as all his Friendes and Acquaintance esteeme him : *King* of the Tobacconists, *hic & ubique* ; and a singular Mecænas to the Pipe and the Tabour (as his patient Livery Attendant can witnesse), his bounden Orator, T. N. most prostrately offers up this Tribute of Inke and Paper.

MOST courteous, unlearned lover of poetry, and yet a poet thy selfe, of no less price then H. S. that, in honour of Maid-marrian, gives sweete-marjeram for his empresse, and puttes the sowe most sawcily uppon some great personage, whatever she bee, bidding her (as it runnes in the old song)

————— 'Go from my garden, go ;
'For there no flowers for thee dooth grow.'

¹ [Thomas Nashe, descended from a genteel family in Herefordshire, received an academical education at Cambridge ; where he took the degree of B. A. in 1585. In early life he was deeply immersed in the famous polemical dispute of 'Martin Mar-Prelate ;' whom he contributed most effectually to discourage and confound. Aware of his own singular talent at satiric composition, his pen was continually in action ; and when the abusive controversy of Mar-Prelate sunk into oblivion, the vices and fooleries of the age never failed to afford subjects for the exercise of his 'mother-wit ;' which was still more powerfully employed in the well known pen-conflict, between himself and Dr. Gabriel Harvey ; the most singular and implacable that our literary annals can produce. But, like many other satirists, he appears to have drawn himself under the displeasure of those, who possessed both sensibility to feel his sarcasms, and power to resent them ; since we find that the tract here printed, was written at a time when the author was necessitated to conceal himself at Yarmouth, in order to avoid the punishment which might have awaited him in the metropolis. Mr. Beloe suggests, that this pamphlet contains the earliest known account of Yarmouth ; but Nashe appears to have borrowed much from Camden, Bede, &c. as indeed he candidly avows. His works are very numerous, and of these some additional specimens are intended to be inserted in the Supplementary Volumes of this Work, where his character as a satirical writer will be more largely considered. We are not able to fix the date of his death decidedly, but it probably happened about the year 1602.]

² [Written 1598.]

³ [Humphrey King, a poetical writer, of whom, probably, little or nothing more is known than what may be gleaned from Nashe's dedication. His choice poem of "The Hermit's Tale," &c. occurred in Doctor Farmer's collection, and was purchased for the late Duke of Roxburgh.]

These be to notifie to your diminutive excelsitude, and compendious greatnesse, what my zeale is towardes you, that in no streighter bonds woulde bee pounded and enlisted, then in an epistle dedicatorie. To many more lusty bloud *Bravamente Segniors*, with Cales⁴ beards, as broade as scullers maples that they make cleane their boates with, could I have turned it over, and had nothing for my labour, some faire woords except; of, "Good Sir, will it please you to come neere, and drinke a cuppe of wine? After my returne from Ireland, I doubt not but my fortunes will be of some growth to requite you. In the meane time, my sword is at your command; and (before God) money so scatteringly runnes heere and there uppon *utensilia*, furnitures, ancients, and other necessary preparations, (and, which is a double charge, looke how much tobacco wee carry with us to expell cold, the like quantitie of staves-aker wee must provide us of, to kill lice in that rugged countrey of rebeles,) that I say unto you in the word of a martialist, Wee cannot do as wee would." I am no incredulous Didimus, but have more fayth to beleieve they have no coyne, then they have meanes to supplie themselves with it; and so leave them. To any other carpet-munger, or primerose knight of Primero⁵, bring I a dedication; and the dice over night have not befriended him, hee sleepes five dayes and five nights to new-skin his beautie, and will not bee known hee is awakt, till his men, uppon their own bondes (a dismall world for trenchermen, when theyr maisters bond shal not be so good as theirs) have tooke up commodities⁶; or fresh droppings of the minte for him. And then: What then? He pays for the ten dozen of balles hee left uppon the score at the tennis court; hee sendes for his barber to depure, decurtate, and sponge him; whome having not paide a twelmonth before, he now raines downe eight quarter angels into his hande, to make his liberalitie seeme greater, and gives him a cast riding jerkin, and an olde Spanish hat into the bargain, and God's peace bee with him. The chamber is not ridde of the smell of his feet, but the greasie shoemaker with his squirrel's skin, and a whole stall of ware uppon his arme, enters, and wrencheth his legges for an hour together, and after shewes his tally. By S. Loy, that drawes deepe: and by that time his tobacco marchant is made even with, and hee hath dinde at a tavern, and slept his under-meale at a bawdy-house, his purse is on the heild, and only fortie shillings hee hath behinde to trie his fortune with at the cardes in the presence⁷; which if it prosper, the court cannot containe him, but to London againe he will, to revell it and have two playes in one night, invite all the poets and musitions to his chamber the next morning; where, against their comming, a whole heape of money shall bee bespread uppon the boord, and all his trunks opened to shewe his rich sutes; but the devill a whit hee bestowes on them, save bottle ale and tobacco, and desires a generall meeting.

The particular of it is, that Bounty is bankrupt, and lady Sensualitie licks all the fat from the seven liberal sciences; that poetry, if it were not a trick to please my lady, would bee excluded out of Christian buriall, and, insteade of wreathes of lawrell to crowne it with, have a bell with a cock's combe clapid on the crowne of it by olde *Johannes de Indagines*, and his quire of Dorbellists. Wherefore, the premisses considered, (I pray you consider of that woord *premisses*, for somewhere I have borrowed it,) neither to rich, noble, right worshipfull, or worshipfull, of spirituall or temporall, will I consecrate this worke, but to thee and thy capering humour alone; that, if thy starres had doone thee right, they should have made thee one of the mightiest princes of Germany; not for thou canst drive a coach, or kill an oxe so wel as they, but that thou art never wel but when thou art amongst the retinue of the Muses, and there spendest more in the twinkling of an eye, then in a whole yeare thou gettest by some grasierly gentilitie thou followest. A king thou art by name, and a king of good-fellowshippe by nature; whereby I ominate this encomion of the king of fishes was predestinate to thee from thy swadling

⁴ [Cadiz.]

⁵ [A game at cards; the manner of playing which may be seen in an epigram quoted in Dodsley's collection of Old Plays, vol. v. p. 168, edit. 1780.]

⁶ [Vide Vol. V. p. 415.]

⁷ [Qu. Presence-chamber?]

clothes. Hugge it, ingle it, kisse it, and cull it, now thou hast it ; and renounce eating of greene beefe and garlike till Martlemas, if it be not the next stile to 'The strife of love 'in a dreame;' or, 'The lamentable burning of Teverton'. Give mee good words, I beseech thee, though thou givest me nothing else ; and thy words shal stand for thy deedes, which I will take as well in woorth, as if they were the deedes and evidences of all the lande thou hast. Heere I bring you a redde herring : if you will finde drinke to it, there's an end ; no other detriments will I putte you to. Let the kanne of strong ale, your constable ; with the toast, his browne bill⁸ ; and sugar and nutmegs, his watchmen ; stand in a readinesse to entertaine mee everie time I come by your lodging. In Ruscia there are no presents but of meate or drinke : I present you with meate, and you (in honourable courtesie to requite mee) can do no less than present mee with the best morning's draught of merry-go-downe in your quarters ; and so I kisse the shadow of your feetes shadow, amiable donsell, expecting your sacred poeme of 'The Hermite's tale,' that will restore the golden age amongst us ; and so, uppon my soule's knees, I take my leave.

Yours, for a whole last of redde herrings,

TH. NASHE.

To his Readers; hee cares not what they be.

"NASHE'S Lenten-Stuffe ! And why Nashe's Lenten-Stuffe ?"—Some scabbed scald squire replies, "Because I had money lent me at Yarmouth ; and I pay them againe in prayse of their own towne and the Redde-Herring." And if it were so, Goodman pig-wiggen, were not that honest dealing ? Pay thou all thy debtes so, if thou canst for thy life. But thou art a ninnihammer ; that is not it ; therefore, Nickneacave, I cal it 'Nashe's Lenten-Stuff,' as well for [that] it was most of my study the last Lent, as that we use so to term any fish that takes salt ; of which the red-herring is one [of] the aptest. "O ! but, (sayth another John Dringle,) there is a booke of the Red-Herring's Taile⁹, printed four terms since, that made this stale." Let it be a tail of Habberdine, if it will, I am nothing entail'd thereunto ; I scorne it, I scorne it, that my woorkes should turne taile to any man. Head, body, taile and all, of a Redde-herring you shall have of mee, if that will please you ; or, if that will not please you, stay till Ester-terme, and then, with the answer to the Trim Tram, I will make you laugh your hearts out. Take me at my woord, for I am the man that will doo it. This is a light friskin of my witte, like the prayse of injustice, the fever quartaine, Busiris, or Phalaris ; wherein I follow the trace of the famossest schollers of all ages, whom a wantonizing humour, once in their life-time, hath possest to play with strawes, and turn mole-hills into mountaines.

Every man can say 'bee to a battledore,' and write in prayse of vertue and the seven liberall sciences ; thresh corne out of the full sheaves, and fetch water out of the Thames ; but out of drie stubble to make an after-harvest, and a plentiful croppe without sowing, and wring juice out of a flint, that's Pierce a God's name, and the right tricke of a work-man. Let me speake to you about my huge woords, which I use in this booke ; and then you are your own men to do what you list. Know, it is my true vaine to be *tragicus orator* ; and, of all stiles, I most affect and strive to imitate Aretine's¹⁰ ; not caring for this demure, soft *mediocre genus*, that is like water and wine mixed together ; but give me pure wine of it self, and that begets good bloud, and heates the brain thorowly. I had as lieve have no sunne, as have it shine faintly ; no fire, as a smothering fire of small coales ; no cloathes, rather than weare linsey-wolsey. Apply it for me ; for I am cald away to correct the faults of the presse, that escaped in my absence from the printing-house.

⁸ [A brown bill was a kind of battle-axe or halbert, affixed to a long staff, and probably used by constables :
'Which is the constable's house ?

'At the sign of the *brown bill*.'—Blurt Master Constable, 1602.]

⁹ ['A Herring's Tayle, containning a poetickall fiction of divers matters worthie the reading. London, 1598.'
4to. See Herbert's Typogr. Antiq. p. 1379. A copy of this scarce poem occurs in Bibl. Pearsoniana, N^o. 2148.]

¹⁰ [Nashe is called by Dr. Lodge, in his 'Wit's Miserie,' the *true English Aretine*.]

The Praise of the Red-Herring.

THE straunge turning of the 'Ile of Dogs'¹¹, from a comedie to a tragedie, two summers past; with the troublesome stir, which hapned aboute it, is a generall rumour that hath filled all England; and such a heauey crosse laide upon me, as had well neere confounded mee. I meane, not so much in that it sequestred me from the woonted means of my maintenance, which is as great a maim to any man's happinesse, as can bee feared from the hands of miserie, or the deepe pit of dispaire, whereinto I was false beyond my greatest friendes reach to recover mee; but that in my exile, and irkesome discontented abandonment, the silliest miller's thombe¹², or contemptible stickle-back of my enemies, is as busie nibbling about my fame, as if I were a dead man throwne amongst them to feede upon. So I am, I confesse, in the worlde's outwarde apparence, though perhappes I may proove a cunninger diver than they are aware: which if it so happen, as I am partely assured, and that I plunge above water once againe; let them looke to it, for I will put them in bryne, or a piteous pickle every one¹³. But let that passe, though they shal find I wil not let it passe, when time serves; I, having a pamphlet hot a brooding, that shall be called 'The Barber's Warming-panne', and to the occasion a-fresh, of my falling in alliance with this Lenten argument. That infortunate imperfit embrion¹⁴ of my idle hours, the 'Isle of Dogs' before mentioned, breeding unto me such bitter throwes in the teaming, as it did; and the tempestes, that arose at his birth, so astonishing, outrageous, and violent, as if my braine had been conceived of another Hercules; I was so terrifyed with my owne encrease (like a woman long travailing to bee delivered of a monster), that it was no sooner borne, but I was glad to run from it. Too inconsiderate headlong rashnesse this may be censured in me, in being thus prodigall in advantaging my adversaries; but my case is now smoothred secret, and with light cost of rough cast rhetoricke, it may be tolerably playstered over, if under the pardon and privilege of incensed higher powers, it were lawfully indulgenst me freely to advocate my owne astrology. Sufficeth what they in their grave wisdomes shall proscribe, I, in no sorte, will seeke to acquite; nor presumptuously attempte to dispute against the equity

¹¹ [This comedy was never published, nor is any manuscript copy of it known to be extant. What the nature of the piece was, has not been discovered, but the consequences of having written it would seem to have been very serious to its satiric author. Meres, in his 'Comparative Discourse of our English Poets, with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets,' says, 'As Actæon was woored of his owne hounds, so is Tom Nash of his *Ile of Dogs*. Dogges were the death of Euripides, but bee not disconsolate, gallant young Juvenall; Linus, the son of Apollo, died the same death. Yet God forbid that so brave a witte should so bravely perish; thine are but paper-dogges, neither is thy banishment like Ovid's, eternally to converse with the barbarous Getes. Therefore, comfort thyselfe, sweete Tom, with Cicero's glorious return to Rome, and with the counsel Æneas gives to his sea-beaten soldiers. Lib. i. Æneid.

'Pluck up thine heart, and drive from thence,

'both feare and care away;

'To thinke on this, may pleasure be

'perhaps another day.

'*Durato, et temet rebus servato secundis.*'

Palladis Tamia, or Wit's Treasury, 1598.]

¹² [This alludes to Richard Lichfield, the barber of Trinity College, Cambridge; who, in 1597, taking advantage of Nashe's disgrace, published a tract intitled, 'The Trimming of Thomas Nashe, Gentleman, by the high-titled patron Don Richardo de Medico Campo, Barber Chirurgion to Trinity Colledge in Cambridge. *Faber quas fecit compedes ipse gestat.* London, printed for Philip Scarlet, 1597, 4to. On signature E 2. is a wood-cut of Nashe, double-fettered.]

¹³ *Quassatamen nostra est, non mersa nec obruta navis.*

¹⁴ An imperfect embrion I may well call it; for, I having begun but the induction and first act of it, the other foure acts (without my consent, or the least guesse of my drift or scope,) by the players were supplied, which bred both their trouble and mine too. [Dr. Farmer remarks, that this is not Nashe's first quarrel with the actors. In the 'Epistle to the Gentlemen Students of both Universities,' prefixed to Green's Arcadia, 1580, Tom has a lash at some 'vaine-glorious tragedians,' and very plainly at Shakspeare in particular: but Mr. Gilchrist more accurately observes, that Nashe's letter alludes to Kydd's old play of Hamlet; and was published in 1589, 4to, some years before Shakspeare appeared as a writer for the stage.]

of their judgements; but humble and prostrate appeale to their mercies. Avoide or give grounde I did; *scriptum est*, I will not goe from it; and *post varios casus*, variable knight-arrant adventures, and outroades, and inroades, in greate Yarmouth in Norfolke, I arrived at the latter ende of autumne: where having scarce lookt about me, my presaging mind said to itselfe, *Hic favonius serenus est, hic auster umbricus*; this is a predestinate fit place for Pierse Pennilesse¹⁵ to set up his staffe in. Therein, not much diameter to my devining hopes, did the event sort itselfe for sixe weekes first and last; under that predodumant constellation of Aquarius, or Jove's nectar-filler, tooke I up my repose, and there mette with such kind entertainment and benigne hospitality, when I was *una litera plusquam medicus*, as Plautus saith, and not able to line to my selfe with my owne juice; as some of the crummes of it, like the crums in a bushy beard, after a great banquet, will remaine in my papers, to bee seene when I am dead and under ground: from the bare perusing of which, infinite posterities of hungry poets shall receive good refreshing, even as Homer by Galatæon was pictured vomiting in a bason (in the temple that Ptolomy Philopater erected to him) and the rest of the succeeding poets after him, greedingly lapping up what he disgorged. That good old blind bibber of Helicon, I wot well, came a begging to one of the chief cities of Greece, and promised them vast corpulent volumes of immortality, if they would bestowe upon him but a slender outbrother's annuity of mutton and broth, and a pallet to sleep on; and, with derision, they rejected him: whereupon, he went to their enemies with the like proffer, who used him honourably, and whome he used so honourably, that to this daye (though it be three-thousand yeare since) their name and glorie flourish greene in men's memory, through his industry. I trust you make no question but those dull-pated pennifathers, that in such dudgen scorne rejected him, drunck deep of the soure cup of repentance for it, when the high flight of his lines in common brute was O O yessed. Yea, in the worde of one no more wealthy than hee was, (wealthy, saide I, nay I'le besworne, hee was a grande jurie-man, in respect of me) those gray-beard huddle-duddles, and crusty cum-twangs, were strooke with such stinging remorse of their miserable euclionisme and sundgery, that hee was not yet cold in his grave, but they challenged him to be borne amongst them; and they, and sixe cities more, entred a sharpe warre about it, every one of them laying claime to him as their owne: and to this effect, hath Buchanan an epigram:

Urbes certarunt septem de patria Homeri;

Nulla domus vivo, patria nulla fuit.

'Seven citties stroave, whence Homer first shoulde come;

'When living, he no country had nor home.'

I alleadge this tale to shewe how much bettermy lacke¹⁶ was than Homer's (though all the king of Spaine's Indies will not create me such a nigling hexameter-founder, as he was) in the first proclayming of my bankerout¹⁷ indigence and beggery, to bende my course to such a curteous compassionate clime as Yarmouth; and to warne others that advance their heades above all others, and have not respected, but rather flatly opposed themselves against the friar-mendicants of our profession, what their amercements, and unrepriveable pennance, will be, excepte they teare ope their oyster-mouthd pouches quickly, and make double amends for their parsimony. I am no Tiresias or Calchas to prophecie, but yet I cannot tell, there may bee more resounding bell metall in my pen, than I am aware; and if there bee, the first peale of it is Yarmouth's. For a patterne or tiny sample, what my elaborate performance would bee in this case, had I a ful-sayl'd gale of prosperity to

¹⁵ [Nashe's most popular work, '*Pierce Penilesse* his Supplication to the Devil', was first printed in the year 1592, and afterwards 'passed through the pikes of at least six impressions,' as he informs us in 'Have with you to Saffron Walden,' 1596, a tract that gave the finishing stroke to Gabriel Harvey. Besides this, 'Dick Litchfield, the barber of Trinity Colledge, a rare ingenuous odd merry Greek, (as I have heard) hath translated my *Piers Pennilesse* into the Macaronical language, wherein I wish he had beene more tongue-tyed; since, in some men's incensed judgments, it hath too much tongue already; being above two years since maimedly translated into the French tongue'.]

¹⁶ [Luck.]

¹⁷ [*i. e.* Bankrupt.]

encourage mee; whereas, at the dishumoured composing hereof, I may justly complaine with Ovid:

Anchora jam nostram non tenet ulla ratem.

My state is so tost and weather-beaten, that it hath nowe no anchor-holde left to cleave unto. I care not, if in a dimme farre-of launce-skippe I take the paines to describe this superimente principall metropolis of the redde fish¹⁸. A towne it is, that, in rich situation, exceedeth many citties, and without the which, *caput gentis*, the swelling battlementes of Gurguntus, a head citty of Norffolke and Suffolke, would scarce retaine the name of a citty, but become as ruinous and desolate as Thetforde or Ely, out of an hill or heape of sande, reared and enforced from the sea most miraculously, and by the singular pollicy and uncessant inestimable expence of the inhabitantes, so firmly piled and rampierd against the fumish waves battry, or suying the leaste action of recoverie, that it is more conjecturall of the twaine, the land, with a writ of an *ejectio firma*, will get the upper

¹⁸ Camden, in his *Britannia*, has the following account of Yarmouth: 'So soon as the Yare has passed Claxton, and is now come just to the sea, it takes a turn to the south, that it may descend more gently into the sea; by which means it makes a sort of little tongue or slip of land, washt on one side by itself, on the other by the sea. In this slip, upon an open shore, I saw Yarmouth, in Saxon Gap-muð and Jiep-muð, i. e. the mouth of the Garienis, a very neat harbour and town, fortified both by the nature of the place, and the contrivance of art. For though it be almost surrounded with water on the west with the river over which there is a draw-bridge, and on other sides with the sea, except to the north, where it is joined to the continent; yet it is fenced with strong stately walls, which, with the river, figure it into an oblong quadrangle. Besides the towers upon these, there is a mole or mount to the east, from whence the great guns command the sea (scarce half a mile distant) all round. It has but one church, though very large, and with a stately high spire, built near the north gate by Herbert bishop of Norwich. Below which the foundations of a noble work, designed as an enlargement to this, are raised above ground. I dare not affirm that this was the old Garienorum, where formerly the Stablesian horse lay in garrison against the barbarians. Nor yet the neighbouring little village, Castor, (formerly the seat of Sir John Falstaff, an eminent knight,) famous among the inhabitants upon account of its antiquity; though there is a report that the river Yare had another mouth just under it. But as I am thoroughly convinced that the Garienorum was at Burgh-castle in Suffolk, which is scarce two miles distant from the other side of the river; so am I apt to think that Yarmouth rose out of its ruins, and that that Castor was one of the Roman castles, placed also at a mouth of the river Yare, now shut up. For as the north-west wind plays the tyrant upon the coast of Holland, over against this place, and has stopt up the middle mouth of the Rhine, by heaping in sands, just so has the north-east plagued this coast, and, by sweeping up heaps of sand, seems to have stopt this mouth. Nor will it be any injury, if I call this our Yarmouth (so nearly joined to the old Garienorum) itself; since the Garienis, from whence it had the name, has not changed its channel, and enters the ocean below this town, to which it hath also given its name. For I cannot but own, that this our Yarmouth is of later date. For when that old Garienonum was gone to decay, and there was none left to defend the shore, Cerdick, the warlike Saxon, landed here, (from whence the place is called by the inhabitants at this day Cerdick-sand, and by other historians Cerdick-shore,) and when he had pestered the Icenii with a troublesome war, set sail from hence for the west, where he settled the kingdom of the West Saxons. And not long after, the Saxons, instead of Garienonum, built a new town in that moist watery field upon the west side of the river, which they called Yarmouth. But the situation of that proving unwholesome, they marched over to the other side of the river, called then from the same Cerdick, Cerdick-sand, and there they built this new town, wherein (as Domesday-book has it) there flourished, in the time of Edward the Confessor, seventy burgesses. Afterwards, about the year of our Lord 1340, the citizens walled it round, and, in a short time, became so rich and powerful, that they often engaged their neighbours the Leostoffenses and the Portuenses (so they called the inhabitants of the Cinque Ports) in sea-fights, with great slaughter on both sides. For they had a particular spite against them, possibly upon this account—because they were excluded out of the number, and deprived of the privileges of the Cinque Ports, which both the old Garienonum, and their ancestors under the count of the Saxon shore formerly enjoyed. But a stop was put to these extravagancies by the royal authority; or (as others think) by the damp which that grievous plague brought upon them, that in one year took seven thousand souls out of this little town, as appears by an old chronographical table, hung up in the church; which also gives an account of their wars with the Portuenses and the Leostoffenses. From that time they grew low, nor had they wealth sufficient to carry on their merchandise; upon which they have betaken themselves mostly to the herring-trade (for so they generally call them, though the learned think them to be the Chalcides and the Leucomanides) a sort of fish that is more plentiful upon this coast than any other part of the world. For it seems incredible what a great and thronged fair is here at Michaelmas, and what quantities of herring and other fish are vended. At which time the Cinque Ports, by an old custom, appoint so many bailiffs, commissioners; who (to speak out of their diploma, or commission) along with the magistrates of the town, "during the free fair, hold a court for matters belonging to the fair, execute the king's justice, and keep the king's peace." The harbour underneath is of great advantage, not only to the inhabitants, but those of Norwich also; and it is an infinite charge they are at to keep it open against the violence of the sea. Which, to do justice, and make amends for what it has swallowed up on this coast, has here heaped up sands into a little island.' Camden's *Britannia* by Gibson, 1695. col. 388.]

hande of the ocean, then the ocean one crowe's skip prevaile against the continent. Forth of the sands, thus struglingly as it exalteth and listes up his glittering head: so of the ney-boring sands, no lesse semblably, (whether, in recordation of their worn out affinitie or no, I know not) it is so inamorately protected and patronized, that they stand as a trench or garde about it in the night, to keep off their enemies. Now, in that drowsie empire of the pale-fac't queene of shades, *malgre* letting drive upon their barricadoes, or impetuously contending to break through their chain or barre, but they entombe and balist with sodaine destruction. In this transcursive reportory, without some observant glaunce, I may not dully overpasse the gallant beauty of their haven, which having but as it were a welte of land (or, as M. Camden cals it, *lingulam terræ*, a little tong of the earth,) betwixte it and the wide maine, sticks not to mannage armes, and hold his owne undefeasably, against that universall unbounded empery of surges; and so hath done for this hundreth yeere. Two mile in length it stretches his winding current, and then meetes with a spacious river or back-water, that feedes it. A narrow channell or isthmus, in rash view, you woulde opinionate it; when this I can devoutly averre, I beholding it with both my eies this last fishing,) sixe hundreth reasonable barkes and vesseles of good burden, with advantage, it hath given shelter to, at once in her harbour; and most of them riding a-brest before the key, betwixt the bridge and the south-gate. Many bows length beyond the marke, my pen roves not, I am certain: if I doe, they stand at my elbow that can correct mee. The delectablest lustie sight and movingest object methought it was, that our ile sets forth, and nothing behinde in number with the invincible Spanish Armada, though they were not such Gargantuan boysterous gulliguts as they; though ships and galeasses they would have beene reckoned in the navy of K. Edgar, who is chronicled and registred, with three-thousand ships of warre, to have scoured the narrow seas, and sailed round about England every summer. That which especiallest nourisht the most prime pleasure in me, was after a storme, when we were driven in swarmes, and lay close pestred together as thicke as they could packe; the next day following, if it were faire, they would cloud the whole skie with canvas, by spreading their drabled sailes in the full clue abroad a-drying, and make a braver shew with them, then so many banners and streamers displayed against the sunne, on a mountaine top. But how Yarmouth, of it selfe so innumerable populous and replenished, and in so barraine a plot seated, should not onely supply her inhabitants with plentifull purveyance of sustenance, but provant and victuall moreover this monstrous army of strangers, was a matter that egregiously bepuzled and entranced my apprehension. Hollanders, Zeelanders, Scots, French, Western-men, Northren-men, besides all the hundreds and wapentakes, nine miles compasse, fetch the best of their viands and mangery from her market. For ten weeks together, this rabble-rout of outlandishers are billeted with her; yet, in all that while, the rate of no kinde of food is raised, nor the plenty of their markets one pinte of butter rebated: and at the ten weekes end, when the campe is broken up, no impression of any dearth left, but rather more store than before. Some of the towne-dwellers have so large an opinion of their settled provision, that if all her Majestie's fleet at once should put into their bay, within twelve dayes warning, with so much double beere, beefe, fish, and bisket, they would bulke them as they could wallow away with.

Here I could breake out into a boundlesse race of oratory, in shrill trumpetting and concelebrating the royall magnificence of her government, that, for state and strict civill ordering, scant admitteth any rivals. But I feare it would be a theame displeasent to the grave modesty of the discreet present magistrates; and therefore consultively I overslip it: howsoever I purpose not, in the like nice respect, to leape over the laudable petigree of Yarmouth, but will fetch her from her swaddling clouts of infancy; and reveale to you when and by whom she was first raught out of the ocean's armes, and start up and aspired to such starry sublimitie; as also acquaint you with the notable immunities, franchises, and privileges she is endowed with, beyond all her confiners, by the discentine line of kings from the Conquest.

There be of you, it may be, that will account me a paltrier, for hanging out the signe of the Redde-herring in my title-page, and no such feast towards, for ought you can see.

Soft and faire, my maisters ; you must walke and talke before dinner an houre or two, the better to whet your appetites to taste of such a dainty dish as the Redde-herring ; and, that you may not thinke the time tedious, I care not if I beare you company, and leade you a sound walke round about Yarmouth, and shew you the length and bredth of it.

The masters and batchellours commensment dinners, at Cambridge and Oxford, are betwixt three and foure in the afternoone, and the rest of the antecedence of the day worne out in disputations. Imagine this the act or commensment of the Red-herring, that proceedeth batcheler, master, and doctor, all at once ; and therefore his disputations must be longer. But to the point. May it please the whole generation of my auditours to be advertised, how that noble earth, where the town of Great Yarmouth is now mounted, and where so much fish is sold, in the dayes of yore hath bin the place where you might have catcht fish, and as plaine a sea, within this 600 yere, as any bote could tumble in ; and so was the whole levill of the marshes betwixt it and Norwich. *An.Dom.* 1000, or thereabouts (as I have scrapt out of worme-eaten parchment) and in the raigne of Canutus, hee that dyed drunke at Lambeth, or Lome-hith, somewhat before, or somewhat after, not a prenticeship of yeares varying, *caput extulit undis* ; the sands set up shop for themselves : and from that moment to this sextine centurie (or, let me not be taken with a lye, five-hundred ninety-eight, that wants but a paire of yeares to make me a true man) they would no more live under the yoke of the sea, or have their heads washt with his bubbly spume, or barber's balderdash ; but clearly quitted, distetermined, and relegated themselves from his inflated capriciousness of playing the dictator over them.

The northerne winde was the clanging trumpetter, who, with the terrible blast of his throate, in one yeallow heape, or plumpe-clustred, or congested them together, even as the western gales in Holland, right over-against them, have wrought unruly havocke, and thresht and swept the sandes so before them, that they have choakt or clamd up the middle walke, or dore of the Rhene, and made it as stable a clod-mould, or turfe-grounde, as any hedger can drive stake into. Caster, two mile distant from this 'New Yarmouth' we intreate of, is inscribed to be that 'Olde Yarmouth,' wherof there are specialiities to be seene in the oldest writers ; and yet, some visible apparent tokens remaine of a haven that ran up to it, and there had his entrance into the sea, by aged fishermen commonly teamed 'Grubs Haven,' though now it be graveld up, and the streame, or tyde-gate, turned another way. But this is most warrantable, the Alpha of all the Yarmouths it was, and not the Omega correspondently ; and from her withered roote, they branch the high ascent of their genealogie. *Omnium rerum vicissitudo est* ; One's falling is another's rising ; and so fell it out with that ruind dorpe, or hamlet, which, after it had relapst into the lordes handes for want of reparations, and there were not men enough in it to defend the shore from invasion ; one Cerdicus, a plashing Saxon, that had reveld here and there with his battle-axe, on the bordring bankes of the decrepite overworne village, now surnamed Gorkstone, threw forth his anchor, and with the assistance of his speare, instead of a pike-staffe, leapt a-ground like a sturdie brute, and his yeomen bolde cast their heeles in their necke and friskt it after him ; and thence sprouteth that obscene appellation of 'Sarding Sandes,' with the draffe of the carterly hoblobs thereabouts, concoct or digeast for a Scripture verity, when the right Christendome of it is 'Cerdicke Sands,' or 'Cerdick Shore,' of Cerdicus so denominated ; who was the first May-lord, or captaine of the morris-daunce, that on those embenched shelves, stampd his footing where cods and dog-fish swomme not a warp of weeks forerunning, and, til he had given the onset, they balkt them as quicksands. By and by, after his jumping uppon them, the Saxons, (for that Garianonum, or Yarmoth, that had given up the ghost,) in those slimie plashie fieldes of Gorkstone trowled up a second Yarmouth, abutting on the west side of the shore of this Great Yarmouth, that is ; but feeling the ayre to be unholosome and disagreeing with them, to the overwhart brink or verge of the flud, that writ all one stile of 'Cerdicke Sands,' they dislodged, with bagge and baggage, and there layde the foundation of a third Yarmouth, *quam nulla potest abolere vetustas*, that I hope will holde up her head till Doomesday. In this Yarmouth, (as master Camden saith,) there were seaventie inhabitants, or housholders, that paid scot and lot in the time of Edward the Confessor ; but a chronographycal Latine

table, which they have hanging up in their guildhall, of all their transmutations from their cradlehoode, infringeth this a little; and flatters her, shee is a great deale yonger; in a faire text hand, texting unto us, how, in the scepterdome of Edward the Confessor, the sands first began to growe into sight at a low water, and more sholder at the mouth of the ryver Hirus or Ierus; whereupon it was dubbed Iernmouth, or Yarmouth: and then there were two channels, one on the north, another on the south, where through the fishermen did wander and waver up to Norwich, and divers parts of Suffolke and Norfolke; all the fennie Lerna betwixt, that with reede is so imbristled, being (as I have forespoke or spoken tofore) Madona, Amphitrite, fluctuous demians, or fee-simple.

From the cite of Norwich on the east part, it is sixteene miles disjunct and dislocated; and though betwixt the sea and the salt flud it be interposed, yet in no place about it can you digge six foote deepe, but you shall have a gushing spring of fresh or sweete water for all uses; as apt and accommodate as St. Winifride's well, or Towre-hill water at London, so much praised and sought after. My tables are not yet one quarter emptied of my notes out of their table; which because it is, as it were, a sea rutter diligently kept amongst them from age to age, of all their ebbs and flowes, and winds, that blew with or against them, I tie mysele to more precisely, and thus it leadeth on: In the time of king Herrolde and William the Conquerour, this sand of Yarmouth grew to a setled lumpe, and was as drie as the sands of Arabia, so that thronging theaters of people (as well aliens as Englishmen) hived thither about the selling of fish and herring, from Saint Michael to Saint Martin; and there built sutlers booths and tabernacles, to canopie their heads in from the rhewme of the heavens, or the clouds dissolving cataracts. King William Rufus having got the golden wreath about his head, one Herbertus, bishop of the sea of Norwich, hearing of the gangs of good fellows that hurtled and bustled thither, (as thicke as it had beene to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, or our Ladie of Walsingham,) builded a certaine chappell there, for the service of God, and salvation of soules.

In the raigne of king Henrie the First, king Steven, king Henrie the Second, and Richard *de corde Lyon*, the apostacie of the sands from the yalping world was so great, that they joynd themselves to the maine land of Eastflege, and whole tribes of males and females trotted, bargd it thither, to build and enhabite, which the saide kinges, whiles they weilded their swords temporall, animadvertised of, assigned a ruler or governour over them, that was called the king's provost; and that manner of provostship, or government, remained in full force and vertue of all their fowre throneships, *aliàs* a hundred yeare; even till the inauguration of king John, in whose dayes the forewritten-of bishop of Norwich (seeing the numbrous increase of soules of both kindes, that there had framd their nestes, and meant not to forsake them till the soule-bell towled them thence,) puld downe his chappell, and, what by himsele and the devout oblations and donatives of the fishermen upon every returne with their nets full, re-edifide and rayzed it to a church of that magnitude, as, under-ministers and cathedrals, very queasie; it admits any 'hayle fellow, well met'; and the church of Saint Nicholas he hallowed it, whence Yarmouth roade is nicknamed the roade of St. Nicholas. King John, to comply, and keepe consort with his auncestors, in furthring of this new water-worke, in the ninth yeare of the engirthing his annoynted brows with the refulgent Ophir circle, and *anno* 1209, set a fresh glosse uppon it, of the towne or free burrough of Yarmouth, and furnisht it with many substantial priviledges and liberties, to have and to holde the same of him, and his race, for fifty-five pounds yearely. In *anno* 1240, it percht up to be governd by bailies, and in a narrower limmitte then the forty yeares under meale of the seaven sleepers, it had so much towe to her distaffe, and was so well lined and bumbasted, that, in a sea-battell, her shippes and men conflicted the Cinque Ports, and therein so laid about them, that they burnt, tooke, and spoyled the most of them; whereof such of them as were sure flights, (saving a reverence of their manhoods) ranne crying and complayning to king Henry the Second, who, with the advice of his counsaile, set a fine of a thousand pounds

on the Yarmouth men's heads for that offence; which fine, in the tenth of his reigne, he dispenc't with, and pardoned.

Edward the First, and Edward the Second likewise, let them lacke for no priviledges; changing it from a burrough to a porte towne, and there setting up a custome-house, with the appurtenances for the loading and unloading of ships. Henry the Third, in the fortieth of his empery, cheard up their blouds with two charters more; and in *anno* 1262, and forty-five of his courte-keeping, hee permitted them to wall in their towne, and moate it about with a broad ditch, and to have a prison or jaile in it. In the swindge of his trident he constituted two lord-admirals over the whole navy of England, which he disposed in two partes; the one to beare sway from the Thames mouth northwarde, called 'The Northren Navy'; the other to shape his course from the Thames mouth to the westward, termed 'The Western Navy'; and over this northren navy, for admiral, commissioned one John Peerbrowne, burgesse of the towne of Yarmouth; and over the western navy one sir Robert Laburnus, knight.

But Peerebrowne did not only hold his office all the time of that king, doeing plausible service, but was againe re admiral by Edward the Third, and so died: in the fourteenth of whose raig he met with the French kinges navy, beeing foure-hundred saile, nere to the haven of Sluse, and there so slic't and slash't them, and tore their plancks to mam mocks, and their leane guttes to kites meate, that their best mercy was fire and water, which hath no mercie; and not a victueler or a drumbler of them hanging in the winde aloofe, but was rib-roasted, or had some of his ribbes crush't with their ston-darting engines; no ordinance then beeing invented. This Edward the Thirde, of his propensive minde towards them, united to Yarmouth Kirtley-road, from it seaven mile vacant; and, sowing in the furrowes that his predecessours had entred, ynhaed the price of their priviledges, and not brought them downe one barley kinnell.

Richard the Second, upon a discord twixt Leystofe and Yarmouth, after diverse lawdayes, and arbitrarie mandates to the counties of Suffolke and Norfolk, directed about it, in proper person, 1385, came to Yarmouth, and in his parliamente the yeare ensuing, confirmed unto it the liberties of Kirtley-roade, (the onely motive of all their contention). Henrie the Fifth, or the fifth of the Henries that ruled over us, abridged them not a mite of their purchast prerogatives, but permitted them to builde a bridge over their haven, and ayded and furthered them in it. Henry the Sixth, Edward the Fourth, Henry the Seaventh, and king Henry the Eight, with his daughters queen Mary, and our *chara delum soboles*, queene Elizabeth, have not withred up their handes in signing and subscribing to their requests; but our virgin-rectoresse, most of al, hath shoured downe her bounty upon them, graunting them greater graunts then ever they had; besides by-matters of the clarke of the marketshippe, and many other benevolences towards the reparation of their porte. This, and every towne, hath its backewinters or frostes that nippe it in the blade, (as not the clearest sunneshine but hath his shade, and there is a time of sicknes as well as of health): the backewinter, the froste biting, the eclipse or shade, and sicknesse of Yarmouth, was a great sicknesse or plague in it, 1348, of which, in one yeare, seaven thousand and fifty people toppled up their heeles there. The newe building at the west ende of the church was begunne there 1330, which, like the imperfit workes of Kinges Colledge in Cambridge, or Christ-Church in Oxford, have too costly large foundations to be ever finished.

It is thought if the towne had not been so scourged, and eaten up by that mortality, out of their own purses they woulde have proceeded with it: but nowe they have gone a neerer way to the woode, for with wooden galleries in the church that they have, and stayry degrees of seates in them, they make as much roome to sit and heare, as a newe west-end would have done.

The length and bredth of Yarmouth, I promised to shew you, have with you, have with you: but first looke wistly upon the walles, which, if you marke, make a stretcht out quadrangle with the haven. They are in compass, from the south cheanes to the

north cheanes, two-thousand one-hundreth and fourescore yardes : they have towres upon them sixteen ; mounts underfonging and enflancking them, two of olde, now three ; which have their thundring tools, to compell Diego Spanyard to ducke, and strike the winde-collicke in his paunch, if he praunce to neere them, and will not vaile to the queene of England. The compasse about the wall of this new mount is five-hundreth foot, and in the measure of yards eight-score and seven : the bredth of the foundation nine foot, the depth within ground eleven : the heighth to the setting thereof, fiteene foot, and in bredth at the setting of it, five foot three inches ; and the procerous stature of it, so embailing and girdling in this mount, twentie foot and sixe inches. Gates (to let in her friends, and shut out her enemies) Yarmouth hath ten ; lans sevenscore : as for her streets, they are as long as threescore streets in London, and yet they divide them but into three. Voide ground in the towne from the walles to the houses, and from the houses to the haven, is not within the verge of my geometry. The liberties of it on the fresh-water one way, as namely, from Yarmouth to St. Toolie's in Beckles-water, are ten mile ; and from Yarmouth to Hardlie-crosse another way, ten mile ; and, conclusively, from Yarmouth to Waybridge in the narrow north-water, tenne mile : in all which foords, or meandors, none can attache, arrest, distresse, but their officers ; and, if any drowne themselves in them, their crowners sit upon them.

I had a crotchet in my head, here to have given the raines to my pen, and run astray thorowout all the coast-townes of England ; digging up their dilapidations, and raking out of the dust-heape, or charnel-house of tenebrous eld, the rottenest relique of their monuments, and bright scoured the canker-eaten brasse of their first bricklayers and founders, and commented and paralogized on their condition in the present, and in the preter tense : not for any love or hatred I beare them, but that I would not be snibd, or have it cast in my dishe, that therefore I prayse Yarmouth so rantantly, because I never elsewhere bayted my horse, or tooke my bowe and arrowes, and went to bed. Which leeing, had I bene let alone, I would have put to bed with a *recumbentibus*, by uttering the best that with a safe conscience mought be uttered of the best, or worst, of them all : and notwithstanding all at best, that tongue could speake, or hart could thinke of them, they should bate me an ace of Yarmouth. Mutch braine-tossing and breaking of my scull it cost me ; but farewell it, and farewell the baylies of the Cynque-Ports, whose primordial *gethneliaca* was also dropping out of my inckhorne, with the sylver oare of their barronry by William the Conquerour, conveyed over them at that nicke, when hee firmed and rubrickt Kentishmen's gavill-kinde of the sonne to inherite at fiteene, and the felony of the father not to draw a foot of land from the sonne, and amongst the sonnes the portion to be equally distributed : and if there were no sonnes, much good doe it the daughters ; for they were to share it after the same tenure, and might alienate it how they would, either by legacy or bargaine, without the consent of the lord.

To shun spight I smothered these dribblements, and refrained to descant, how William the Conquerour, having heard the proverbe of Kent and Christendome, thought he had woonne a countrey as good as all Christendome, when he was enfeofed of Kent ; for which, to make it sure unto him, after he was entailed thereunto, nought they askt they needed to aske twise, it being enacted ere the words came out of their mouth. Of that profligated labour yet my breast pants and labours, a whole moneth's minde of revolving meditation I raveling out therein, (as raveling out signifies Penelope's *telam retexere*, the unweaving of a webbe, before woven and contexted.) It pities me, it pities me, that in cutting of so faire a diamond as Yarmouth, I have not a casket of dusky, Cornish diamonds by me, and a boxe of muddy foiles the better to set it forth : *Ut nemo miser, nisi comparatus, sic nihil pro mirifico, nisi cum aliis conferatur. Cedite soli, stellæ scintillantes ; soli Garrianano cedite, reliqua oppida veligera, sedium navalium speciosissimo : sed redeo ad vernaculum.*

All common wealths assume their prenominations of their common divided weale ; as where one man hath not too much riches, and another man too much povertie. Such was

Plato's communitie, and Licurgus' and the olde Romans' lawes of measuring out their fields, their meads, their pastures and houses, and meating out to every one his childe's portion. To this *commune bonum* (or, every horse his loafe) Yarmouth, in propinquity, is as the buckle to the thong, and the next finger to the thumb; not that it is sibbe, or cater-cousin to any mongrel *Democratia*, in which one is all, and all are one; but that, in her, as they are not al one, so one or two there pockets not up all the peeces; there being two-hundreth in it worth three-hundred pounce a-peece, with poundage and shillings to the lurtched, set aside the bailie's fowre-and-twentie and eight-and-fourtie. Put out mine eye who can, with such another bragge of any sea-town within two-hundred myle of it. But this common good within itselfe is nothing to the common good it communicates to the whole state. Shall I particularize unto you *quibus viis & modis*, how and wherein? There is my hand to, I will doe it; and this is my exordium:—A towne of defencee it is to the counties of Suffolke and Norfolke against the enèemies (so accounted at the first graunting of their liberties) and by the naturall strength of the situation so apparent, being both invironed with many sands, and now of late, by great charge, much more fortified, than in auncient times. All the realme it profiteth many waies; as, by the free faire of herring, chiefly maintained by the fishermen of Yarmouth themselves; by the great plentie of salted fish there, not so little two yeares past, as foure-hundred thousand; wherein were employed about fourescore saile of barkes of their owne. By the furnishing forth of forty boates for mackarell at the spring of the yeare, when all thinges are dearest; which is a great reliefe to all the country thereabouts; and soone after Bartlemewe-tyde, a hundred and twenty sayle of their owne for herrings, and forty sayle of other ships and barkes, trading Newecastle, the Lowe-Countries, and other voyages. Norwiche, at her Majesties comming in progress¹⁹ thither, presented her with a shew of

¹⁹ [An account of this 'pageant' is thus given in a scarce tract intitled 'The joyfull receyving of the Queene's most excellent Majestie into hir Highnesse citie of Norwich,' &c. Lond. (anno 1578.) which is inserted in the second volume of Nichols's valuable collection of the Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth.

'The first pageant was in St. Stephen's parish, in this manner:

'It was buylded somewhat lyke the manner of a stage, of xl foote long, and in breadth eight foote. From the standing-place upward, was a bancke, framed in the manner of a free-stone wall, in a very decent and beautifull sorte: and in the heighth thereof were written these sentences; viz.

"The causes of this commonwealth are,

"God truly preached.

"Justice duely executed. The people obedient.

"Idlenesse expelled. Labour cherished.

"Universall Concorde preserved."

'From the standing-place downward, it was beautified with painters worke artificially, expressing to sight the portraiture of these severall loombes, and the weavers in them (as it were working), and over every loombe the name thereof, viz. Over the first loombe was written, "The weaving of worsted;" over the seconde, "The weaving of Russels;" over the thirde, "The weaving of Darnir;" over the fourth, "The weaving of Tuft Mockado;" the fifth, "The weavyng of Lace;" the sixte, "The weaving of Taffa;" the seventh, "The weavinge of Frindge." And then was there the portraiture of a matrone and two or three chyl dren, and over her head was written these wordes, "Good nurture chaungeth qualities." Upon the stage there stode at the one ende, eyght small women chyl dren spinnyng worsted yarne; and at the other ende, as many knittyng of worsted yarne hose; and in the myddest of the sayde stage stood a pretie boy, richly apparelled, which represented the commonwelth of the citie. And all the reste of the stage was furnished with men whiche made the sayde severall workes, and before every man the work indeede; and every thing thus in readinesse, stayed hir Majesties comming: and when she did come, the childe which represented Commonwelth, did speake to her Highnesse these wordes; viz.

'Most gracious Prince, undoubted soveraigne Queene,

'Our only joy, next God, and chiefe defence;

'In this small shewe our whole estate is seene;

'The welth we have, we finde proceede from thence.

'The idle hande hath here no place to feede,

'The painefull wight hath stil to serve his neede.

'Againe, our seate denyed our traffique here,

'The sea too neare devides us from the rest;

'So weake we were within this dozen yeare,

'As care did quench the courage of the best:

knitters, on a high stage placed for the nonce; Yarmouth, if the like occasion were, could clap up as good a shewe of netbrayders, or those that have no cloathes to wrappe their hides in, or breade to put in their mouthes, but what they earne and get by brayding of nets, (not so little as two-thousand pound they yearely dispersing amongst the poore women and children of the country, for the spinning of twine to make them with, besides the labour of the enhabitauntes in working them,) and, for a commodious greene place, neere the sea-shoare, to mende and drie them; not Salisbury-Plaine, or Newmarket-Heath (tho' they have no vicinity or neighbourhoode with the sea, or scarce with any ditch or pond of fresh water) may overpeere, or outcrow her; there being above five-thousand pounds worth of them at a time uppon her dennes a-sunning. A convenient key within her haven shee hath, for the delivery of nets and herrings, where you may lie a-floate at lowe water; I beseech, you doe not so in the Thames; many serviceable mariners and seafaring men shee trayneth up; (but of that in the Herring.)

The marishes and lower grounds, lying upon the three rivers that vagary up to her, comprehending many thousand acres, by the vigilant preservation of their haven, are encreased in value more than halfe, which else would be a *Meotis palus*, a meare, or lake of eeles, frogges, and wilde duckes. The citty of Norwich (as in the *prælude* hereof I had a twitch at,) fares nere the worse for her, nor would fare so wel, if it were not for the fishe of all sortes that shee cloyeth her with, and the felowship of their haven, into which their three rivers infuse themselves; and through which, their goods and merchandise, from beyonde seas, are keeled up, with small cost, to their very thresholds, and to many good townes on this side, and beyond. I would be loth to builde a laborinth in the gatehouse of my booke, for you to loose yourselves in, and therefor I shred of many thinges: we will but cast over the bill of her charge, and talke a worde or two of her buildings, and breake up and go to breakefast with the Red-Herring. The haven hath cost, in these last 28 yeares, twenty-sixe thousand, two-hundred, fifty-sixe ponde, foure shillings, and five-pence: fortification and poulder, since *anno* 1587, two-thousand markes; the sea service in *anno* 1588, eight-hundreth poundes; the Portingale voyage, a thousand poundes; the voyage to Cales as much.

It hath lost, by the Dunkerkers, a thousand pound; by the Frenchmen, three-thousand; by Wafting, eight-hundred; by the Spaniardes, and other losses not rated, at the least, three-thousand more. The continuall charge of the towne, in maintenance of their haven, five-hundred pounds a yeare, *omnibus annis*, for ever; the fee-farme of the towne fiftie-five pound, and five pound a yeare above for Kirtley-roade. The continuall charge of the bridge over the haven, their walls, and a number of other odde reckonings, we deale not with; towards all which they have not, in certaine revenewes, above fiftie or threescore pounds a yeare, and that is in houses. The yearely charge towards the provision of fishe for her Majestie, 1000 pounds: as for arable matters of tillage and hus-

- ' But good advise hath taught these little handes
- ' To rende in twayne the force of pining bandes.
- ' From combed wool we draw this slender threede,
- ' From thence the loombes have dealing with the same;
- ' And thence againe in order do proceede
- ' These severall workes which skilfull Art doth frame:
- ' And all to drive dame Neede into hir cave,
- ' Our heades and handes together labourde have.
- ' We bought, before, the things that now we sell,
- ' These slender ymps their workes do passe the waves;
- ' God's peace and thine we holde and prosper well,
- ' Of every mouth the handes the charges saves.
- ' Thus through thy helpe, and ayde of Power devine,
- ' Doth Norwich live, whose hearts and goods are thine.

' This shewe pleased hir Majestie greatly, as she particularly viewed the *knitting* and spinning of the children, perused the loombes, and noted the severall workes and commodities which were made by these meanes; and then, after greate thanks by hir given to the people, marched towards the market-place; &c.]

bandrie, and grasing of cattell, their barraine sands will not beare them, and they get not a begger's noble by one or other of them, but their whole harvest is by sea.

It were to be wished, that other coasters were so industrious as the Yarmouth, in winning the treasure of fish out of those profundities, and then we should have twentie egges a pennie; and it would be as plentifull a world as when abbies stooode: and now, if there be any plentifull world, it is in Yarmouth. Her sumptuous porches, and garnisht buildings, are such, as no port-towne in our Brittish circumference, (nay, take some portecitties overplus into the bargaine,) may suitably stake with, or adequate.

By the proportion of the east-surprised Gades, or Cales, divers have tried their cunning to configurate a twin-like image of it, both in the correlative analagie of the span-broad rowse running betwixt, as also of the skirt, or lappet of earth, whereon it stands; heerein onely limitting the difference, that the houses heere have not such flatte custard-crownes at the top, as they have. But I, for my parte, cast it aside, as too obscure a canton, to demonstrate and take the altitude by, of so Elyzian a habitation as Yarmouth. Of a bounzing, side-wasted parish in Lancashire, we have a flying voyce dispersed, where they goe nine mile to church every Sunday; but, parish for parish, throughout Lancashire, Cheshire, or Wingandecoy, (both for numbers in grosse of honest housholders, youthfull, courageous, valiant spirites, and substantiall, grave burghers,) Yarmouth shall droppe vie with them, to the last Edward groate they are worth. I am posting to my proposed scope, or else I could runne tenne quier of paper out of breath, in further traversing her rightes and dignities.

But of that fraught I must not take in too liberall, in case I want stowage for my Red-Herring, which I rely upon as my wealthiest loading. Farewell, flourishing Yarmouth! and be every day more flourishing than other, untill the latter day: whiles I have my sence, or existence, I will persist in loving thee; and so, with this abrupt post script, I leave thee. I have not travailed farre, (though conferred with the farthest travellers,) from our owne realme; I have turnd over Venerable Bede, and plenteous beadrowles of frierly annals following on the backe of him; Polydore Virgill, Bucchanan, Camden's Brittainia, and most recordes of friendes, or enemies, I have searcht, as concerning the later modell of it; none of the inland partes thereof, but I have traded them as frequently as the middle walke in Poule's, or my way to bed every night; yet, for ought I have read, heard, or seene, Yarmouth, regall Yarmouth, of all maritimall townes that are no more but fishertownes, soly raigneth, *sance peere*.

Not any where is the word severer practised, the preacher reverentlier observed and honoured, justice sounder ministred, and a warlike people peaceabler demeanour, betwixte this and the Grand Cathay, and the strand of Prester John.

Adew, adue, ten-thousand-folde, delicate paramour of Neptune! the nexte yeare my standish may haps to addresse another voyage unto thee, if this have any acceptance. Now it is high heaking-time, and bee the windes never so easterly adverse, and the tyde fled from us, wee must violently towe, and hale in our redoubtable sophy of the floating kingdom of *Pisces*; whome so much as by name I shoulde not have acknowledged, had it not beene that I mused, how Yarmouth should be invested in such plenty and opulence; considering, that in Mr. Hackluit's English discoveries, I have not come in ken of one mizzen-mast of a man of warre bound for the Indies; or Mediteranean sterne-bearer sente from her zenith or meridian. Mercuriall-brested M. Harborne alwais accepted a rich sparke of eternity first lighted and enkindled at Yarmouth, or there first bred, and brought forth to see the light; who since, in the hottest degrees of *Leo*, hath ecchoing noysed the name of our Ilande, and of Yarmouth, so Tritonly, that not an infant of the curtaild, skin-clipping Pagans, but talk of London as frequently, as of their Prophet's tombe at Mæcha, and as much worships or maiden-peace, as it were but one sun, that shin'd over them all. Our first ambassador was he to the Behemoth of Constantinople; and as Moses was sent from the Omnipotent God of Heaven, to perswade Sultan Pharao to let the children of Israell goe; so, from the prepotent goddess of the earth, ELIZA, was hee sent to set free the English captives, and open unto us the passage into the Redde-sea and Eu-

phrates. How impetrable hee was in mollifying the²⁰ adamantinest tyranny of mankinde, and hourelly crucifier of Jesus Christ crucifyde, and wrooter up of Pallestine ; those that be scrutinus to pry into, let them revolve the digests of our English discoveries, cited up in the precedences, and be-documentized most locupletly. Of him, and none but him, who in valuation is woorth 18 huge argosees full of our present-dated mishapen childish travailleurs, have I took, sent, or come in the wind of, that ever Yarmoth unshelled or ingendred, to weather it on till they lost the north-starre, or sailed just antipodes against us ; nor, walking in her streetes so many weekes together, could I meete with any of these swaggering captaines (captaines that wore a whole antient in a scarfe, which made them goe heave-shouldred, it was so boysterous) or huffituftie youthfull ruffling comrades, wearing every one three yeards of feather in his cap for his mistris favour ; such as wee stumble on at each second step at Plimmouth, Southampton, and Portsmouth ; but, an eniversal marchantly formallity, in habitte, speach, gestures, though little merchandise they beate their heades aboute, queene Norwitch for that going betweene them and home : at length (O ! that length of the full pointe spoiles me ; all-gentle readers, I beseech you, pardon mee) I fell a communing hereupon with a gentleman, a familiar of mine, and he eftsoons defined unto me, that the Redde Herring was this old Ticklecob, or *magister factotum*, that brought in the red ruddocks and the grummell seed as thicke as oatmeale, and made Yarmouth for argent to put downe the city of Argentine. “ Doe but convert (said hee) the slenderest twinkling reflexe of your eie-sight to this flinty ringe that engirtes it, these towred walles, port-cullized gates, and gorgeous architectures that condecorate and adorne it ; and then perponder of the Red-Herringe’s priority and prevalence, who is the onely unexhaustible mine that hath raisd and begot all this, and, minutely to riper maturity, fosters and cherisheth it. The Red-Herring alone it is that countervailles the burdensome detrimentes of our haven, which every twelvemonth devoures a justice of peace living, in weares and banckes to beate off the sand, and over-thwart ledging and fencing it in ; that defrayes all impositions and outwarde payments to her Majestie (in which Yarmouth gives not the wall to sixe, though sixeteene moath-eaten burgesse townes, that have dawbers and thatchers to their mayors, challenge, in parliament, the upper hand of it) and for the vaward, or suburbes of my narration, that empals our sage senatours, or ephori, in princely scarlet, as pompous ostentyve as the *vinti quater*, or lady Troynonant : wherefore, (quothe he,) if there be in thee any whit of that unquenchable sacred fire of Apollo, as all men repute ; and that Minerva, amongst the number of her heires, hath addopted thee ; or thou wilt commend thy muse to sempiternity, and have images and statutes erected to her after her unstringed silent interment and obsequies ; rouze thy spirites out of this drowsie lethargy of mellancholly they are drencht in, and wrest them up to the most outstretched ayry straine of elocution, to chaunt and carroll forth the alteza and excelsitude of this monarchall fludy induperator.”

Very tractable to this lure I was trained, and put him not to the full anviling of me with any sound hammering persuasion, in that at the first sight of the top-gallant towers of Yarmouth, (and a weeke before he had broken any of these words betwixt his teeth,) my muse was ardently inflamed to do it some right ; and how to bring it about fitter I knew not, than in the praise of the Red-Herring, whose proper soile and nursery it is. But this I must give you to wit, however I have tooke it upon me, that never, since I spouted incke, was I of woorse aptitude to goe thorow with such a mighty March brewage as you expect, or temper you one right cup of that ancient wine of Falernum, which would last fourty yeere ; or consecrate to your fame a perpetuall temple of the pine-trees of Ida, which never rot. For, besides the loud bellowing prodigious flaw of indignation, stird up against me in my absence and extermination from the upper region of our celestial regiment, which hath dung mee in a maner down to the infernal bottome of desolation ; and so troubledly bemudded with griefe and care every cell or organ-pipe of my purer intellectuall faculties, that no more they consort with any ingenuous playful merriments ;

²⁰ The adamant mollifide with nothing but blood.

of my note-books, and all books else, here in the countrey, I am bereaved, whereby I might enamell and hatch over this device more artificially and masterly, and attire it in its true orient varnish and tincture: wherefore, (heart and good-wil,) a workman is nothing without his tooles; had I my topickes by me instead of my learned counsell to assist me, I might, haps, marshall my termes in better aray, and bestow such costly coquery on this *marine magnifico*, as you would preferre him before tart and galingale, which Chaucer preheminentest encomionizeth above all junqueties or confectionaries whatsoever.

Now you must accept of it as the place serves; and, instead of comfittes and sugar to strewe him with, take well in worth a farthing-worth of flower, to white him over and wamble him in; and I having no great pieces to discharge for his ben-venue, or welcomming in, with this volley of rhapsodies or small-shotte he must rest pacified; and so *ad rem*, spurre, cutte through thicke and thinne, and enter the triumphall charriot of the Red-Herring.

Homer of rats and frogs hath heroiquit it; other oaten pipers after him, in praise of the gnat, the flea, the hasill-nut, the grasshopper, the butterflie, the parrot, the popinjay, phillip-sparrow, and the cuckowe; the wantoner sort of them sing descant on their mistress' glove, her ring, her fanne, her looking-glasse, her pantofle; and on the same jurie, I might impannell Johannes Secundus, with his booke of the two-hundred kinde of kisses. Phylosophers come sneaking in with their paradoxes of povertie, imprisonment, death, sicknesse, banishment, and baldnesse: and as busie they are aboute the bee, the storke, the constant turtle, the horse, the dog, the ape, the asse, the foxe, and the ferret. Physitians deafen our eares with the *honorificabilitudinitatibus* of their heavenly panachæa, their soveraigne Guiacum, their glisters, their triecacles, their mithridates compacted of fortie severall poysons, their bitter Rubarbe, and torturing Stibium.

The posterior Italian and Germane cornugraphers sticke not to applaude and cannonize unnaturall sodomitrie, the strumpet errant, the goute, the ague, the dropsie, the sciatica, follie, drunckenness, and slovenry. The *Galli gallinacei*, or cocking French, swarme every pissing while in their primmer editions, *imprimeda jour duy*, of the unspeakable healthfull condicibleness of the Gomorrian great *Poco a Poco*, their true countriman every inch of him, the prescript lawes of Tennis or Balonne²¹ (which is most of their gentlemen's chiefe livelyhoods) the commoditie of hoarsenes, bleare-eyes, scabd-hams, threed-bare cloakes, potchte-eggs, and panados. Amongst our English harmonious calinos, one is up with the excellence of the browne bill and the long bowe; another playes his prizes in print, in driving it home with all weapons, in right of the noble science of defence; a third writes passing enamorately of the nature of white-meates, and justifies it under his hand to be bought and sould every-where, that they exceede nectar and ambrosia; a fourth comes forth with something in prayse of nothing; a fift, of an enflamed heale to coppersmithes-hal, all to beerimes it of the diversitie of red noses, and the hierarchy of the nose *magnificat*; a sixte sweeps behinde the door all earthly felicities, and makes baker's maulkins of them, if they stand in competencie with a strong dozen of poyntes: marrie, they must be poyntes of the matter, you must consider, whereof the formost codpiece poynt is the crane's proverbe in painted clothes, 'Fear God, and obey the King'; and the rest, some have tagges, and some have none: a seventh settes a tobacco-pipe instead of a trumpet to his mouth, and of that divine drugge proclaimeth miracles; an eygth cappers it up to the spheares in commendation of daunsing; a ninth offers sacrifice to the goddesse Cloaca, and disports himselfe very schollerly and wittilie aboute the reformation of close-stooles and houses of office, and spicing and embaming their ranck entrailes, that they stincke not: a tenth settes forth remedies of tosted turnes against famine.

²¹ ["Balloon or Balonne, a kind of game something resembling tennis. It is played in the open field, with a great ball of double leather, blown up with wind, and driven to and fro with the strength of a man's arm, fortified with a brace of wood."]—Encyc. Britan.

It is alluded to in the *Philosopher's Satyres*, of Robert Anton, 1616. p. 20.

'Packe, foole, to French *Baloone*, and there at play,

'Consume the progresse of thy sullen day.']

To these I might wedge in Cornelius the Brabantine, who was feloniously suspected, in 87, for penning a discourse²² of Tuftmockados; and a countrey gentleman of my acquaintance, who is launching forth a treatise, as bigge garbd as the French academy of the cornucopia of a cowe, and what an advantageable creature shee is, beyonde all the foure-footed rabblement of herbagers and grasse-champers, day nor night, that shee can rest for filing and tampring aboute it; as also a sworne brother of his, that so bebangeth poore paper, in laud of bag-pudding, as a Swizer would not believe it. Neither of their decads are yet stampd, but, eare Midsummer tearme, they will be, if their words bee sure payment; and then tell me, if our English sconses be not right Sheffield or no.

The application of this whole catalogue of wast authours is no more but this, *Quot capita tot sententiæ*, ‘So many heades, so many whirlegigs’; and, if all these have terlery-ginckt it so frivolously of they reckt not what, I may (*cum gratiâ & privilegio*) pronounce it, that a Red-Herring is wholesome in a frosty morning, and rake up some fewe scattered syllables together, in the exornation and polishing of it. No more excursions and circumquaques, but *totaliter appositum*.

That English marchandise is most precious, which no country can be without: if you aske Suffolke, Essex, Kent, Sussex, or Lemster, or Cotswold, what marchandise that shoulde be; they will answer you, it is the very same, which Polydore Virgill calls, *verè aureum vellus*; the true golden fleece of our woll and English cloth, and nought else. Otherengrating upland “cormorants will grunt out,” it is *grana paradisi*, our grain or corne that is most sought after: the Westerners and Northerners, that “it is lead, tinne, and iron.” “Butter and cheese, butter and cheese,” saith the farmer: but from every one of these I dissent, and will stoutly abide by it, that to trowl in the cash throughout all nations Christendome, there is no fellowe to the Red-Herring. The French, Spanish, and Italian, have wool inough of their owne, whereof they make cloth to serve their turne, though it be somewhat courser than ours. For corne, none of the East parts but what surpasseth us; of lead and tin is the most scarcity in forraine dominions, and plenty with us, though they are not utterly barraine of them. As for iron, about Isenborough, and other places of Germany, they have quadruple the store that wee have. As touching butter and cheese, the Hollanders cry, “By your leave wee must go before you”; and the Transalpiners, with their lordly Parmaisan (so named of the citty of Parma, in Italy, where it is first clout-crushed and made), shoulder in for the upper-hand as hotly; when as, of our appropriate glory of the Red-Herring, no region, betwixt the poles articke and antartick, may, can, or will, rebate from us one scruple.

On no coast, like ours, is it caught in such abundance; no where drest in his right cue but under our horizon; hosted, rosted, and tosted heare alone it is, and as well pou-dred and salted as any Dutchman would desire. If you articulate with me of the gaine or profit of it, (without the which, the new fanglest raritie, that no body can boast of but our selves, after three dayes gazing, is reverst over to children for babies to play with;) behold, it is every man’s money from the king to the courtier; every housholder, or good-man Baltrop, that keepes a family in pay, casts for it as one of his standing provisions. The poorer sort make it three parts of their sustenance: with it, for his dinnier, the patchedest leather-pilche²³ *laboratho* may dine like a Spanish duke, when the niggardliest mouse of biefe will cost him sixpence. In the craft of catching, or taking it, and smudging it, (marchant and chapmanable as it should be,) it sets a-worke thousands, who live all the rest of the yeare gayly well, by what, in some fewe weekes they scratch up then; and come to beare office of questman²⁴ and scavenger in the parish where they dwell: which they could never have done, but would have begd or starvd, with their wives and

²² See the Epistle Commemndatorie, before M. Samuëll Daniel’s Translation of the Empreses of Paulus Jo-vius; [by N. W. who says, “there is not published a florish upon fancie, or Tarleton’s toyes, or the sillie en-terlude of Diogenes: you professe not *artem jocandi* or *potandi*: you discourse not of Apuleius’ asse: you trifle not as Cornelius the Brabantine, who published an encomion of Tuftmockados: but you present us an order to frame devises, in shew glorious, in forme plain, in title straunge.”]

²³ [Pilch, says Mr. Tyrwhitt, is a leathern coat.]

²⁴ [*i. e.* Juryman.]

brattes, had not this captaine of the squamy cattell so stooode their good lord and master. Carpenters, shipwrights, makers of lines, roapes, and cables, dressers of hemp, spinners of thred, and net-weavers it gives their handfults to, sets up so many salthouses to make salt, and salt upon salt; keepes in earnings the cooper, the brewer, the baker, and numbers of other people, to gill, wash, and packe it, and carrie it and recarrie it.

In exchange of it from other countries, they returne wine and woades, for which is always payde ready golde, with salt, canvas, vitre²⁵; and a great deal of good trash. Her Majesty's tributes and customes, this *semper augustus* of the sea's finnie freeholders, augmenteth and enlargeth uncountably, and, to the encrease of navigation, for her service, hee is no enimie.

Voiages of purchase or reprisals, which are now grown a common traffique, swallow up and consume more saylers and marriners than they breede; and lightly not a slop of a rope-haler they send forth to the queene's ships, but hee is first broken to the sea in the herring man's skiffe or cock-boate, where, having learned to brooke all waters, and drink as he can out of a tarrie canne, and eate poore John out of smuttie platters when he may get it, without butter or mustard, there is no ho with him; but, once hartned thus, hee will needes be a man of warre, or a tobacco-taker, and weare a silver whistle. Some of these, for their haughtie climbing, come home with wooden legges, and some with none, but leave body and all behinde; those that escape to bring news, tell of nothing but eating tallow and yong blackamores, of five and five to a rat in every messe, and the ship-boy to the tayle; of stopping their noses when they drunke stinking water that came out of the pompe of the ship, and cutting a greasie buffe jerkin in tripes, and broiling it for their dinners. Divers Indian adventures have beene seasoned with direr mishaps, not having, for eight days space, the quantity of a candle's-end among eight score to grease their lippes with; and, landing in the end to seeke food, by the cannibal savages they have bene circumvented, and forced to yeeld their bodies to feed them.

Our mitred archpatriarch, Leopald Herring, exacts no such²⁶ Muscovian vassailage of his liegemen, though hee put them to their trumps other while; and scuppets not his beneficence into their mouthes with such fresh water facility, as M. Ascham, in his 'Schoolemaster,' would imply. His wordes are these, in his censure upon Varro²⁷: 'Hee enters 'not (says he) into any great depth of eloquence, but as one carried in a small low vessel by himselfe very nigh the common shore; not much unlike the fishermen of Rie, 'or herring-men of Yarmouth, who deserve, by common men's opinion, small commendation for any cunning sailing at all²⁸.' Well, he was her Majestie's schoolemaster, and a S. John's man in Cambridge, in which house once I tooke up my inne for seven yere together lacking a quarter, and yet love it still; for it is, and ever was, the sweetest nurse of knowledge in all that university. Therefore, I will keepe faire quarter with him, and expostulate the matter more tamely. *Memorandum non ab uno*, I vary not a minnum from him, that in the captious mystery of Monsieur Herring, low vessels will not give their heads for the washing, holding their owne pell-mell in all weathers, as roughly as vaster timber-men, though not so neere the shore, as, through ignorance of the coast he soundeth; nor one man by himselfe alone to doe every thing; which is the opinion of one man by himselfe alone, and not beleev'd of any other. Five to one, if he were alive, I would beate against him (since one, without five, is as good as none,) to governe the most eg-shell shallop that floateth, and spread her nets, and draw them in. As stifly could I controvert it with him about pricking his card so badly in cape Norfolke, or *Sinus Yarmouthiensis*, and discrediting our countrymen for shore-creeper, like these Colchester oyster-men, or whitingmungers and sprotchcatchers. Solyman Herring, [1] woulde you

²⁵ [*Qu. Nitre?*]

²⁶ That is, for a man to be his owne executioner, and, at his prince's becke, to go up to the top of the rock, and thence throw himselfe headlong. Vol. lxiii, page 2.

²⁷ [*De Lingua Latinâ et Analogiâ.*]

²⁸ ['Yet nevertheless, (adds Ascham) in those bookes of Varro, there is good and necessarie stuffe for that 'meane kinde of argument, verie well and learnedly gathered together.']

should perswade your selves, is loftier-minded, and keepeth more aloofe then so; and those that are his followers, if they will seeke him where hee is, more then common daunger they must incurre in close driving under the sands, which alternately, or betwixt times, when he is disposed to ensconce himselfe, are his entrenched randevowe, or castle of retiring; and otherwile, fortie or threescore leagues in the roaring territory, they are glad, on their wodden horses, to post after him, and scoure it, with the Ethiope pitch-bordes, till they be windlesse, in his quest and pursuing. Returning from waiting on him, have with you to the Adriatique, and abroad every where far and neere, to make port-sale of their perfumed smoaky commodities: and that toyle rockt a sleepe, they are for Ultima Theule, the North-seas, or Island; and thence yerke over that worthy Pallamede Don Pedro de Linge, and his worshipfull nephew Hugo Habberdine, and a trundle-tail tike or shaugh or two; and, towards Michelmas, scud home to catch herring againe. This argues they shoulde have some experience of navigation, and are not such halcyons to builde their neastes all on the shoare, as M. Ascham supposeth.

Rie is one of the antient townes belonging to the Cinque Ports, yet limpeth cinque ace behinde Yarmouth, and it wil sincke when Yarmouth riseth; and yet, if it were put in the ballance against Yarmouth, it would rise when Yarmouth sincketh; and, to stand threshing no longer about it, Rie is Ry, and no more but rie and Yarmouth wheate compared with it. Wherefore, had he bene a right clarke of the market, he would have set a higher price on the one then the other, and set that one of highest price above the other.

‘Those, that deserve by common men’s opinion small commendation for any cunning sailing at all,’ are not the Yarmouthers: however, there is a foule fault in the print escapt, that curstly squinteth and leereth that way; but the bonnie northren cobbles of his country, with their Indian canaos, or boats like great beefe-trayes, or kneading troughs, firking as flight swift thorow the glassy fieldes of Thetis, as if it were the land of yce, and sliding over the boiling desert so earely, and never bruise one bubble of it; as though they contended to outstrip the light-foot tripper in the Metamorphosis, who would run over the ripe-bending eares of corne, and never shed or perish one kinnell. No such yron-fisted Ciclops to hew it out of the flint, and runne thorow any thing, as these frost-bitten crab-tree fac’t lads, spunne out of the hards of the towe, which are donsel Herring’s lackeys at Yarmouth every fishing.

Let the careeringest billow confesse and absolve itselfe, before it pricke up his bristles against them; for, if it come up on his dancing horse, and offers to tilt it with them, they will aske no trustier lances then their oares, to beat out the brains of it, and stop his throat from belching.

These rubbes removed, on with our game as fast as wee may; and to the gaine of the Red-Herring againe, another crash. *Item*, if it were not for this Huniades of the liquid element, that word Quadragesima, or Lent, might be cleane spung’d out of the kalendar, with Rogation-week, saints-eves, and the whole ragman’s roule of fasting dayes; and fishmongers might keepe Christmasse all the yeere, for any overlavish takings they should have of clownes and clouted shoes, and the rubbish menialty, their best customers; and their bloody adversaries, the butchers, would never leave cleaving it out in the whole chines, till they had got a lord-maior of their company as well as they. Nay, out of their wits they would be haunted with continuall takings, and stand cross-gagd, with knives in their mouthes, from one Shroft-Tuisday to another, and weare candles-endes in their hattes at Midsommer, having no time to shave their prickles, or washe their flye-blowne aprons, if Domingo Rufus, or Sacrapant Herring, caused not the dice to runne contrary.

The Rhomish rotten Pithagoreans, or Carthusian friers, that mump on nothing but fishe, in what a flegmatique predicament would they be, did not this counter-poyson of the spitting-sickness (sixtie-fold more restorative than Bezer) patch them out and preserve them; which being double roasted, and dryde as it is, not onely sucks up all rheumatique inundations, but is a shooing-horne for a pinte of wine overplus.

The sweete smacke that Yarmouth findes in it, and how it hath made it *lippitudo Attica*, (as it was saide of Ægina, her neere adjacent confronter,) the blemish and staine of all her salt-water sisters in England, and multiplide it, from a moul-hill of sand, to a cloude-crowned mount Teneriffe, abbreviatly and meetely, according to my old Sarum plaine-song I have harpt upon; and that, if there were no other certificat, or instance of the inlinked consanguinitie twixt him and lady Lucar, is *instar mille*, worth a million of witnessses, to exemplifie the ritches of him. The poets were triviall, that set up Helen's face for such a top-gallant summer may-pole for men to gaze at, and strouted it out so in their buskind braves of her beautie; whereof the only Circe's heypasse, and repasse, was that it drewe a thousand ships to Troy, to fetch her backe with a pestilence. Wise men in Greece, in the meane while, to swagger so about a whore!

Eloquious hoarie beard, father Nestor, you were one of them; and you M. Ulisses, the prudent dwarfe of Pallas, another; of whom it is Illiadizd, that your very nose dropt sugarcandie, and that your spittle was honye. *Natalis Comes*, if he were above ground, would be sworne upon it. As loude a ringing²⁹ miracle, as the attractive melting eye of that strumpet, can we supply them with of our dappert Piemont Huldrick Herring, which draweth more barkes to Yarmouth-bay, then her beautie did to Troy. O! he is attended upon most Babilonically; and Xerxes so overcloyd not the Hellespont, with his foystes, gallies, and brigandines, as he mantleth the narrow seas, with his retinue; being not much behinde in the checkroule of his janissaries and contributories, with eagle-soaring Bullingbrooke, that at his removing of household into banishment, (as father Froysard threapes us downe,) was accompanied with 40,000 men, women, and children, weeping, from London to the lande's end at Dover. A colony of criticall Zenos, should they sinnow their syllogisticall cluster-fists in one bundle, to confute and disprove moving, were they but (during the time they might lay up a mess of buttred fish) in Yarmouth one fishing; such a violent motion of toyling Myrmidons they should be spectators of, and a confused stirring to and fro of a³⁰ Lapantalike hoast of unfatigable flud-bickerers, and foame-curbers, that they woulde not move or stir one foote, till they had disclaimd and abjurd their bedred spittle positions. In verament and sincerity, I never crouded through this confluent Herring-faire, but it put me in memory of the great yeare of jubile, in Edward the Third's time; in which it is sealed and delivered under the handes of a publike notary, three-hundred thousand people romed to Rome, for purgatorie-pils, and paternal veniall benedictions; and the waies beyond sea were so bungd up with your dayly orators or beads-men, and your crutchet and croutchant friers or crosse-creepers, and barefoote penitentiaries, that a snaile could not wriggle in her hornes betwixt them. Small thinges we may expresse by great, and great by smal; though the greatnesse of the Redde-Herring be not small, as small a hoppe on my thumbe as hee seemeth. It is with him, as with great personages, which from their high estate, and not their high statures, propagate the elevate titles of their Gogmagognes. Cast his state, who will, and they shall finde it to be very high-coloured; as high-coloured as his complexion, if I saide there were not a pimple to be abated. In Yarmouth, he hath set up his state-house, where, one quarter of a yeare, he keepes open court for Jewes and Gentiles.

To fetch him in, in Trojan equipage³¹, some of every of the Christ-crosse alphabet of outlandish Cosmopoli furrowe up the rugged brine, and sweepe through his tumultuous oous, will or nill hee, rather then, in tendring their alleagiance, they should be benighted with tardity. For our English Mikrokosmos, or Phœnician Dido's hide of ground, no shire, county, count-palatine, or quarter of it, but rigs out some oken squadron or other to waft him along Cleopatraean³² Olimpickly³³; and not the diminutivest nooke or crevice of them, but is parturient of the like superofficiousnes³⁴;

²⁹ In olde time, they used to ring out at any miracle.

³⁰ The sea-battaile at Lepanto, fought in the beginning of her Majestie's raigne.

³¹ The fattall wodden horse at Troy, fetcht in with such pompe.

³² Cleopatra's glorious sayling to meete Anthony.

³³ The solemne bringing of the champions at Olimpus.

³⁴ Tugging forth by the strength of their armes.

arming forth, though it be but a catch or pinck, no capabler than a rundler or washing bowle, to impe the wings of his convoy. Holy S. Taurbard ! in what droves the gouty-bagd Londoners hurry down, and die the watchet aire of an yron-rûsset hue with the dust that they raise, in hot-spurd rowelling it on, to perform complimentes unto him ! One becke more to the bailies of the Cinque-Portes, whome I were a ruder barbarian than Smill, the prince of the Crims and Nagayans, if in this action, I should forget ; having had good cheare at their tables more than once or twice, whiles I loytred in this paragonlesse fish-town, citty, towne, or cuntry. Robin Hoode and little John, and who not, are industrious and carefull to squire and safe conduct him in : but in ushering him in, next to the bailies of Yarmouth, they trot before all, and play the provost-marshals ; helping to keep good rule, the first three weeks of his ingresse, and never leave roaring it out with their brasen horne, as long as they stay, of the freedoms and immunities soursing from him. Beeing thus entred or brought in, the consistorians, or settled standers of Yarmouth, commense intestine warres amongst themselves, who should give him the largest hospitality ; and gather about him, as flocking to hansell him ; and strike him good luck, as the sweetkin madans did about valiant sir Walter Manny, the martial tutor unto the Black Prince, (he that built Charter-House ;) who being upon the point of a hazzardous journey into France, either to win the horse, or lose the saddle, (as it runs in the proverb,) and taking his leave at court, in a suit of male from top to toe ; all the ladies clung about him, and would not let him stretch out a step, till they had enfettred him, with their variable favours, and embroidred over his armour, like a gaudy summer meade, with three³⁵ scarfes, bracelets, chains, ouches ; in generous reguerdoment whereof he sacramentally obliged himselfe, “ That had the French king as many giants in his countrey, as he hath peares or grapes, and they stood all enraged on the shore to interdict his disimbarking, through the thickest thornie quickset of them, he would pierce, or be tost up to heaven, on their speares ; but, in honour of those debonaire Idalian nymphs and their spangled trappings, he would be the first man should set foot in his kingdome, or unsheath steele against him.” As he promised, so was his *Manly*³⁶ blade’s execution ; and, in emulation of him, whole heards of knights and gentlemen clos’d up their right eyes with a piece of silke every one, and vowed never to uncover them, or let them see light, til, in the advancement of their mistresse’ beauties, they had enacted with their brandished Bilbow blades some chivalrous Bellerophon’s trick at armes, that from Salomon’s Ilands to S. Magnus’ Corner, might cry clang againe.

O ! it was a brave age then, and so it is ever, where there are offensive wars, and not defensive ; and men fight for the spoile, and not in feare to be spoiled ; and are as lions, seeking out their pray, and not as sheepe, that lie still whiles they are prayd on. The Redde-Herring is a legate of peace, and so abhorrent from unnatural bloud-shed, that if, in his quarrell or bandying who should harbing him, there be any hewing or slashing, or trials of life and death there, where that hangman, embowelling, is ; his pursuivants or bailier returne, *Non est inventus* ; out of one bailiwick he is fled, never to be fastened on there more. The Scottish jockies, or Red-shanks, (so surnamed of their immoderate maunching up the Red-shanks, or red-herrings) upholde and make good the same ; their clacke or gabbling to this purport : ‘ How, *in diebus illis*, when Robert de Breaux, their gud king, sent his deare heart to the Haly Land, for reason he caud not gang thider himselfe, (or then, or thereabout, or whilome before, or whilome after, it matters not,) they had the staple or fruits of the Herring in their road or channell, till a foule ill feud arose amongst his sectaries and servitours ; and there was mickle tule, and a blacke warld, and a deale of whinyards drawne about him, and many sacklesse wights and praty barnes run through the tender weambs ; and, fra thence, ne sarry taile of a her-ring in thilke sound they caud gripe.’ This language, or parley, have I usurpt from some of the deftest lads in all Edinborough towne ; which it will be no impeachment for

³⁵ [Qu. Their ?]

³⁶ Manny *quasi* Manly ; and from him, I take it, the Manny’s of Kent are descended.

the wisest to turn loose for a trueth, without any diffident wrastling with it. The sympathy thereunto in our owne frothy streames we have tooke napping: wherefore, without any further bolstring or backing, this Scottish history may beare the palme; and, if any further bolstring or backing be required, it is evident, by the confession of the sixe-hundred Scottish witches executed in Scotland at Bartelmew-tide was twelvemoneth, that, in Yarmouth road, they were all together in a plumpe on Christmasse-eve was two yere, when the great floud was, and there stird up such ternado's and furicano's of tempests, in envy (as I collect) that the staple of the Herring from them was translated to Yarmouth; as will be spoke of there, whiles any winds, or stormes and tempests, chafe and puffe in the lower region. They, and all the sea-faring townes under our temperate zone of peace, may well envy her prosperity, but they cannot march cheek by jowle with her, or co-equall her; and ther's no such manifest signe of great prosperity, as a generall envy encompassing it. Kings [and] noblemen it cleaves unto, that walke upright, and are any thing happy: and even amongst meane artificers it thrusts in his foot, one of them envying another, if he have a knack above another, or his gains be greater; and, if in his arte they cannot disgrace him, they will finde a starting-hole in his life, that shall confound him. For example: There is a mathematicall smith³⁷, or artificer, in Yarmouth, that hath made a locke and key that weiges but three farthings; and a chest, with a paire of knit gloves in the till of it, whose whole poise is no more but a groat. Now I do not thinke, but all the smiths in London, Norwich, or Yorke, if they heard of him, would envy him, if they could not out-worke him. Hydra Herring will have every thing Sybarite³⁸ dainty, where he lays knife a-boord; or he wil fly them, he wil not looke upon them. Stately-borne, stately-sprung he is, the best bloud of the Ptolomies no state-lie; and, with what state he hath bene used from his swaddling-clouts, I have reiterated unto you; and, which is a note above *Ela*, stately Hyperion, or the lordly sonne, the most rutilant planet of the seven, in Lent, when Heralius Herring enters into his chiefe reign and scepterdome, skippeth and danseth the goat's jumpe on the earth, for joy of his entrance. Do but marke him on your walles, any morning at that season, how he sallies and lavalto, and you wil say I am no fabler. Of so eye-bewitching, a deaurate, ruddie dy is the skin-coat of this landtgrave, that happy is that nobleman, who for his colours in armory, can neerest imitate his chymical temper. Nay, which is more, if a man should tell you, that the god Himen's saffron-colour'd robe were made of nothing but red-herrings' skins, you would hardly beleve him. Such is the obduracy and hardness of heart of a number of infidels, in these days; they will teare herrings out of their skins, as fast as one of these exchequer-tellers can turne over a heape of money; but his vertues, both exterior and interior, they have no more taste of, than of a dish of stock-fish. Somewhere I have snatcht up a jeast of a king, that was desirous to try what kinde of flesh-meat was most nutritive and prosperous with a man's body; and, to that purpose, he commanded foure hungry fellowes, in foure separate roomes by themselves, to be shut up for a yere and a day; whereof the first shoulde have his gut bumbasted with biefe, and nothing else, till he cride, "Hold, belly, holde:" and so the second to have his paunch cramd with porke, the third with mutton, and the fourth with veal. At the twelvemonth's ende they were brought before him, and he enquired of every one orderly, "What he had eate?" Therewith outsteppt the stall-fed foreman, that had bin at host with the fat oxe, and was growne as fat as an oxe with tiring on the sir-loins, and baft in his face, "Beef, beef, beef." Next, the Norfolk hog, or swine-wurrier, who had got him a sagging paire of cheeks, like a sow's paps that gives suck, with the plentyfull mast set before him, came lazily wadling in, and puffed out, "Porke, porke, porke." Then the sly sheepe-biter issued into the midst, and summersetted and fliptflappt it twenty times above-ground as light as a feather, and cried, "Mitton, mitton, mitton." Last, the Essex-calfe, or lag-man, who had lost the calves of his legs with gnawing on the hors-legs, shudring and quaking, limpte after,

³⁷ John Thurkle.

³⁸ The Sybarites never woulde make any banquet, under a twelvemoneth's warning.

with a visage as pale as a peece of white leather, and a staffe in his hand, and a kirchiefe on his head, and very lamentably vociferated, "Veal, veal, veal." A witty toy of his noble Grace it was, and different from the recipes and prescriptions of our moderne phisitions, that to any sicke languishers, if they be able to waggle their chaps, propound *veale* for one of the highest nourishers.

But, had his principalitie gone thorough with fish as well as flesh, and put a man to livery with the Red-herring but as long, he would have come in "Hurree, hurree, hurree,"³⁹ as if he were harrying and chasing his enemies; and Bevis of Hampton, after he had bene out of his diet, should not have bene able to have stood before him. A cholericke parcell of food it is, that who so ties himselfe to racke and manger too for five summers, and five winters, he shall beget a child that will be a souldiour and a commaunder before hee hath cast his first teeth; and an Alexander, a Julius Cæsar, a Scanderbega Barbarossa, he will prove ere he aspire to thirtie.

But to thinke on a Red-herring, such a hot stirring meate it is, is enough to make the cravenest dastard proclaime fire and sword against Spaine: the most itenerate virgine-wax phisnomy, that taints his throate with the least ribbe of it; it will embrowne and iron-crust his flesh, and harden his soft bleding vaines as stiffe and robustious as branches of corall. The art of kindling of fires, that is practised in the smoking or parching of him, is old dog against the plague. Too foule-mouthed I am, to becollow, or becollier him, with such chimnie-sweeping attributes of smoking and parching. Wil you have the secrete of it? This well-meaning *pater patriæ*, and providitore and supporter of Yarmouth (which is the locke and key of Norfolke), looking pale and sea-sicke at his first landing, those that be his stewards, or necessariest men about him, whirle him, in a thought, out of the raw colde ayre, to some stew or hot-house, where immuring himselfe for three or foure dayes; when he un-houseth him, or hath cast off his shel, he is as freckled about the gils, and lookes as red as a fox, clumme, and is more surly to be spoken with then ever he was before; and, like Lais of Corinth, will smile upon no man, except he may have his owne asking. There are that number of herrings vented out of Yarmouth every yeare, (though the grammarians make no plurall number of *halec*;) as not onely they are more by two-thousand last than our owne land can spende, but they fil all other lands; to whome, at their own prises, they sell them, and happie is he that can first lay hold of them. And how can it bee otherwise? For if Cornish pilchards, otherwise called *fumados*, taken on the shore of Cornewall, from July to November, bee so saleable as they are in France, Spain, and Italy, (which are but countefets to the Red-herring, as copper to golde, or ockamie to silver;) much more there elbows itch for joy, when they meete with the true golde, the true Red-Herring itselfe. No true flying-fish but he; or if there be, that fish never flies but when his wings are wet, and the Red-herring flyes best when his wings are dry; throughout Belgia, High Germanie, Fraunce, Spaine, and Italy hee flyes; and up into Greece and Africa, south and southwest, ostrich-like, walkes his stations; and the sepulcher palmers or pilgrims, because hee is so portable, fill their scrips with them. Yea, (no dispraise to the bloud of the Ottamans,) the Nabuchedonesor of Constantinople, and giantly Antæus, that never yawne nor neezeth but he affrighteth the whole earth, gormandizing, muncheth him up for imperiall dainties, and will not spare his idol Mahomet a bit with him; no, not though it would fetch him from Heaven fortie yeares before his time; whence with his dove, that he taught to pecke barley out of his eare, and brought his disciples into a foole's paradise, that it was the Holy Ghost in her similitude, he is expected every minute to descend: but, I am affraid, as he was troubled with the falling-sickness in his life-time, in selfe manner it took him in his mounting up to Heaven, and so *ab Inferno nulla redemptio*; he is falne backward into Hell, and they are never more like to heare of him. Whilst I am shuffling and cutting with these long-coated Turkes, would any antiquarie would explicate unto mee this remblere, or quidditie:

³⁹ As much to say as Urrey, Urrey, Urrey, one of the principall places where the herring is caught.

Whether those turbanto⁴⁰ grout-heads, that hang all men by the throates on iron hookes, (even as our toers hang all there herrings by the throates on wodden spits,) first learnd it of our herring-men, or our herring-men of them? Why the alcheranship of that Beelzebub of Saracens, Rhinoceros Zelim aforesaid, should so much delight in this shinie animall, I cannot gesse; except hee had a desire to imitate Midas in eating of gold, or Dionisius in stripping of Jupiter out of his golden coate: and, to shoote my foole's bolt amongst you, that fable of Midas eating gold had no other shadow, or inclusive pith in it, but he was of a queasie stomake, and nothing hee could fancie, but this newe-found guilded fish, which Bacchus, at his request, gave him, though it were not knowne here two-thousand yeare after; for it was the delicates of the gods, and no mortall foode, til of late yeares. Midas, unexperienst of the nature of it, (for he was a foole, that had asses eares,) snappt it up at one blow; and, because in the boyling or seathing of it in his maw, he felt it commotion a little and upbraide him, he thought he had eaten golde indeede, and thereupon directed his orizons to Bacchus afresh, to helpe it out of his crop againe, and have mercy upon him and recover him: hee (propensive inclining to Midas' devotion in every thing), in lieu of the friendly hospitalities, drunken Silenus, his companion, found at his hands when he strayed away from him, bad him but goe and wash himselfe in the river Pactolus, (that is, goe wash it downe soundly with flowing cups of wine,) and he should be as well as ever hee was. By the turning of the river Pactolus into golde, after he had renc't and clarified himselfe in it, (which is the close of the fiction) is signified, that in regard of that blessed operation of the juice of the grape in him, from that day forth, in nothing but golden cups, he would drinke or quaffe it; whereás, in wodden mazers, and Agathocles' earthen stuffe, they trillild it off before; and that was the first time that any golden cups were used.

Follow this tract in expounding the tale of Dionysius and Jupiter, and you cannot goe amisse. No such Jupiter, no such golden-coated image was there; but it was a plaine, golden-coated Red-herring without welt or garde, whome, for the strangenes of it (they having never beheld a beast of that hue before) in their temples inshrined for a god; and, in somuch as Jupiter had shewed them such slippery pranckes more than once or twise, in shifting himselfe into sundry shapes, and rayning himselfe downe in golde into a woman's⁴¹ lap; they thought this too might be a tricke of youth in him, to alter himselfe into the forme of this golden *Scali-ger*, or Red-herring: and therefore, as to Jupiter, they fell downe on their mary-bones, and lift up their hay-cromes⁴² unto him. Now, king Dionisius being a good wise fellow, (for he was afterwards a schoolemaster, and had plaid the coatchman to Plato, and spit in Aristippus the philosopher's face, many a time and oft,) no sooner entred their temple, and saw him sit under his canopie so budgely, with a whole goldsmith's stall of jewelles and rich offerings at his feet, but to him he stept, and pluckt him from his state with a wennion; then, drawing out his knife most iracundiously, at one whiske lopt off his head, and stript him out of his golden demy or mandillion, and flead him, and thrust him downe his pudding-house at a gobbe. Yet long it prospered not with him, (so revengefull a just Jupiter is the Red-Herring) for, as he tare him from his throne, and uncased him of his habiliments, so in a smal devolution of yeares, from his throne he was chaced, and cleane stript of his royalty, and glad to go play the schoolemaister at Corinth, and take a rodde in his hand for his scepter, and horne-booke Pigmies for his subjects; *id est*, (as I intimated some dozen lines before) of a tyrant, to become a frowning pedant, or schoolemaister.

Many of you have read these stories, and could never picke out any such English: no more woulde you of the Ismael Persians Haly, or *Mortuus Alli*, they worship, whose true etymologie is, *mortuum halec*, a dead red-herring, and no other; though, by corruption of speech, they false dialect and misse-sound it. Let any Persian oppugne this, and in spite of his hairie tuft, or love-locke he leaves on the top of his crowne to be pulld up, or

⁴⁰ Turbanto, the great lawne roule, which the Turkes weere aboute their heads.

⁴¹ [Danaë.]

⁴² [*i. e.* Rakes.]

pulled up to heaven by, I'll set my foot to his, and fight it out with him, that their foppery god is not so good as a Red-herring. To recount *ab ovo* (or from the church-booke of his birth), howe the Herring first came to be a fish, and then, how he came to be king of fishes, and gradionately, how from white to red he changed, would require as massie a toombe⁴³ as Hollinshead; but, in halfe a penniworth of paper, I will epitomize them.

Let me see, hath any bodie in Yarmouth heard of Leander and Hero, of whome divine Musæus sung, and a diviner muse than him, Kit Marlow?⁴⁴ Twoo faithfull lovers they were; as everie apprentice in Paule's Churchyard will tell you for your love, and sel you for your mony. The one dwelt at Abidos in Asia, which was Leander; the other, which was Hero, his mistris or Delia, at Sestos in Europe; and she was a pretty pinckany and Venus priest; and but an arme of the sea divided them. It divided them, and it divided them not; for over that arme of the sea could be made a long arm. In their parents the most division rested: and their townes, like Yarmouth and Leystoffe, were stil at wrig wrag, and suckt from their mother's teates serpentine hatred one against each other; which drove Leander, when he durst not deale above-boord, or be seene a-boorde any ship, to saile to his lady deare, to play the didopper and ducking water-spaniel to swim to her; nor that in the day, but by owle-light.

What will not blinde Night doe for blinde Cupid? And what will not blinde Cupid doe in the night, which is his blindman's holiday? By the sea-side on the other side, stooed Heroe's tower; such an other tower as one of our Irish castles, that is not so wide as a belfre, and a cobbler cannot jert out his elbowes in: a cage or pigeon-house, romthsome enough to comprehend her, and the toothlesse trotte her nurse, who was her only chatmate and chambermaide; consultively by her parents being so encloistered from resort, that she might live chaste Vestall priest to Venus, the queene of unchastitie. Shee would none of that she thanked them, for shee was better provided; and that which they thought served their turn best, of sequestering her from company, served her turne best to embrace the company she desired. Fate is a spaniel that you cannot beate from you; the more you thinke to crosse it, the more you blesse it, and further it.

Neither her father nor mother vowed chastitie when she was begote; therefore she thought they begat her not to live chaste; and either she must prove herself a bastard, or shew herselfe like them. Of Leander you may write upon, and it is written upon, she likte well; and, for all he was a naked man, and clean dispoyled to the skin, when hee sprawled through the brackish suddes to scale her tower, all the strength of it could not hold him out. O, ware a naked man! Cithereae's nunnes had no power to resiste him; and some such qualitie is ascribed to the lion. Were hee never so naked when he came to her, bicause he shuld not skare her, she found a meanes to cover him in her bed; and, for he might not take cold after his swimming, shelay close by him to keepe him warme. This scuffling, or bopeepe in the darke, they had a while, without weame or bracke; and the olde nurse (as there bee three thinges seldome in their right kinde, till they bee old; a bawd, a witch, and a midwife) executed the huckstring office of her yeres, very charily and circumspectly, til their sliding starres revolted from them, and then, for seaven days together, the winde and the Hellespont contended which shuld howle lowder; the waves dashed up to the cloudes, and the cloudes, on the other side, spit and driveld upon them as fast. Hero wept as trickling as the heavens, to thinke that heaven should so divorce them. Leander stormed worse than the stormes, that by them hee should be so restrained from his Cinthya. At Sestos was his soule, and hee could not abide to tarry in Abidos. Rayne, snowe, haile, or blowe it howe it could, into the pitchie Helespont he leapt, when

⁴³ [*i. e.* Tome.]

⁴⁴ [Christopher Marlowe was born probably about the year 1566, as he took the degree of B. A. at Cambridge, in 1583. 'He was (says Beard) by profession a scholar, brought up from his youth in the universitie of Cambridge, but by practise a playmaker and a poet of scurrilitie.' He was stabbed in the street, and died of the wounde in 1593. Vide Beard's Theater of God's Judgements, and Wood's Ath. Oxon.—The first part of his 'Hero and Leander' was published in quarto, in 1598, by Edward Blount, and a second part by Henry Retoeve in the same year. It was reprinted in 1600, 4to. and 'finished by George Chapman,' 1606. Nash joined with Marlowe in a tragedie intituled 'Dido, Queen of Carthage,' Lond. 1594.]

the moone and all torch-bearers were afraide to peepe out their heads: but he was peppered for it; hee hadde as good have took meate, drinke, and leisure; for the churlish frampold waves gave him his belly-full of fish-broath, ere, out of their laundry, or washe-house, they would graunt him his coquet, or *transire*; and not onely that, but they sealde him his *quietus est*, for curvetting any more to the Mayden Tower, and tossed his dead car-casse, well bathed or parboyled, to the sandy threshold of his leman or orange, for a dis-june, or morning breakfast. All that live-long night could she not sleepe, she was so troubled with the rheume; which was a signe she should heare of some drowning: yet, towards cocke-crowing, she caught a little slumber; and then shee dreamed, that Leander and shee were playing at checke-stone, with pearles, in the bottom of the sea.

You may see dreames are not so vaine as they are preached of; though, not in vaine, preachers inveigh against them, and bende themselves out of the people's mindes, to exhale their foolish superstition. The rheume is the student's disease, and who study most, dreame most. The labouring men's hands glowe and blister after their dayes work: the glowing and blistring of our braines, after our day-labouring cogitations, are dreames; and those dreames are reaking vapours of no impression, if our mateless cowches bee not halfe empty. Hero hoped, and therefore shee dreamed (as all hope is but a dreame) her hope was where her heart was; and her heart winding, and turning with the winde that might winde her heart of golde to her, or else turne him from her. Hope and feare both combatted in her, and both these are wakefull, which made her at breake of day (what an olde crone is the day, that is so long a breaking?) to unloope her luket, or casement, to looke whence the blasts came, or what gate or pace the sea kept, when forthwith her eyes bred her eye-sore; the first white, whereon their transpiercing arrowes stuck, being the breathlesse corps of Leander! With the sodaine contemplation of this piteous spectacle of her love, sodden to haddock's meate, her sorrowe could not choose but be indefinite, if her delight in him were but indifferent; and there is no woman but delights in sorrow, or she would not use it so lightly for every thing. Downe shee ranne in her loose night-gowne, and her haire about her eares, (even as Semiramis ranne out with her lie-pot in her hand, and her blacke dangling tresses about her shoulders, with her ivory combe ensnarled in them, when she heard that Babilon was taken,) and thought to have kist his dead corse alive againe; but as, on his blew-jellied sturgeon lips, she was about to clappe one of those warme plaisters, boystrous wool-packs of ridged tides came rowling in, and raught him from her (with a minde belike to carrie him backe to Abidos.) At that, she became a franticke Bacchanal outright, and made no more bones, but sprang after him; and so resigned up her priesthood, and left worke for Musæus and Kit Marlowe.

The gods and goddesses, all on a rowe, bread and crow, from Ops to Pomona (the first apple-wife), were so dumpt with this miserable wracke, that they beganne to abhorre all moysture for the sea's sake: and Jupiter could not endure Ganimed, his cup-bearer, to come in his presence; both for the dislike he bore to Neptune's baneful licuor, as also that hee was so like to Leander. The Sunne was so in his mumps uppon-it, that it was almost noone before hee could goe to cart that day; and then with so ill a will hee went, that hee had thought to have toppled his burning carre, or hurrie-currie into the sea (as Phaeton did) to scorch it and dry it uppe; and at night, when hee was begrimed with dust and sweate of his journey, he would not descend as hee was woont, to wash him in the ocean, but under a tree layde him down to rest in his cloaths all night; and so did the scouling Moon under another, fast by him, which of that are behighted the trees of the sun and moon, and are the same that Syr John Mandevile tels us hee spoke with, and that spoke to Alexander. Venus (for Hero was her priest, and Juno Lucina the mid-wife's goddess, for she was now quickned, and cast away by the cruelty of Æolus,) tooke bread and salt, and eate it, that they would bee smartlie revenged on that truculent windy jailour; and they forgot it not, for Venus made his sonne and his daughter to committe incest together. Lucina, that there might bee some lasting characters of his shame, helpt to bring her to bedde of a goodly boy; and Æolus, boultling out al this, heapt murder uppon murder.

The dint of destiny could not be repeald in the reviving of Hero and Leander; but their heavenly hoods, in theyr synode, thus decreede, that for they were either of them sea-borderers, and drowned in the sea, stil to the sea they must belong, and bee divided in habitation after death, as they were in their life-time. Leander, (for that in a cold, darke, testie night, he had his passport to Charon,) they terminated to the unquiet, cold coast of Iseland; where halfe the yeare is nothing but murke night, and to that fish translated him, which of us is termed *Ling*. Hero, (for that she was pagled and timpanized, and sustained two losses under one,) they foote-bald their heades together, and protested to make the stem of her loynes, of all fishes, the flanting Fabian or Palmerin of England, which is Cadwallader Herring: and as their meetings were but seldome, and not so oft as welcome, so but seldome should they meete in the heele of the weeke, at the best men's tables, uppon Fridayes and Saterdayes, the holy time of Lent exempted; and then they might be at meate and meale for seven weekes together.

The nurse or mother mampudding, that was a cowering on the backe-side, whiles these things were a tragedizing, led by the scritch or outcry, to the prospect of this sorrowful heigho; as soone as, through the raveld button-holes of her bleare eyes, she had suckt in and received such a revelation of doomesday, and that she saw her mistris mounted a cock-horse, and hoysted away to hell or to heaven, on the backs of those rough-headed ruffians; down she sunk to the earth, as dead as a doore nail, and never mumpt crust after. Whereof their supernalities (having a drop or two of pittie left of the huge hogshead of teares, they spent for Hero and Leander) seemed to be something sorie, though they could not weepe for it; and because they would bee sure to have a medicine that should make them weep at all times, to that kinde of graine they turned her, which wee call mustard-seede; as well for [that] shee was a shrewish snappish bawd, that wold bite off a man's nose with an answer, and had rumatique sore eyes, that ran alwais, as that she might accompany Hero and Leander, after death, as in hir life-time; and hence it is, that mustard bites a man so by the nose, and makes him weep and water his plants, when he tasteth it: and that Hero and Leander (the red-herring and ling) never come to the boord without mustard, their waiting-maid. And if you marke it, mustard looks of the tanned wainscot hue, of such a withered wrinkle-faced beldam, as she was, that was altdred thereinto. Loving Hero, however altered, had a smack of love stil, and therfore to the coast of Lovingland (to Yarmouth neere adjoyning, and within her liberties of Wetley roade) she accustomed to come in pilgrimage, every yeare: but contentions arising there, and shee remembring the event of the contentions betwixt Sestos and Abidos, that wrought both Leander's death and her's, shunneth it of late, and retireth more northwards; so she shunneth unquiet Humber, because Elstred was drownd there; and the Scots seas, as before; and every other sea where any bloud hath bin spilt, for her owne sea's sake, that spilt her sweete sweete-heart's bloud and her's.

Whippet, turne to a new lesson, and strike wee up John for the king; or tell howe the Herring scrambled up to be king of all fishes⁴⁵. So it fel upon a time and tide, though not uppon a holiday; a faulconer bringing over certaine hawkes out of Ireland, and airing them above hatches on ship-boord, and giving them stones to cast and scoure, one of them broke loose from his fist, ere he was aware; which beeing in her kingdome, when shee was got uppon her wings, and finding herselfe emptie gorged, after her casting; up to heaven she towred to seeke pray, but there being no game to please her, down she fluttered to the sea againe, and a speckled fish playing above the water, at it she strook, mistaking it for a partrich. A sharke or tuheron, that lay gaping for the flying fish hard by, what did me he, but seeing the marke fall so just in his mouth, chopt aloft, and snapt her up belles and all, at a mouthfull. The newes of this murderous act carried by the king's fisher to the eares of the land foules, there was nothing but "Arme, arme, to sea,

⁴⁵ [Ben Jonson makes *Cob*, the water-bearer, say, "Mine ance'try came from a king's belly, no worse man: and yet no man neither, (by your worship's leave, I did lie in that) but *Herring, the king of fish*; (from his belly I proceed) one of the monarchs of the world, I assure you." Every Man in his Humour.]

to sea, swallow and titmouse; to take chastisement of that trespass of blood and death, committed against a peer of their blood royal."

Preparation was made, the muster taken, the leaders allotted, and had their bills to take up pay; an old goshawke for general was appointed, for marshal of the field a spar-hawke, whom for no former desert they put in office, but because it was one of their lineage had sustained that wrong, and they thought they would be more implacable in condoling and commiserating. The peacocks with their spotted coats and affrighting voices, for heralds, they prick and enlisted; and the cockadoodling cocks, for their trumpeters: (looke upon any cocke, and looke upon any trumpeter, and see if hee looke not as red as a cocke, after his trumpeting, and a cocke as red as he, after his crowing.) The kistrilles or windsuckers, that filling themselves with wind, fly against the wind evermore, for their full-sailed standard-bearers; the cranes for pikemen, and the woodcocks for demi-lances; and so of the rest every one, according to that place, by nature, hee was most apt for. Away to the land's end they trigger all the skie-bred chirpers of them: when they came there, *æquora nos terrent, et ponti tristis imago*. They had wings of good-will to fly with, but no webbes on their feet to swimme with; for, except the water-foules had mercie upon them, and stood their faithfull confederates and backe-friends, on their backs to transport them, they might returne home, like good fooles, and gather straws to build their nests, or fall to their old trade of picking wormes. In sum, to the water foules unanimately they recourse, and besought duck and drake, swanne and goose, halcons and sea-pies, cormorants and sea-gulls, of their oary assistance, and aydeful furtherance in this action.

They were not obdurate to be intreated, though they had little cause to revenge the hawke's quarrel, from them; having received so many high displeasures, and slaughters, and rapines of their race: yet, in a generall prosecution, private feuds they trode underfoote, and submitted their endeavors to be at their limitation in every thing.

The puffin, that is halfe fish, halfe flesh, (a John indifferent, and an ambodexter betwixt either,) bewrayed this conspiracie to Protæus heards, or the fraternity of fishes, which the greater giants of Russia and Island, as the whale, the sea-horse, the norse, the wasserman, the dolphin, the grampoys, feared and geered at as a ridiculous danger; but the lesser pigmeis, and spawn of them, thought it meete to provide for themselves betime, and elect a king amongst them, that might deraine them to battaile; and under whose colours they might march against these birdes of a feather, that had so colleagued themselves together, to destroy them.

Who this king should bee, beshackled their wits, and layd them a dry ground every one. No ravening fish they would put in armes, for feare, after he had everted their foes, and flesht himselfe in blood, for interchange of diet, hee would raven up them. Some politique delegatory Scipio, or witty-pated Petito, like the heire of Laërtes *per aphæresin*, Ulysses, (well knowne unto them by his prolixious sea-wandering, and dancing on their toplesse tottering hilles,) they would single forth, if it might bee, whom they might depose when they list, if he should begin to tyrannize; and such a one as, of himselfe, were able to make a sound partie, if all fayled, and bid base to the enemy, with his owne kindred and followers.

None woonne the day in this, but the Herring; whom all their clamorous suffrages saluted with *Vive le roy*, "God save the king, God save the king;" save only the playse and the butte, that made wry mouthes at him, and, for their mocking, have wry mouthes ever since: and the Herring ever since weares a coronet on his head, in token that hee is, as he is. Which had the worst end of the staffe in that sea-journey or canvazado, or whether some fowler with his nets, as this host of fether-mungers were getting up to ride double, involved or intangled them; or the water-foules playde them false, (as there is no more love betwixt them, then betwixt saylers and land soldiours,) and threw them off their backs, and lette them drowne, when they were launched into the deepe; I leave to some Alfonsus, Poggius, or Æsope to unwrap, for my penne is tired in it. But this is notorious, the Herring, from that time to this, hath gone with an army, and never stirres

abroade without it; and, when he stirs abroad with it, he sendes out his scowts or sentinels before him, that oftentimes are intercepted, and by theyr parti-coloured liveries descried, whom the mariners, after they have tooke, use in this sort: Eight or nine times they swinge them about the maine mast, and bid them bring them so many last of herrings, as they have swinged them times; and that shall be theyr ransome, and so throw them into the sea againe. King, by your leave, for in your kingshipe, I must leave you, and repeate how from white to redde you camelionized.

It is to bee read, or to bee heard of, howe in the punieship or nonage of Cerdicke Sandes, when the best houses and walles there were of mudde, or canvaz, or poldavies entiltments, a fisherman of Yarmouth, having drawne so many herrings hee wist not what to do with all, hung the residue that he could not sel nor spend, in the sooty rooffe of his shad a drying: or say thus, his shad was a cabinet *in decimo-sexto*, builded on foure crutches, and hee had no roome in it, but in that garret or *excelsis* to lodge them, where if they were drie, let them bee drie; for in the sea they had drunke too much, and now hee would force them doe penance for it. The weather was colde, and good fires hee kept, (as fishermen, what hardnesse soever they endure at sea, they will make all smoake, but they will make amendes for it when they come to land) and what with his fiering and smoking, or smoakie firing in that his narrow lobby, his herrings, which were as white as whalesbone when hee hung them up, nowe lookt as red as a lobster. It was foure or five dayes before either hee or his wife espied it, and, when they espied it, they fell downe on their knees and blessed themselves, and cride, "A miracle! A miracle!" and with the proclaiming it among their neighbours they could not be content, but to the court the fisherman would, and present it to the king, then lying at Borough castle two miles off. Of this Borrough castle, because it is so auncient, and there hath beene a city there, I will enter into some more speciall mention. The floud Waveny running through many townes of Hie Suffolke up to Bungey, and from thence incroching neerer and neerer to the sea, with his twining and winding it cuts out an iland of some amplitude, named Lovingland. The head towne in that iland is Leystofe, in which, bee it known to all men, I was borne; though my father sprung from the Nashes of Herefordshire⁴⁶.

The next towne from Leystofe, towards Yarmouth, is Corton; and next Gorkston. More inwardly, on the left-hand, where Waveny and the river Ierus mixe their waters, *Cnoberi urbs*, the citie of Cnober, at this day termed Burgh, or Borough Castle, had his being. This cittie and castle, (saith Bede and Maister Camden, or rather M. Camden out of Bede,) by the woodes about it, and the driving of the sea uppe to it, was most pleasant. In it one Furfæus, a Scot, builded a monastery, at whose perswasion, Sigebert, king of the East Angles, gave over his kingdome and led a monasticall life there; but forth of that monastery hee was haled, against his will, to encourage his subjects in their battaile against the Mercians, where he perished with them. Nothing of that castle save tattered ragged walles nowe remaines, framed foure-square, and overgrowne with briars and bushes; in the stubbing up of which, erst whiles, they dugge uppe Romane coynes, and buoys and anchors.

Well, thither our fisherman set the best legge before, and unfardled to the king his whole sachel of wonders. The king was as superstitious in worshiping those miraculous herrings as the fisherman, licensed him to carry them up and downe the realm for strange monsters, giving to Cerdek Sands (the birth-place of such monstrosities) many privileges; and, in that the quantitie of them that were caught so encreased, he assigned a broken sluice in the iland of Lovingland, called Herring-Fleete, where they shoulde disburden and discharge their boates of them, and render him custome. Our herring-smoker, having worn his monsters stale throughout England, spirted over seas to Rome with a pedlar's packe of them, in the papall chair of Vigilius; he that first instituted saints eeves, or vigils, to be fasted. By that time hee came thither, he had but three of his herrings left;

⁴⁶ [This word, in Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*, is misprinted *Hertfordshire*, and that error transcribed into Berkenhout's *Biographia Literaria*, &c.]

for, by the way, he fell into the theevish hands of malecontents, and of launce-knights, of whom he was not only robbed of all his mony, but was faine to redeeme his life besides, with the better parte of his ambry of burnisht fishes.

These herrings three, he rubbed and curried over till his armes aked againe, to make them glowe and glare like a Turkie brooch, or a London vintner's signe, thick jagged, and round fringed, with theaming arsadine, and folding them in a diaper napkin, (as lilly-white as a ladies marrying smocke,) to the market-steade of Rome he was so bold as to prefer them; and there, on a hie stool, unbraced and unlaced them, to any chapman's eie that woulde buye them. The pope's caterer, casting a licorish glance that way, asked what it was he had to sell? "The king of fishes," hee answered. "The king of fishes!" (replied hee:) what is the price of him?" "A hundred duckats," he tolde him. "A hundred duckats!" (quoth the pope's caterer;) that is a kingly price indeede; it is for no private man to deale with him." "Then hee is for me," (sayde the fisherman;) and so unsheathed his cuttle-bong, and from the nape of the necke to the taile dismembred him, and pauncht him up at a mouthfull. Home went his Beatitude's caterer with a flea in his eare, and discoursed to his Holinesse what had happened. "Is it the king of fishes?" The pope frowningly shooke him up like a catte in a blanket, "and is any man to have him but I, that am king of kings, and lord of lords? Go, give him his price I commaund thee; and lette mee taste of him incontinently." Backe returned the caterer, like a dogge that had lost his tail, and powred downe the herring merchant his hundred ducats, for one of those two of the king of fishes unsolde; which then he would not take, but stooode uppon twoo-hundred. Thereuppon they broke off: the one urging that he had offered it him so before; and the other, that hee might have tooke him at his proffer; which since he refused, and now halperd with him; as he eate up the first, so would he eate up the second, and let pope, or patriarch of Constantinople, fetch it out of his belly if they could. Hee was as goed as his word, and had no sooner spoke the word, but he did as he spoke. With a heavy heart to the pallace the yeoman of the mouth departed, and rehearsed this second il success; wherwith Peter's successour was so in his mullie-grums, that he had thought to have buffeted him, and cursed him with bell, book, and candle: but he ruled his reason, and bade him, thogh it cost a million, to let him have that third that rested behind, and hie him expeditely thither, lest some other snatched it up, and as fast, from thence againe; for he swore by his triple crowne, no crumme of refection woulde he gnaw upon, till he had sweetened his lippes with it.

So said, so done; thither he flew as swift as Mercury, and threw him his two-hundred ducats, as hee before demaunded. It would not fadge, for then the market was raised to three-hundred; and the caterer grumbling thereat, the fisher swayne was forward to settle him to his tooles, and tire upon it, as on the other two, had not he held his hands, and desired hym to keep the peace, for no mony should part them. With that speech hee was quallified, and pursed the three-hundred ducats, and delivered him the king of fishes, teaching hym how to geremumble it, sawce it, and dresse it, and so sent him away a glad man. All the pope's cookes, in their white sleeves and linnen aprons, met him middle-way, to entertaine and receyve the king of fishes; and together by the eares they went, who shoulde first handle him or touch him: but the clarke of the kichin appeased that strife, and would admit none but himselfe, to have the scorching and carbonadoing of it; and he kissed his hand thrice, and made as many humblessos ere hee woulde finger it; and, such obeysances performed, he dresst it as he was enjoyned, kneeling on his knes, and mumbling twenty ave-maryes to hymselfe, in the sacrificizing it on the coales; that his diligent service in the broyling and combustion of it, both to his kingship and to his fatherhood, might not seeme unmeritorious. The fire had not perst it, but it, being a sweaty loggerhead, greasie sowter, endungeond in his pocket a twelvemonth, stunk so over the pope's pallace, that not a scullion but cried "Foh!" and those, which at the first flocked the fastest about it, now fled the most from it, and sought more to rid theyr handes of it, than before they sought to blesse theyr handes with it. Wyth much stopping of theyr noses, between two dishes they stued it, and served it up. It was not come

wyth in three chambers of the pope, but he smelt it; and, upon the smelling of it, enquiring what it should be that sent forth such a puissant perfume, the standers-by declared that it was the king of fishes: "I conceyted no lesse, (sayde the pope,) for lesse than a king he could not be that had so strong a sent; and if his breath be so strong, what is he hymself? Like a great king, like a strong king I will use hym: let hym be carried backe, I say, and my cardinalls shall fetch hym in, with dirge and processions, under my canopy."

Though they were double and double weary of hym, yet, his edict being a lawe to the kitchin they returned him; whither, by and by, the whole colledge of scarlet cardinalles, wyth theyr crosiers, theyr censors, their hosts, their *agnus-deis* and crucifixes, flocked together, in heapes, as it had beene to the conclave, or a generall counsaile; and the senior cardinall, that stood next in election to bee pope, heaved him up from the dresser, with a dirge of *de profundis natus est rex*:—*rex* he should have sayd, and so have made true Latine, but the spirable odor and pestilent steame, ascending from it, put him out of his bias of congruity, and, as true as the truest Latin of Priscian, would have queazened him, like the dampe that tooke both Bell and Baram away; and many a woorthy man that day, if hee had not beene protected under the popee's canopy, and the other cardinalles, with theyr holi water sprinkles, quencht his foggy fume and evaporating. About and about the inward and base court they circumducted him with *kyrie-eleison*, and *halleluia*, and the chaunters in their golden copes, and white surplusses, chaunted it out above *gloria patri*: in praying of him, the organs playde, the ordonance at the castle of Saint Angelos went off, and all wind instruments blew as loude as the winde in winter, in his passado to the pope's ordinary or dining-chamber; where, having sette him downe, uppon their faces they fell flatte, and lickt every one his ell of dust, in douking on all foure unto him.

The busie epitasis of the commedy was, when the dishes were uncovered, and the swarthrutter sowre tooke ayre; for then hee made such an ayre, as Alcides himselfe, that clensed the stables of Agæus, nor any hostler was able to endure.

This is once, the pope it popt under boord, and out of his pallace worse it scared him then Neptune's phocases that scard the horses of Hippolytus, or the harpies Jupiter dogges sent to vex Phineus: the cardinalles were at their *ora pro nobis*, and held this suffocation a meete sufferance, for so contemning the king of fishes and his subjects, and fleshly surfetting in their carnivalles. Negromantick sorcery, negromantick sorcery, some evill spirit of an heretique it is, which thus molesteth his apostoliqueship. The friars and munkes caterwawled, from the abbots and priors to the novices; wherefore, *tantum in circo*, wee will trowne him in a circle, and make him tell what lanterneman, or groome of Hecate's close-stoole he is, that thus nefariously and proditoriously profanes and penetrates our holy father's nostrils. What needes there any more ambages? The ringoll, or ringed circle, was compast and chalked out, and the king of fishes, by the name of the king of fishes, conjured to appeare in the center of it; but *surdo cantant absurdi*; *sive surdum incantant fratres sordidi*; hee was a king absolute, and would not be at every man's cal; and if friar Pendela and his fellows had any thing to say to him, in his admiral court of the sea let them seek him, and neither in Hull, Hell, nor Halifax.

They seeing, that by theyr charms and spells they could spell nothing of him, fell to a more charitable suppose, that it might bee the distressed soule of some king that was drownd; who being long in purgatorie, and not relieved by the praier of the church, had leave, in that disguised form, to have egresse and regresse to Rome, to crave theyr benevolence of dirges, trentals, and so forth, to helpe him onward on his journey to Limbo Patrum, or Elysium: and because they would not easily beleewe what tortures in purgatory hee had sustained, unlesse they were eye-witnesses of them, hee thought to represent to all theyr senses the image and idea of his combustion and broyling there, and the horrible stench of his sins accompanying both, under his frying and broyling on the coles in the pope's kitchin, and the intollerable smel or stink he sent forth under either.

Unâ voce, in this splene to pope Vigilius they ran, and craved that this king of fishes might first have Christian buriall; next, that hee might have masses sung for him; and last, that for a saint hee would canonize him. Al these he graunted, to bee ridde of his filthy redolence; and his chiefe casket, wherein he put all his jewelles, hee made the coffin of his enclosure; and, for his ensainting, looke the almanack in the beginning of Aprill, and see if you can finde out such a saint as Saint Gildarde, which, in honour of this gilded fish the pope so ensainted: nor there hee rested and stopt, but in the mitigation of the very embers wheron he was sindged, that after he was taken off them, fumed most fulsomly of his fatty droppings, hee ordained ember-weekes in their memory, to be fasted everlastingly.

I had well-nie forgot a speciall poynt of my Romish history, and that is, how madam Celina Cornificia, one of the curiousest curtezans of Rome, when the fame of the king of fishes was canon-rored in her eares, she sent all her jewells to the Jewish Lumbarde to pawn, to buy and encaptive him to her trenchour; but her purveyour came a day after the faire, and as he came, so hee farde, for not a scrap of him, but the cobs of the two herrings, the fisherman had eaten, remained of him; and those cobbes, rather than hee woulde go home wyth a sleevelesse answer, he bought at the rate of fourescore ducats; (they were rich cobbes you must rate them,) and of them all cobbing country-chuffes, which make their bellies and their bagges theyr gods, are called riche cobbes. Every manne will not clappe hands to this tale: the Norwicheers, *imprimis*, say, the first guilding of herrings was deducted from them; and, after this guise, they tune the accent of theyr speech, how that when Castor was Norwich (a town twoo mile beyond this Norwich, that is termed to this day Norwich Castor, and having monuments of a castle in it, environing fifty acres of ground, and ring-bolts in the walles, whereto ships were fastned) our Norwich, now upon her leggs, was a poore fisher-towne, and the sea spawled and springed up to her common stayres in Confur-streete.

All this may passe in the queene's peace, and no man say bo to it: but, "Bawwaw," quoth Bagshaw, to that which drawlacheth behinde, of the first taking of herrings there, and currying and guyliding them amongst them; wherof, if they could whisper to us any simple likelihood, or raw-bon'd carcasse of reason, more than their imaginary dreame of Guilding-cross in theyr parish of S. Saviour's (now stumpt up by the rootes) so named, as they would have it, of the smoaky guilding of herrings there first invented, I could wel have allowed of; but they must bring better cardes ere they winne it from Yarmouth.

As good a toy to mocke an ape was it of hym, that shewed a country fellow the Red-Sea, where all the red-herrings were made (as some places in the sea, where the sunne is most transpercing, and beates with his rayes, ferventest, will looke as red as blood); and the jeast of a scholler in Cambridge, that standing angling on the towne-bridge there, as the country people on the market-day passed by, secretly bayted his hook wyth a red-herring, wyth a bell about the necke; and so conveying it into the water that no man perceived it, all on the sodayn, when he had a competent throng gathered about hym, up he twitcht it agayne, and layd it openly before them; whereat the gaping rurall fooles (driven into no lesse admiration than the common people about London, some few yeares since, were at the bubbling of Moore-ditch,) sware by their christendomes, that, as many dayes and yeeres as they had lived, they never sawe such a myracle of a red-herring taken in the fresh-water before. That greedy sea-gull, ignorance, is apt to devoure any thing. For a new Messias they are ready to expect of the Bedlam hatmaker's wife by London-bridge, he that proclaymes hymselfe Elias, and sayeth he is inspired wyth mut-ton and porrydge: and, with them, it is currant, that Don Sebastian king of Portugall, slayne twenty yeares since wyth Stukeley at the battel of Alcazar, is raysed from the dead, like Lazarus, and alive to be seene at Venice. Let them looke to themselves as they will, for I am theirs to gull them better than ever I have done; and this I am sure, I have destributed gudgeon dole amongst them, as God's plenty, as any stripling of my slender portion of witte farre or neere. They needes will have it so, much good do it

them, I can not doe wythall. For, if but carelesly, betwixt sleeping and waking, I write I knowe not what, against plebeian publicans and sinners, no better than the sworne brothers of candlesticke-turners and tinkers, and leave some termes in suspence, that my post-haste want of argent will not give mee elbowe-roome enough to explaine or examine as I would; out steps me an infant squib of the innes of court, that hath not halfe greased his dining-cappe, or scarce warmed his lawyer's cushion; and he, to approve hymselfe an extravagant statesman, catcheth hold of a rush, and absolutely concludeth, it is meened of the emperour of Ruscia, and that it will utterly marre the traffike into that country, if all the pamphlets bee not called in and suppressed, wherein that libelling word is mentioned. An other, if but a head or a tayle of any beast, he boasts of in his crest or his scutcheon, be reckoned up by chaunce in a volume where a man hath just occasion to reckon up all beasts in armory; he strait engageth hymselfe, by the honor of his house, and his never reculed sword, to thresh downe the hayry roose of that brayne that so seditiously mutined against hym, with the mortiferous bastinado; or cast suche an incurable Italian trench in his face, as not the basest creeper upon pattens by the highway-side, but shall abhor him worse than the carrion of a dead corpse, or a man hanged up in gibbets.

I will deale more boldly (and yet it shall be securelie, and in the way of honestie,) to a number of God's fooles, that, for their wealth, might be deep wise men, and so forth, (as now-a-daies, in the opinion of the best lawyers of England, there is no wisdom without wealth, alleadge what you can to the contrarie of all the beggarly sages of Greece;) these, I say, out of some discourses of mine, which were a mingle-mangle *cum putre*, and I knew not what to make of, myselfe, have fisht out such a deep politike state meaning, as if I had al the secrets of court and commonwealth at my fingers endes. Talke I of a beare; O, it is such a man that emblazons him in his armes; or of a wolfe, a fox, or a camelion, any lording, whom they do not affect, it is meant by. The great potentate, stirred uppe with those perverse applications, not looking into the text it selfe, but the ridiculous comment; or, if hee lookes into it, followes no other more charitable comment than that; straite thunders out his displeasure, and showres downe the whole tempest of his indignation upon me: and, to amend the matter, and fully absolve himselfe of this rash error of misconstruing, he commits it over to be prosecuted by a worse misconstruer than himself, *videlicet*, his learned counsaile; (God forgive me, if I slander them with that title of learned, for generally they are not;) and they, being compounded of nothing but vociferation and clamour, rage and fly on they care not howe against a man's life, his person, his parentage, twoo hours before they come to the poynt; little remembering their owne privy scapes with their landresses, or their night-walkes to Pancredge, together with the hobnayled houses of their carterly ancestrie, from whence they are sprung, that have coold plow-jades buttocks time out of minde, with the breath of their whistling, and, with retailing theyr dung to manure landes, and selling strawe and chaffe, scratcht up the pence to make them gentlemen. But, Lord, howe miserably do these ethnicks, when they once march to the purpose, set words on the tenters, never reading to a period, (which you shal scarce find in thirtie sheetes of a lawyer's declaration) whereby they might comprehend the intire sence of the writer together, but disjoynt and teare every sillable betwixt their teeth severally! And if, by no meanes, they can make it odious, they will be sure to bring it into disgrace by ill-favoured mouthing and mis-sounding it. These bee they, that use men's writings like brute beasts, to make them draw which way they list, as a principall agent in church controversies of this our time, complaineth.

I have red a tale of a poore man and an advocate, which poore man complained to the king, of wrong that the advocate hadde doone him, in taking away his cow. The king made him no answere but this, That hee woulde sende for the advocate, and heare what hee could say. "Nay, (quoth the poore man,) if you bee at that passe, that you wil pawse to heare what he wil say, I have utterly lost my cove; for hee hath woords enough to make fooles of tenne-thousand." So hee, that shal have his lines bandied by our usuall

plodders in Fitzherbart, lette him not care whether they bee right or wrong; for they will writhe and turne them as they list, and make the author beleewe he meant that which hee did never meane; and for a knitting-up conclusion, his credite is unrepriveably lost, that on bare suspition in such cases, shal but have his name controverted amongst them: and, if I should fall into their handes, I would be pressed to death for obstinate silence, and never seeke to clere myself, for it is in vaine; since both they will confound a man's memory wyth their tedious babbling, and, in the first three wordes of his apology, with impudent exclamations, interrupt him; whenas their mercenary tongues, (lie they never so lowdly,) without checke or controule, must have their free passage for five houres together.

I speake of the worser sort, not of the best, whom I holde in high admiration; as well for theyr singular gifts of art and nature, as theyr untaynted consciences wyth corruption: and from some of them, I avowe, I have heard as excellent things flowe, as ever I observed in Tully or Demosthenes. Those that were present at the arraignment of Lopus, (to insist in no other particular,) hereof, I am sure, will beare me record. Latinlesse dolts, saturnine heavy-headed blunderers, my invective hath relation to; such as count al artes puppet-playes, and pretty rattles to please children, in comparison of their confused barbarous lawe, which, if it were set downe in any Christian language, but the Getan tongue, it would never grieve a man to studie it.

Neyther Ovid, nor Ariosto, coulde, by any perswasions of their parents, be induced to study the civil law, for the harshnesse of it: how much more (had they bin alive at this day, and borne in our nation) would they have consented to study this uncivill Norman hotpotch? This sow of lead, that hath never a ring at the end to lift it up by, is, without head, or foote, the deformedest monster that may bee?

I stand lawing heere (what with these lawyers, and selfe-conceited misinterpreters) so long, that my Redde-Herring, which was hot broyling on the coles, is waxt starke cold for want of blowing. Have with them for a riddle or two, onely to set their wittes a nibbling, and their jobbernowles a working; and so good night to their segniories, but, with this indentment and caution, that though there be neither rime nor reason in it, (as, by my good-will, there shal not) they, according to their accustomed gentle favors, whether I wil or no, shall supply it with either; and runne over al the peeres of the land in peevish moralizing and anatomizing it.

There was a Herring, or there was not, for it was but a cropshin (one of the refuse sort of Herrings;) and this Herring, or this cropshin, was sensed and thurified in the smoake, and had got him a suit of durance, that would last longer than one of Erra Pater's almanacks, or a cunstable's browne bill; onely his head was in his tayle, and that made his breath so strong, that no man could abide him. Well, he was a Triton of his time, and a sweete-singing calander to the state; yet not beloved of the shoury Pleyades, or the Colossus of the Sunne: however, hee thought himselfe another *tumidus Antimachus*, as compleate an Adelantado, as hee that is known by wearing a cloke of tufft taffatie eightene yeare; and to lady Turbot there is no demurre but he would needs goe a wooing, and offered her, for a dowre, whole hecatombs, and a twoo-handed sword. Shee starde upon him with Megara's eyes, (like Iris the messenger of Juno,) and bad him go eate a fool's head and garlick, for she would none of him: thereupon, particularly, strictly, and usually he replied, "That, though thunder nere lights on Phœbus's tree, and Amphion, that worthy musition, was husband to Niobe, and there was no such acceptable incense to the heavens as the bloud of a traitour. Revenged hee would bee, by one chimera of imagination or other, and hamper and embrake her in those mortal straights, for hir disdain, that in spite of divine symetry and miniature, into her buskie grove shee should let him enter; and bid adew, sweete lord, or the crampe of death should wrest her heart-strings."

This speech was no spireable odour to the Achelous of her audience; wherefore, she charged him, by the extreame lineaments of the Erimanthian beare, and by the privy fistula of the Pierides, to committe no more such excruciating sillables to the yeelding

ayre; for she would sooner make her a French-hood of a cowsharde, and a gowne of spiders webbes, with the sleeves drawn out with cabbages, than be so contaminated any more with his abortive loathely motives. With this, in an Olympick rage, he calles for a cleane shirt, and puttes on five pair of buskins, and seeketh out eloquent Zenophon (out of whose mouth the Muses spoke) to declaime, in open courte, against her.

The action is entred, the complaint of her wintered browes presented, of a violent rape of his heart shee is indicted and convinced. The circumstance that followes you may imagine or suppose; or, without supposing or imagining, I will tell you: the nutte was crackt, the strife discust, and the center of her heart layd open; and to this wild of sorrowes and excruciamment she was confined, either to bee helde a flat thornebacke, or sharpe pricking dog-fish to the weale publique, or seale her selfe close to his seale-skind riveld lippes, and suffer her selfe, as a spirit, to be conjured into the hellish circle of his embraces.

It would not be good cropshin, madam Turbut could not away with such a drie withered carkasse to lie by her; *currat rex, vivat lex*, come what would, shee would none of him: wherefore, as a poysoner of mankind with her beautie, she was adjudged to be boyled to death in hot scalding water, and to have her posterity throughly sawst, and sowst, and pickled in barrells of brinish teares, so ruthfull and dolorous, that the inhabitants on Bosphorus should bee laxative in deploring it. O, for a legion of mice-eyed decipherers and calculators uppon characters, now to augurate what I meane by this: the Divell, if it stood upon his salvation, cannot do it, much lesse petty divells, and cruell Rhadamants uppon earth, (elsewhere in France and Italy *subintelligitur*, and not in our auspicious iland-climate) men that have no meanes to purchase credit with their prince, but by putting him still in feare, and beating into his opinion, that they are the onely preservers of his life, in sitting up night and day in sifting out treasons; when they are the most traytours themselves, to his life, health, and quiet, in continual commacerating him with dread and terror; when, but to gette a pension, or bring him in theyr debt, next to God, for upholding his vital breath; it is neither so, nor so, but some foole, some drunken man, some maddeman in an intoxicate humour, hath uttered hee knewe not what, and they beeing starved for intelligence, or want of employment, take hold of it with tooth and nayle, and, in spite of all the wayters, will violently breake into the king's chamber, and awake him at midnight to reveale it.

Say, that a more piercing linceus⁴⁷ sight should dive into the intrailles of this insinuating parasite's knavery; to the strapado and the stretching torture hee will referre it for triall, and there eyther teare him limbe from limbe, but hee will extract some capitall confession from him, that shal concerne the prince's life, and his crowne and dignity, and bring himselfe in such necessary request about his prince, hee may holde him for his right-hand, and the only staffe of his royalty, and thinke hee were undoone, if hee were without him; when the poore fellow, so tyrannously handled, would rather, in that extremitie of convulsion, confesse hee crucified Jesus Christ, then abide it any longer. I am not against it (for, God forbid I should) that it behooves all loyal, true subjects to bee vigilant and jealous for their prince's safetie; and, certaine, too jealous and vigilant of it they cannot bee, if they bee good princes that raigne over them; nor use too many meanes of disquisition by tortures, or otherwise, to discover treasons pretended against them: but, uppon the least wagging of a straw, to put them in feare where no feare is, and make a hurliburle in the realme upon, had I wist not so much for any zeale or love to their princes, or tender care of theyr preservation, as to picke thankses and curry a little favour, that thereby they may lay the foundation to build a sute on, or crosse some great enemy they have; I will maintaine, it is most lewd and detestable. I accuse none, but such there have beene belonging to princes in former ages, if there bee not at this houre.

Stay, let me looke about: Where am I? In my text, or out of it? "Not out, for a

⁴⁷ [*i. e. lynxeous.*]

groate."—"Out, for an angell."—Nay, Ile lay no wagers; for, nowe I perponder more sadly upon it, I thinke I am out indeede. Beare with it; it was but a pretty parenthesis of princes and theyr parasites, which shall doo you no harm, for I will cloy you with her-ring, before wee part.

Will you have the other riddle of the Cropshin, to make uppe the payre that I promised you? You shall, you shall (not have it, I meane): but beare with mee, for I cannot spare it, and I perswade my selfe, you will be well contented to spare it, except it were better then the former; and yet, I pray you, what faulte can you finde with the former? Hath it any more sence in it, then it should have? Is it not right of the merry cobbler's cutte, in that witty play of 'The Case is altered'⁴⁸?

I will speake a proude word, though it may be accounted arrogancy in me to prayse mine owne stuffe.—If it bee not more absurde then 'Philip his Venus,' 'The White Tragedie,' or 'The Greene Knight,' or I can tell what English to make of it in part, or in whole; I wish, in the foulest weather that is, to goe in cutte Spanish lether shooes, or silke stockings, or to stand bare-head to a nobleman, and not gette of him the price of a periwig to cover my bare crown; no, not so much as a pipe of tabacco to rayse my spirites, and warme my brain.

My readers, peradventure, may see more into it then I can; for, in comparison of them, in whatsoever I set forth, I am *Bernardus non vidit omnia* as blinde as blinde Bayard, and have the eyes of a beetle: nothing from them is obscure, they being quicker-sighted then the sunne, to spie in his beames the moates that are not, and able to trans-forme the lightest murmuring gnat to an elephant. Carpe, or descant they, as theyr spleene mooves them; my spleene mooves me not to file⁴⁹ my handes with them, but to fall a crash more to the Redde-Herring.

Howe many bee there in the worlde, that childishly deprave alchumy, and cannot spell the first letter of it! In the black booke of which ignorant band of scorners, it may be, I am scorde up with the highest. If I be, I must intreate them to wipe me out; for the Red-Herring hath lately beene my ghostly father to convert me to their fayth: the *probatum est* of whose transfiguration *ex luna in solem*, from his duskie tinne hew into a perfit golden blandishment, onely by the foggy smoake of the grossest kind of fire that is, illumines my speculative soule; what muche more, not sophisticate, or superficial effects, but absolute, essentiall alterations of metalles there may bee made by an artificiall, repurified flame, and diverse other helps of nature added besides.

Cornelius Agrippa maketh mention of some philosophers, that held the skinne of the sheepe that bare the golden fleece, to be nothing but a booke of alchumy written upon it: so, if wee should examine matters to the prooffe, wee shoulde finde the Redde-herring's skinne to be little lesse. The accidens of alchumy I will sweare it is, be it but for that experiment of his smoaking, alone; and (which is a secret that all tapsters will curse mee for blabbing) in his skinne there is plaine witchcraft: for, doe but rubbe a kanne, or quarte-pot round about the mouth wyth it, let the cunningest licke-spiggot swelt his heart out, the beere shal never foame or froath in the cuppe, whereby to deceyve men of their measure, but be as settled, as if it stooode al night.

Next, to draw on hounds to a sent, to a redde-herring skinne there is nothing comparable: the round, or cobbe of it, dride and beaten to powder, is *ipse ille* agaynst the stone: and, of the whole body of it it selfe, the finest ladies beyond seas frame their kick-shawes.

The rebel Jack Cade was the first, that devised to put redde-herrings in cades, and from hym they have their name. Nowe as wee call it, the swinging of herrings, when hee cade them; so in a halter was hee swung, and trussed uppe as hard and round as any cade of herring he trussed uppe in his tyme; and perhappes of his being so swung and trussed up, havyng first founde out the tricke to cade herring, they woulde so much

⁴⁸ [A comedy attributed to Ben Jonson, and written before the end of the year 1599, although not printed till ten years after.]

⁴⁹ [*Qu. defile?*]

honour him in his death, as not onely to call it swinging, but cading of herring also. If the text will beare this, we wil force it to beare more; but it shall be but the weight of a strawe, or the weight of Jacke Straw more, who with the same *Græcâ fide* I marded unto you the former, was the first that putte the redde-herring in straw, over head and eares like beggars, and the fishermen, upon that, Jacke-strawd him ever after; and some (for he was so begarly a knave that chalenged to be a gentleman, and had no witte nor wealth but what hee got by the warme wrapping up of herring,) raised this proverb of him, 'Gentleman Jacke Herring that puttes his breeches on his head, for want of wearing.' Other disgraceful proverbes of the Herring there be, as, 'Ne're a barrel better herring'; 'Neither flesh nor fish, nor good red-herring'; which those, that have bitten with ill bargaines of either sort, have dribd forth in revenge, and yet not have them from Yarmouth: many coast towns, besides it, enterprising to curry, salt, and pickle up herrings; but marre them, because they want the right feate, how to salt and season them. So I coulde plucke a crowe with poet Martiall for calling it *putre halec*, the scauld rotten herring; but he meant that of the fat reasty Scottish herrings, which will endure no salt, and in one moneth (bestow what cost on them you wil) waxe ramish, if they be kept; whereas our embarreld white-herrings, flourishing with the stately brand of Yarmouth upon them, (*scilicet*, the three halfe lions, and the three halfe fishes, with the crowne over the head,) last in long voyages, better than the redde-herring; and not onely are famous at Roan, Paris, Diepe, and Cane, (whereof the first, which is Roan, serveth all the high countries of France with it, and Dieppe, which is the last save one, victualles all Picardy with it,) but heere at home is made account of like a marquesse, and received at court right solemnly: I care not much if I rehearse to you the maner, and that is thus.

Every yeare about Lent-tide, the sherifes of Norwich bake certane herring-pies (foure and twenty as I take it) and send them as a homage to the lorde of Caster hard by there, for lands that they hold of him; who presently, upon the like tenure, in bouncing hampers covered over with his cloth of armes, sees them conveyed to the court in the best equipage. At court when they are arrived, his man rudely enters not at first, but knocketh very civilly, and then officers come and fetch him in with torch-light; where, having disfraughted and unloaded his luggage, to supper he sets him downe like a lord, with his waxe-lights before him, and hath his messe of meate allowed him with the largest, and his horses (*quatenus* horses) are provendered as epicurely. After this, some foure marke fee towards his charges is tendred him, and hee joggles home againe merrily.

A white pickled herring? Why, it is meate for a prince. Haunce Vandervecke of Roterdame (as a Dutch post informed me) in bare pickled herring, layd out twenty thousand pound, the last fishing. Hee had lost his drinking belike, and thought to store himselfe of medicines enow to recover it.

Noble Cæsarean Charlemaine Herring, Plinie and Gesner were to blame they sluberd thee over so negligently. I do not see why any man should envy thee, since thou art none of these lurcones or epulones, gluttons, or flesh-pots of Egypt, (as one, that writes of the Christians' captivity under the Turke, enstileth us Englishmen,) nor livest thou by the unlyving or eviscerating of others, as most fishes do, or by an extraordinary filth whatsoever; but, as the cameleon liveth by the ayre, and the salamander by the fire, so onely by the water arte thou nourished, and nought else, and must swim as wel dead as alive.

Be of good cheere, my weary readers, for I have espied land; as Diogenes said to his weary schollers, when he had read to a waste leaf. Fishermen, I hope, wil not finde fault with me for fishing before the nette, or making all fish that comes to the net in this history: since, as the Athenians bragged, they were the first that invented wrastling; and one Erichthonius amongst them, that he was the first that joyned horses in collar couples for drawing; so I am the first that ever sette quill to paper in prayse of any fish or fishermen.

Not one of the poets aforetime could give you, or the sea, a good word. Ovid saith,

—————*Nimium ne credite Ponto,*

The sea is a slippery companion, take heed how you trust him :

And further,

—————*Perjurii pœnas repetit ille locus,*

It is a place like Hel, good for nothing but to punish perjurers :

With innumerable invectives more against it, throughout in every booke.

Plautus, in his *Rudens*, bringeth in fishermen cowthring and quaking, dung-wet after a storme, and complaining their miserable case in this forme : *Captamus cibum è mari ; si eventus non venit, neque quicquam captum est piscium, salsi lautique domum redimus clanculum, dormimus incœnati* : ‘All the meate that we eate we catch out of the sea ; and if ‘there wee misse, wel washed and salted wee sneake home to bed supperlesse :’ and upon the taile of it hee brings in a parasite that flowteth and bourdeth them thus : *Heus, vos famelica gens hominum, ut vivitis, ut peritis ?* ‘Hough, you hunger-starved gubbins, ‘or offallés of men, how thrive you, howe perish you ?’ And they cringing in their neckes, like rats, smothered in the holde, poorely replicated, *Vivimus fame, speque sitique* ; ‘With hunger and hope, and thirst, wee content oureselves.’ If you would not misconceit, that I studiously intended your defamation, you shoulde have thick haile-shot of these.

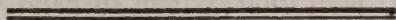
Not the lowsie riddle wherewith fishermen constrayned, some say Homer, some say another philosopher, to drowne hymselfe, because he could not expound it, but should be dressed and set before you *supernagulum*, with eight score more galliarde, cross-poynts, and kickshiwinses, of giddy eare-wig brains ; were it not, I thought you too fretfull and chollericke with feeding altogether on salt meates, to have the secrets of your trade in publique displayed. Will this appease you, that you are the predecessors of the Apostles, who were poorer fishermen than you ? That, for your seeing wonders in the deepe, you may be the sonnes and heires of the prophet Jonas ; that you are all cavaliers and gentlemen, since the king of fishes vouchsafed you for his subjects : that, for your selling smoake, you may be courtiers ; for your keeping of fasting-dayes, friar observants ; and lastly, that looke in what towne there is the signe of the three mariners, the huffe-cappest drink in that house you shal be sure of alwayes.

No more can I do for you than I have done, were you my god-children every one. God make you his children, and keepe you from the Dunkerks ; and then, I doubt not, but when you are driven into harbour by foule weather, the kannes shall walke to the health of ‘Nashe’s Lenten Stuffe, and the Praise of the Redde-Herring’ ; and even those, that attend uppon the pitch-kettle, will bee drunke to my good fortunes and recommendations. One boone you must not refuse mee in (if you be *boni socii* and sweete Olivers) that you let not your rustie swordes sleepe in their scabberds, but lash them out in my quarrell as hotely, as if you were to cut cables, or hew the main-mast over boord ; when you heare me mangled and torne in mennes mouthes about this playing with a shettle-cocke, or tossing empty bladders in the ayre.

Alas ! poore hunger-starved muse, we shall have some spawn of a goose-quill, or overworne pander, quirking and girding, “Was it so hard driven, that it had nothing to feed upon but a redde-herring ?” Another drudge of the pudding-house (all whose lawfull meanes to live by throughout the whole yeare will scarce purchase him a redde-herring) sayes I might as well have writte of a dogges turde, (in his teeth surreverence.) But, let none of these scumme of the suburbs be too vinegar tarte with mee ; for, if they bee, I’le take mine oath uppon a redde-herring and eate it, to proove that their fathers, their grandfathers, and their great grandfathers, or any other of their kinne, were scullions dishwash, and durty draffe, and swil set against a redde-herring. The puissant Red-Herring, the golden Hesperides Red-Herring, the Mæonian Red-Herring, the Red-Herring of Red-Herring’s Hal, every pregnant peculiar of whose resplendent lande⁵⁰ and

⁵⁰ [Qu. laud ?]

honour, to delineate and adumbrate to the ample life, were a woorke that would drinke drie fourescore and eighteen Castalian fountaines of eloquence, consume another Athens of facunditie, and abate the haughtiest poetick fury twixt this and the burning Zone and the tropike of Cancer. My conceit is cast into a sweating sicknesse, with ascending these few steps of his renowne; into what a hote broyling Saint Laurence fever would it relapse then, should I spend the whole bagge of my winde in climbing up to the lofty mountaine creast of his trophees? But no more winde will I spend on it but this: Saint Denis for Fraunce, Saint James for Spain, Saint Patrike for Ireland, Saint George for England, and the Red-Herring for Yarmouth.



Peter's Pattern: Or, The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness; as it was delivered in a Funeral Sermon, preached at the Interment of Mr. Hugh Peters, lately deceased¹. By I. C. Translator of Pineda upon Job, and one of the Triers.

Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas. GUSMAN, lib. i. cap. 2. ver. 4.

London, printed in the Year 1659.

[Quarto; containing fourteen pages.]



After they had sung the two first Staves of the Tenth Hymn of Larners 'Twelve Songs of Sion,' to the Tune of 'The Knave of Clubs,' the Parson proceeded in his Text as followeth:

GUSMAN, lib. ii. chap. 3. verse 26: the latter part of the words.

'Let us, while we live, make use of our time, for a man's life is ended in a day.'

BELOVED,

THE scope of this reverend divine is, in these words, to hold forth unto us the excellency of human wit and policy, in this self-seeking and deceitful world. And indeed I hope I have not made a wrong choice of my text, not knowing any one whereon I could better ground the praises of our departed brother here before us; you all knowing how great a disciple of our author he was, being indeed the very pattern and exemplar of his godly and religious life. But now, to explain the words aright, we shall deal with them as joiners do with court-cupboards, and round tables; first pull them asunder, and then put them together again. I use this comparison, that you may know me to be a man of trade; that is to say, one that trades in the word; or, if you will have it otherwise, a holder-forth, according to the last and most sanctified institution. First, then, you have an exhortation in these words, 'Let us;' Secondly, the time given us to make use thereof, 'while we live;' Thirdly, the thing to which we are exhorted, that is, 'to make use of our time;' and lastly, the supreme reason of this exhortation, 'for a man's

¹ [Hugh Peters was living till the year 1660. Vide an account of him in Vol. V. page 329. The present tract may be considered as a keen satire upon that prostitution of the clerical character, which was so lamentably prevalent in the time of the Commonwealth. It is printed in Morgan's Phoenix Britannicus, p. 257.]

'life is ended in a day.—Let us, while we live, make use of our time, for a man's life is ended in a day.'

First, then, of the first; that is to say, of the words, 'Let us.' But here you must give me leave to excuse the great abuses that have been put upon these two poor innocent monosyllables. I confess they have been crummed thicker than Habakkuk's brown loaf into the porridge of the Cavaliers, commonly called the Common-prayer-book, when they cry, 'Let us pray;' 'Let us kneel:' but believe it, my beloved, I have now rebaptized them, and washed them cleaner from that profanation, than ever tripes were scowred from their filth by the nicest huswife in Field-lane. Now, being thus purified, you will find 'Let us' to signify sometimes as much as, 'Hinder us not,' Quixot the 12th verse 8. 'Hinder me not, fair Dulcinea, from the enjoyment of your sweet company:' sometimes as much as to say, 'Suffer us;' saith the reverend Buscon, chap. vii. verse 5, to his master in great affliction, 'Suffer us not to be starved to death;' that is, 'Let us not be starved;' &c. Yet it is not meant here as in those places, by way of petition, but is a kind of rousing up of the spirits to a certain action: as when the carmen would heave a great load into their carts, they exhort one another, by crying "Hey boys;" or as, when the coachman would have his horses to go faster than ordinary, he encourages them, by saying, "Stir up;" in which sense our learned Gusman uses this expression, 'Let us,' in this place, as it were a word of incitement, or stirring us up to any undertaking. Some, when they use these words in this signification, do clap one another on the back, which adds a greater emphasis to them. But he goes on, 'Let us, (saith he) while we live.' And here you are to understand two things, what is meant by 'we,' and, secondly, what is meant by the words in general, 'while we live.'

Note then, that 'we' is a particle of distinction, which shews you that there is another sort of men to whom our dear Gusman doth deny the precious comforts held forth in this verse; for, my beloved, I would not have you think, that when he spoke this, he had pigs in his belly, as Calvin, in his comment upon this place, doth erroneously conjecture. By 'we' then is meant the godly, (such as I and you are,) whom the Lord hath chosen to the enjoyments of this world. The other sort of men here implied are all those who profess to be our enemies; men that would cut off our ears with the paring-shovels of their malice, and whip our backs with the scourges of their fury; for, did not the word intimate this distinction, our deceased brother had not used so many pious and painful endeavours to advance some men, and destroy others; that is, to advance his own godly party, and destroy his wicked foes. 'Let us, (saith he) while we live,' that is, while we are in power, while we live in authority, or be in favour with those that govern, whether it be a single person or a commonwealth; or, if you will have it otherwise, while we are in a thriving condition, while men think us godly and faithful, and consequently trust us with preferments or profit. I say, when the Lord shall put such opportunities and abilities into our hands, then, my brethren, 'let us make use of our time;' let us take hold of them with both hands, and hold them as fast as a mastiff holds a sow by the ear; 'Let us make use of our time,' that is, let us use all endeavours, ways, plots, means, manners, tricks, and policies, whether lawful or unlawful, to raise and advance our own ends, whether they be only honourable, or profitable, or both. And when we have attained that which we seek, let us use the same inventions; that the ungodly man may not gain them from us, and thence take occasion to triumph over us. The fathers of the order of industry, at the council held at Biscar in the year 1590, made a decree, that every one should keep his own, and get what he could from another. I speak this, that I may not leave you altogether without authority in explanation of my text; but of this more anon.

We shall now proceed to the reason of the words, 'For a man's life is ended in a day:' as much as to say, the life of man is very short; for, whereas it was formerly above an ell and a nail long, it is now no longer than a span. How vast a while did Methuselah live to enjoy the pains and labours of his youth? But no sooner had our dear brother Mr. Peters got an estate, a little chariot, and an Onesimus or two to wait on him, (think-

ing to comfort himself with the blessings of the creature,) but he was snatched away from us, even as a boy snatches a pippin out of an apple-woman's basket. Some, in regard of the shortness thereof, have compared the life of man unto a lily; but I am clearly of opinion, that it was a mistake; seeing that of that flower is made a precious oil that prolongeth the days of man by curing festered wounds, and broken pates. Others have likened it unto a rose, but with as little reason; for we know that of the rose is made that excellent conserve which is good against the cough of the lungs, one of the greatest enemies to life: I therefore, rather agreeing herein with that great light of the Spanish church Lazarillo de Tornos, shall compare our beloved brother unto a marigold, and his ending in a day unto the fading thereof. For as the flowers of a marigold swimming on the top of a mess of porridge (which is the food of the body) is a great ornament to our religion (which is the food of the soul): and even as that closes up at the setting of the sun, so did he end in a day; even in that day that the sun of our region was forced to withdraw himself from Whitehall. Thus much for the exposition.

I shall now proceed to the doctrine that creeps out of my text, as a fox creeps out of his hole: that it is the duty of every professor, seeing that he hath but a short while to stay in this world, to make the best use of his time; the particulars of which doctrine I shall labour to make good unto you by reason and example. First, then, that there is a duty that lies upon every professor, we find evident by this, that there is in all men not only a labouring and a panting, but also a tie upon them to look after self-preservation; for, if a child of God be in want, and woeful necessity, (as many times they are,) the law of nature doth oblige them to seek after maintenance, and not to destroy themselves and their family. Saith Gusman in his second book, c. 3. v. 15, 'Poverty is daily death;' so that he, who avoids not poverty, seeks a daily death, and is consequently a daily murderer of himself; at least he intends it. Now, an intention to sin, without repentance, is a sin as great as the act itself. This it was that urged the holy Gusman to undertake those many achievements which he performed; for saith he in another place, book the first, c. 8. v. 12, 'I thought it not my duty to live in idleness:' therefore, when necessity (the best school-mistress of the godly, that maketh magpies to speak, and spaniels to fetch and carry,) had made him consider his duty, he was not slack in the exercise thereof; so that, betaking himself to the religious calling of a thief, he stole the cook's silver goblet, the grocer's royals, and cozened the cardinal of his barrel of conserves. Moreover, my beloved, this duty of self-preservation caused our dear sister Agatha, (as you may read in the first book of pious Francion,) not only to bethink herself, but to bestir her stumps also. Finding herself therefore to be of a well-shaped body, and of comely features, and lovely in the eyes of men, she became an harlot, and was unto the brethren a great comfort in the frail distresses of human nature; whereby she was stored with wealth, and increased in worldly enjoyments. This duty it is that obligeth butchers to preach, and cobblers to pray; that teaches them to make profession of religion, and then causeth them to take on them the gainful function of the ministry; whereby they may be the better enabled (after the sweet consolations of boiled beef and bag-pudding) to sing psalms, and rejoice in their families. All these things our deceased brother knew full well, which made him persist in the performance of this duty until the end. He soon found the sweet gain of preaching, and made such a dextrous use of it, that he was beloved of his rulers, and died with the blessing of Job: for I may say of our dear brother, as the text saith of him, 'that the Lord blessed his latter end more than his beginning.' The Lord reward that blessed man who first invented this profitable and advantageous science! Thus much for the first part of our doctrine, that there is a duty lying upon every professor.

Now, my beloved, I shall come to tell you what that duty is. 'Tis true the words of my text are so plain, that you may in a manner pick it out of the words, with as much ease as you can pick out the marrow of a leg of mutton bone with a skewer, or the wrong end of a spoon; for, say they, 'Let us, while we live, make use of our time; seeing the life of man is ended in a day.' So that here you see what duty that is; that you ought

to make use of your time : but, perhaps, you do not know what it is to make use of your time, which is the next thing I shall inform you. Know-ye then, my brethren, there are swarms of such men as make profession of religion, who are not all of one trade or occupation ; but some follow one thing, some another, according to their several gifts. For some are stitchers of cloth, some are boddice-makers, some are translators, some are soldiers, and fight the battles of the Lord ; some are brokers ; some are hewers of wood, that is to say, carpenters ; some are drawers of water, that is, victuallers and innkeepers ; some are those that gape for state-employments ; and some (though I deny not that any of these may take the ministry upon them in time) are preachers of the word, as soon as ever they have done playing at trap. Now, that every one of these professions may profit in their several vocations, there are required these nine gifts :

The gift of convenient Boldness ;
 The gift of Nonsense ;
 The gift of Leasing ;
 The gift of Accusing and Informing ;
 The gift of Ignorance ;
 The gift of Cozening ;
 The gift of Thieving ;
 The gift of Coyetousness ;
 And the gift of Hypocrisy.

I have placed the gift of convenient Boldness in the van, and the gift of Hypocrisy in the rear ; knowing, that a professor cannot well go on upon any enterprise without the one, nor well come off without the other. Now, though a professor ought always to have an inward working of these gifts, yet the perfection of them is required in some sorts of professors more than in others. For example ; the gifts of impudence, lying, and cozening, do more properly belong unto those who have trades and occupations of selling and buying. The gifts of ignorance, lying, impudence, informing, cozening, and hypocrisy belong unto such as seek preferment, whether civil or military : but all of them together are required to make up a minister of the word. I shall not here stand to tell you in particular how every one of these callings ought, according to their several gifts, to make use of their time ; but in general, as a foot-boy skippeth over kennels, skip over those instructions which concern the professors that are of my own livery.

First, therefore, that a preaching professor may make use of his time, it is required, that he should be stored with Impudence, even as a woodmonger's wharf is stored with faggots and sea-coal. The uses of it are these two : first, to encourage you to the most desperate enterprises ; and secondly, to make you scorn the reproaches of those that reprove you. As for example, my beloved, if you see one of your enemies seated in a warm living, and that your heart pant and thirst after the same, you ought then to put on your night-cap of devotion, and your garment of hypocrisy, and go unto your superiors and say, "Yonder is a man who is not of the congregation of professors, who is planted in a rich living ; he is a scandalous and disaffected person, and I am more worthy than he, pray put me into his place." If men therefore rebuke you, and call you accuser and devil ; then ought you to make use of your gift of impudence, and laugh at them all. Thus did holy Nye throw out unrighteous Juxon out of his parsonage of Fulham : thus our brother Marshall became possessed of his fat living in the land of Essex. This emboldened our departed brother to hold forth in the pulpit of Whitehall, where so many learned (as the heathen call them) had been before him. What cared they for the reproaches of men, for their hearts were seared with the hot iron of impudence, finding themselves at ease and filled with joy ? This likewise emboldened the poor Spaniard, (as we find in the book of our dear Gusman, book i. c. 7.) first to beg money, and then, without bidding, sit down cheek-by-jowl with the ambassador ; for, saith he, in the last verse, 'He was carried away with bravadoes, and an impudent behaviour.'

The next virtue, we are to make use of, is the gift of Nonsense. For, perhaps, thou

mayest not be a scholar, nor one of the number of the learned, and it may concern thee to talk two hours together; thou oughtest therefore to be well furnished with nonsense, that thou mayest be enabled to go through with thy work: to which purpose often repetitions, and telling of tales, do very much conduce; as when our departed brother told the story of his being in heaven and hell, and the tale of puss in her majesty.

The next gift is that of Lying, which may be very profitable to thee, and whereof thou mayest make a very great advantage. For, if thou art bid to preach for the benefit of thy rulers, if then thou art furnished with soul-cozening doctrine; if then thou hast the right art of lying and wheedling the people, by telling them, "that the cause thou speakest of is the only true cause, and that God will certainly own them in their obedience to it," then there will arise unto thee a very great emolument. With these arts our deceased brother furnished the parliament with basons, rings, and bodkins. Thus he, by telling them that Ireland was a place that flowed with milk and honey, and where broad-cloth of twelve shillings a yard grew upon the trees, enticed the soldiers over against the public enemy. Thus we read in the fore-mentioned chapter of Gusman, how the same Spaniard, by relating the nobleness of his family, (though he were but a cobbler's son in Cordova,) and by boasting of several great actions (which he never did), got of the said ambassador both money and his dinner. We find also Mr. Sterry practising this gift, when to ingratiate himself with his new master (our late Protector), he assured him, that his father was sitting at the right hand of God, when most divines do affirm the contrary.

The next thing, requisite for a man that will make the best use of his time, is the gift of Accusing and Slandering. Knowest thou not, O man, that slanders are like the defilement of printer's ink; easily laid on, but hard to rub off? If then thou seekest to work any one into disfavour with his superiors, that thou mayest obtain thy desired end, make thy first shot at him with the pop-guns of slander; for the disgrace, thou throwest upon him, throws him out, and tosses thee into the haven of thy wishes. Thus our deceased brother never left accusing unsanctified Laud, till his head had satisfied his wrath; and the benevolences, which the professors bestowed on him out of his worldly profits, had appeased the hunger of his almost famished purse. Thus the brethren likewise accused the lord Craven, being of the race of Ishmael, and got his estate.

Thy next gift is Ignorance: for thou must know that there are few wise men in authority. Thinkest thou then, O foolish Galatian, that any man will advance such a one as is more cunning than himself? No, thou must at least pretend ignorance: and if, after such advancement, thou dost grow wiser than thy brethren, then, I say, make use of thy time, saith blessed Machiavel in his book of the Right Path to Preferment; 'Let every man counterfeit that humour which he finds most advantageous to his designs.' Therefore neither our deceased brother, nor any of his faithful brethren the tryers²,

² ['The triers of the ministry (of whom Peters was one) were men, appointed by Cromwell, to try the abilities of all entrants into the ministry; and likewise, the capacity of such others as were presented, or invited, to new places. Butler, according to his manner, has represented their business in a ludicrous light in the following lines:]

' Whose business is, by cunning slight,
' To cast a figure for men's light;
' To find in lines of beard and face,
' The physiognomy of grace;
' And by the sound and twang of nose,
' If all be sound within disclose;
' Free from a crack or flaw of sinning,
' As men try pipkins for the ringing.

Hudibras, part i. canto 3.

' However, jesting apart, it must be owned, the thing in itself was good enough: but instead of examining those who came before them in languages, divinity, and more especially morality, things of the highest importance, one should think; they used to ask them, "whether they had ever any experience of a work of grace on their hearts?"' Harris's Life of Hugh Peters. Lond. 1751. 8vo.]

would advance those whom the heathen called the grave, learned, and wise; but the meanest of the people, that were of the simplest and weakest capacities. There came a learned man, and one of the weak brethren, and contended for a place; saith our deceased brother to him that was learned, "What is faith?" Who answered him discreetly, according to the learning of the schools. Then he demanded the same question of the other; who replied, "That faith was a sweet lullaby in the lap of Jesus Christ." At which words our deceased brother, lifting up his hands to heaven, cried, "Blessed be the Lord, who hath revealed these things unto the simple! Friend, thou, according to thy deserts, shalt have the living."

The next thing important is the gift of Cozening. For you know, my beloved, the common people are a simple sort of creatures, who must be deluded into their own good. Now their good is the good and safety of their governors. Do we not deceive children whom we would give physick unto, by anointing the brim of the cup with honey? So do we sweeten the bitter purges, which are the people's taxes and impositions, with the delicate allurements of liberty and religion. So our late reverend lord Oliver, of blessed memory, for whom our dear brother, (the Lord reward his soul!) hath pimped full often, as you may read in our dear sister Brisco's book of Divine Truth; so I say he, by cozening every body that he dealt with, by the right management, or the seasonable taking and breaking of his oaths and protestations, became a monarch. Thus did the devout Lazarillo cozen the priest his master, of his bread. I shall give you his own words, l. i. c. 3. v. 11. I pray, my beloved, turn to the place and mark it, for it is a very precious text: saith he, 'As I was musing how to get victuals, and feeding upon the sight of the chest wherein my master's bread was locked, there came a tinker to the door with a bunch of keys, who seemed to me to be an angel in disguise; said I to him, "Have you a key that will open this chest?" He assayed, and opened it; by which means I made many a fair loaf invisible, that my master never knew of.'

Another thing, mainly conducing to him that would make use of his time, is the gift of Covetousness. Therefore, saith the text, of that blind hermit who was Lazarillo's master, that, 'for all his gains, there was never a man so wretched a niggard.' The reason thereof is, that there may come changes, and that the professors may be forced to fly; it behoves them therefore, while they may, to make use of their time; that is, to hoard up and save against the day of adversity. You have the examples of most professors for it, whose doors we find continually shut, and never opening to the least expence of a crust, though a poor man should beg his heart out. This makes us not to be content with our livings, but to set up lectures and private congregations, which bringeth in unspeakable profit. Not content with this, some of our brethren sitting in the tryers' chair, which is the seat of authority, have privately taken to themselves the rewards of well-doing, loth to spoil the charity of men, by receiving tankards of silver, rundlets of sack, and sometimes ready money: the Lord of his mercy make them thankful! Our deceased brother was a mighty admirer of canes with silver heads; and, making his admiration known, he profited exceedingly.

The last important gift is the gift of Hypocrisy. The reason hereof is, that he, who will compass a design, must go the best way he can to do it. Now he, that cannot get his ends by force, must seek to attain them by cunning: but it is found, that, in these days, there is no cunning like that of seeming godly, as Mr. Sedgewick hath well observed, in his book of 'Spiritual Experiences;' therefore is this gift very necessary. For which cause saith Tiberius (the best of Christian emperors), 'That he, who knows not to dissemble, knows not to rule;' and with him accords our brother Spurstow, in his book of 'The Privileges of the Saints.' All the world knows how conducing it was, both to our deceased brother, and his dear master, and what advantages they got thereby: I shall not, therefore, insist any more upon further examples.

Having thus made out, by reason and example, that it is the duty of every professor, while he lives in this world, to make use of his time, and the means and ways how to do it, I shall now proceed to the application. Is it so then, that every professor ought to

make use of his time? Then let this serve for an use of exhortation, to exhort every one of you to make the best use of your time; that is to say, get money, get estates, get friends at court, and labour to enjoy the promises: the fat of the land, my beloved, is your fee-simple, therefore let not Canaan be taken from you. If your rulers would have you worship them, and adore them, do so, beloved, for they are gods, and ye ought to do so. If they would have you preach false doctrine, and deceive the people, do so; it is their interest, and, if their's, your's also. Do not they feed you, and clothe you, and put you into fat livings? Be therefore obedient to them in all things. If they would have you procure; procure for them, as your deceased brother did before you, and went down unto his grave in peace. Aye but some will say, "These things are unlawful." But hear what saith Horace, of sacred memory: *In vetitum nefas ruimus*: 'We ought to run into that, from which we are forbidden.' To confirm this, I shall only give you two or three motives, and so conclude.

First, from the inconveniencies following the neglect of your duty; and, secondly, from the conveniencies that hang upon it, even as pears hang upon a tree at the latter end of the summer. The inconveniencies, arising from the neglect of our duty, are poverty and necessity; therefore Gusman, being in great want, and finding that brickbats were too hard to feed on, and that the rafters of a house were not to be roasted, thought there was no better way to thrive, than by becoming a churchman: for, saith he, then shall I have something to eat; knowing well, that a *Dominus vobiscum* never tasted of hunger. Again, if thou wert married, and thy wife should see her neighbours go finer than she, and should complain, and thou not be able to supply her, would it not be a great trouble and vexation of spirit to thee to hear the clamours of thy dear consort? The next motive is the folly and indiscretion, that men would justly accuse you of, that, when it is in your power to make use of your time, you would be such wood-cocks-combs as to refuse it. The conveniencies arising are; first, the respect of men: secondly, the respect of women: and, thirdly, the certain gain and profit, which have always belonged unto us. For, if you make use of your time, men will respect you, worship you, and place you uppermost at their meetings; while you sit a-straddle upon their consciences, (as Balaam rid upon his ass,) without the least wincing, or contradiction at all. The women will feast you, and cram not only your bellies, but your purses; nor shall there be a good bit eaten at the table of their husbands, of which you shall not partake, to the great envy of the wicked. When you come down sweating from your pulpits, they will put you into warm beds, and rub over your weary limbs with their soft and tender hands; and, my beloved, these are precious, I say, precious enjoyments. Therefore I shall conclude, in the words of my text, 'Let us, while we live, make use of our time;' taking for our pattern the life and manners of our deceased brother here before us; of whom, that I may make him a short encomium, I shall say thus much: that, from his youth, he followed the calling of the ministry; and, because then the wicked prevailed, and he was a sufferer, he went about, giving consolation to those that suffered for theft, and such-like criminal offences. Afterwards he travelled, and, as he found occasion, sowed his seed, sometimes in fruitful, sometimes in barren soils; and I may say this of him, that, while he lived, such was his zeal, he laid many a whore of Babylon on her back. When the faithful began to exalt their horns in this nation, he was a great fomentor of the quarrel, and gave occasion to the rest of his brethren to fish in troubled waters. To his prince he was a great assistance in all his designs, laying aside that notional impediment of a statesman, called conscience, that he might be the more serviceable to his country: his charity was not unknown, he giving two notable examples thereof, in his relieving our two dear sisters, the butcher's wife and Mrs. Littleton, in both their afflictions. He died not without associates to accompany him to his last rest; for, as I am informed, on that night, that he departed, departed also a dear brother and sister of our's, the hangman and Moll Cutpurse. He was at first unwilling to die, knowing what comforts he left behind him; but, seeing there was no remedy, he leaned his head on the pillow, and peaceably yielded up the ghost. When Tyribazus, a noble Persian, was arrested, at the first he drew his sword and defended himself; but, when

they charged him in the king's name, then he yielded himself willingly: so, when death arrested our dear brother, at first he started and struggled, as a man shrinks at his first putting his feet into the cold water; but, when he recollected his thoughts, and considered, that death was sent to him as a messenger to bring him to eternity, he embraced it; and he went to his long home as willingly, as a young bride goeth from her friends into the country with her new-married spouse. And thus, having tired your patience, before which time we never use to make an end, I shall conclude, still desiring you not to forget the example of our departed brother, and the words of my text: 'Let us, while we live, make use of our time; for the life of man is ended in a day.'

The last Speech of Mr. Oliver Plunket, Titular Primate of Ireland, who was executed at Tyburn, on Friday the First of this Instant July, 1681. Written by his own Hand.¹

London: Printed by N. Thompson, 1681.

[Folio; containing four pages.]

I HAVE, some few days past, abided my trial at the King's-Bench, and now very soon I must hold up my hand at the KING of Kings' bench, and appear before a Judge, who cannot be deceived by false witnesses, or corrupted allegations: for 'He knoweth the secrets of hearts:' neither can he deceive any, or give an unjust sentence, or be misled

¹ Vide Oldys's Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library, N^o. 436. [Dr. Oliver Plunket was arraigned at the King's Bench, May 3, 1681, for 'high treason, in endeavouring and compassing the king's death, and to levy war in Ireland, and to alter the true religion there, and to introduce a foreign power.' The particulars of his trial, as well as his speech at the place of execution, may be found in the third volume of the State Trials, p. 294, Hargrave's edit. Dr. Burnet gives us no very favourable idea of the equity of the proceedings against him. 'Some lewd Irish priests (says he) and others of that nation, hearing that England was at that time disposed to hearken to good swearers, thought themselves well qualified for the employment; so they came over to swear, that there was a great plot in Ireland, to bring over a French army, and to massacre all the English. The witnesses were brutal and profligate men, yet the earl of Shaftsbury cherished them much: they were examined by the parliament at Westminster; and what they said was believed. Upon that encouragement it was reckoned, that we should have witnesses come over in whole companies. Lord Essex told me, that this Plunket was a wise and sober man, who was always in a different interest from the two Talbots; the one of these being the titular primate of Dublin, and the other came to be raised afterwards to be duke of Tirconnell. These were meddling and factious men, whereas Plunket was for their living quietly, and in due submission to the government, without engaging into intrigues of state. Some of these priests had been censured by him for their lewdness: and they drew others to swear as they directed them. They had appeared the winter before, upon a bill offered to the grand jury: but as the foreman of the jury, who was a zealous Protestant, told me, they contradicted one another so evidently, that they would not find the bill. But now they laid their story better together; and swore against Plunket, that he had got a great bank of money to be prepared, and that he had an army listed, and was in a correspondence with France, to bring over a fleet from thence. He had nothing to say in his own defence, but to deny all: so he was condemned; and suffered very decently, expressing himself in many particulars as became a bishop. He died denying every thing that had been sworn against him.' History of his own Time, i. 502, 1724. fol.

The following account of the manner of his execution is given in a little work, intitled, 'Ireland's Case briefly stated; or a summary Account of the most remarkable Transactions in that Kingdom, since the Reformation.' 1720. 12mo. 'On the first of July 1681, Mr. Sheriff demanded his prisoner, who was carried to him on a sledge to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. In his passage to the place of execution, he made many ejaculatory prayers, full of the love of God, and charity to his neighbours. When he arrived at Tyburn, and

by respect of persons: he being all goodness, and a most just judge, will infallibly decree an eternal reward for all good works, and condign punishment for the smallest transgression against his commandments. Which being a most certain and undoubted truth, it would be a wicked act, and contrary to my perpetual welfare, that I should now, by declaring any thing contrary to truth, commit a detestable sin, for which, within a very short time, I must receive sentence of everlasting damnation; after which, there is no reprieve, or hope of pardon. I will therefore confess the truth, without any equivocation, and make use of the words according to their accustomed signification; assuring you, moreover, that I am of that certain persuasion, that no power, not only upon earth, but also in heaven, can dispense with me, or give me leave to make a false protestation: and I protest (upon the word of a dying man, and as I hope for salvation, at the hands of the Supreme Judge), that I will declare the naked truth, with all candour and sincerity; and, that my affairs may be the better known to all the world,

It is to be observed, that I have been accused in Ireland of treason and *præmunire*, and that there I was arraigned and brought to my trial: but the prosecutors (men of flagitious and infamous lives) perceiving that I had records and witnesses, who would evidently convince them, and clearly shew my innocency, and their wickedness; they voluntarily absented themselves, and came to this city to procure that I should be brought hither to my trial, (where the crimes objected were not committed,) where the jury did not know me, or the qualities of my accusers; and were not informed of several other circumstances conducing to a fair trial. Here, after six months close imprisonment, or thereabouts, I was brought to the bar, the third of May, and arraigned for a crime, for which I was before arraigned in Ireland. A strange resolution! a rare fact! of which, you will hardly find a precedent these five-hundred years past. But, whereas my witnesses and records were in Ireland, the lord-chief-justice gave me five weeks time, to get them brought hither: but by reason of the uncertainty of the seas, of wind and weather, and of the difficulty of getting copies of records, and bringing many witnesses from several counties in Ireland, and for many other impediments (of which affidavit was made), I could not at the end of the five weeks, get the records and witnesses brought hither: I therefore begged for twelve days more, that I might be in a readiness for my trial, which the lord-chief-justice denied; and so I was brought to my trial, and exposed, as it were, with my hands tied, to those merciless perjurers, who did aim at my life, by accusing me of these following points:

First, That I have sent letters by one Nial O'Neale, who was my page, to monsieur Baldeschi, the pope's secretary; to the bishop of Aix, and to Principe Colonna, that they might solicit foreign powers to invade Ireland; and also to have sent letters to cardinal Bullion to the same effect.

Secondly, To have employed captain Con O'Neale, to the French king, for succour.

Thirdly, To have levied and exacted monies from the clergy of Ireland, to bring in the French; and to maintain seventy-thousand men.

Fourthly, To have had in a readiness seventy-thousand men, and lists made of them; and

'was tied up, before the cart was drawn from under him, he made with wonderful cheerfulness this following discourse.' (as above.)

'His speech ended, and his cap drawn over his eyes, he again recommended his happy soul with raptures of devotion into the hands of Jesus, his Saviour, for whose sake he dyed, till the cart was drawn from under him. Thus then he hung betwixt heaven and earth, an open sacrifice to God for innocence and religion. As soon as he expired, the executioner ripped up his belly and breast, and pulling out his heart and bowels, threw them into the fire, ready kindled near the gallows for that purpose: the rest of his body, having been begged of the king, was carried by his friends to a house near St. Giles's church; the trunk whereof was placed in a coffin, his head and arms to the elbow, being reserved out of the coffin, and disposed of elsewhere; then the body was interred in the church-yard, and a copper plate placed on his breast, whereon was engraven these following words, set here down for the satisfaction of the curious: "In this tomb resteth the body of the right reverend Oliver Plunket, archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland, who in hatred of religion was accused of false witnesses, and for the same condemned, and executed at Tyburn; his heart and bowels being taken out, and cast into the fire: he suffered martyrdom with constancy, the 1st of July, 1681, in the reign of king Charles II."

to have given directions to one friar Duffy to make a list of two-hundred and fifty men, in the parish of Foghart, in the county of Lowth.

Fifthly, To have surrounded all the forts and harbours of Ireland, and to have fixed upon Carlingford, as a fit harbour, for the French's landing.

Sixthly, To have had several councils and meetings, where there was money allotted for introducing the French.

Finally, That [there was] a meeting, in the county of Monaghan, some ten or twelve years past, [where] there were three-hundred gentlemen of three several counties; to wit, Monaghan, Cavan, and Armagh; whom I did exhort to take arms, to recover their estates.

To the first, I answer, that Nial O'Neale was never my servant or page; and that I never sent letter or letters by him to monsieur Baldeschi, or the bishop of Aix, or to Principe Colonna. And I say, that the English translation of that pretended letter, produced by the friar Macmoyer, is a mere invention of his, and never penned by me, (nor its original) either in English, Latin, Italian, or any other language. I affirm moreover, that I never wrote letter or letters to cardinal Bullion, or any of the French king's ministers; neither did any, who was in that court, either speak to me, or write to me, directly or indirectly, of any plot or conspiracy against my king or country. Farther, I vow that I never sent agent or agents to Rome, or to any other court, about any civil or temporal affairs: and it is well known, (for it is a precept publicly printed,) that clergymen, living in countries, where the government is not of Roman-Catholicks, are commanded by Rome, not to write to Rome, concerning any civil or temporal affairs. And I do aver, that I never received letter or letters from the pope, or from any other of his ministers making the least mention of any such matters: so that the friars Macmoyer and Duffy swore most falsely, as to such letter or letters, agent or agents.

To the second, I say, that I never employed captain Con O'Neale to the French king, or to any of his ministers; and that I never wrote to him, or received letters from him; and that I never saw him but once, nor ever spoke to him, to the best of my remembrance, ten words; and as for his being in Charlemount, or Dungannon, I never saw him in them towns, or knew of his being in those places: so that, as to Con O'Neale, friar Macmoyer's depositions are most false.

To the third, I say, that I never levied any money, for a plot or conspiracy, for bringing in Spaniards or French; neither did I ever receive any upon that account, from priests or friars; as priest Mac-Clave and friar Duffy most untruly asserted. I assure you, that I never received from any clergyman in Ireland, but what was due to me, by ancient custom for my maintenance, and what my predecessors, these hundred years past, were used to receive; nay, I received less than many of them. And if all that the Catholic clergy of Ireland get in the year, were put in one purse, it would signify little or nothing to introduce the French, or to raise an army of seventy-thousand men, which I had inlisted and ready; as friar Mac-Moyer most falsely deposed. Neither is it less untrue, what friar Duffy attested, viz. that I directed him to make a list of two-hundred and fifty men, in the parish of Foghart, in the county of Lowth.

To the fifth, I answer, that I never surrounded all the forts and harbours of Ireland; and that I was never at Cork, Kinsale, Bantry, Youghal, Dungarvan, or Knockfergus; and, these thirty-six years past, I was not at Limerick, Dungannon, or Wexford. As for Carlingford, I was never in it but once, and stayed not in it, above half-an hour. Neither did I consider the fort or haven; neither had I it in my thoughts or imagination to fix upon it, or upon any other fort or haven, for landing of French or Spaniards; and whilst I was at Carlingford (by mere chance, passing that way) friar Duffy was not in my company, as he most falsely swore.

To the sixth, I say, that I was never at any meeting or council, where there was mention made of allotting or collecting of monies, for a plot or conspiracy; and it is well known that the Catholic clergy of Ireland, who have neither lands nor revenues, and hardly are able to keep decent clothes upon their backs, and life and soul together, can

raise no considerable sum ; nay cannot spare as much as would maintain half a regiment.

To the seventh, I answer, that I was never at any meeting of three-hundred gentlemen in the county of Monaghan, or of any gentlemen of the three counties of Monaghan, Armagh, and Cavan ; nor of one county, nor of one barony ; and that I never exhorted gentleman or gentlemen either there, or in any other part of Ireland, to take arms for the recovering their estates. And it is well known that there are not, even in all the province of Ulster, three-hundred Irish Roman-Catholicks, who had estates, or lost estates by the late rebellion : and as it is well known, all my thoughts and endeavours were for the quiet of my country, and especially of that province.

Now, to be brief ; As I hope for salvation, I never sent letter or letters, agent or agents, to pope, king, prince, or prelate, concerning any plot or conspiracy against my king or country : I never raised sum or sums of money, great or small, to maintain a soldier or soldiers, all the days of my life : I never knew nor heard, neither did it come to my thoughts or imagination, that the French were to land at Carlingford ; and I believe, there is none who saw Ireland even in a map, but will think it a mere romance : I never knew of any plotters or conspirators in Ireland but such as were notorious and proclaimed, (commonly called Tories,) whom I did endeavour to suppress ; and as I hope for salvation, I always have been, and am, entirely innocent of the treasons laid to my charge, and of any other whatsoever. And though I be not guilty of the crimes, of which I am accused, yet I believe none came ever to this place, who is in such a condition as I am ; for if I should even acknowledge (which in conscience I cannot do, because I should belie myself,) the chief crimes laid to my charge, no wise man, that knows Ireland, would believe me. If I should confess that I was able to raise seventy-thousand men, in the districts of which I had care ; to wit, in Ulster ; nay, even in all Ireland ; and to have levied and exacted monies from the Roman clergy for their maintenance, and to have prepared Carlingford, for the French's landing, all would but laugh at me : it being well known, that all the revenues of Ireland, both spiritual and temporal, possessed by his Majesty's subjects, are scarce able to raise and maintain an army of seventy-thousand men. If I will deny all those crimes, (as I did, and do,) yet it may be, that some, who are not acquainted with the affairs of Ireland, will not believe, that my denial is grounded upon truth, though I assert it, with my last breath. I dare venture farther, and affirm, that if these points of seventy-thousand men, &c. had been sworn before any protestant jury in Ireland, and had been even acknowledged by me, at the bar, they would not believe me, no more than if it had been deposed, and confessed by me, that I had flown in the air from Dublin to Holy-head.

You see, therefore, what a condition I am in, and you have heard what protestations I have made of innocency, and I hope you will believe the words of a dying man ; and, that you may be the more induced to give me credit, I assure you, that a great peer sent me notice, ' That he would save my life, if I would accuse others.' But I answered, ' That I never knew of any conspirators in Ireland ; but such, as I said before, as were publicly known outlaws : and that, to save my life, I would not falsely accuse any, nor prejudice my own soul.' *Quid prodest homini*, &c. To take away any man's life or goods wrongfully, ill becometh any Christian, especially a man of my calling ; being a clergyman of the Catholic church, and also an unworthy prelate, which I do openly confess. Neither will I deny to have exercised, in Ireland, the functions of a Catholic prelate, as long as there was any connivance or toleration ; and by preaching, teaching, and statutes, to have endeavoured to bring the clergy, of which I had a care, to a due comportment, according to their calling ; and, though thereby I did but my duty, yet some, who would not amend, had a prejudice for me, and especially my accusers, to whom I did endeavour to do good ; I mean the clergymen : as for the four laymen, who appeared against me, viz. Florence Mac-Moyer, the two Neals, and Hanlon, I was never acquainted with them ; but you see how I am requited, and how by false oaths they brought me to this untimely death : which wicked act, being a defect of persons, ought not to reflect upon the order of St. Francis, or upon the Roman-Catholic clergy. It being well known, that

there was a Judas among the twelve Apostles, and a wicked man called Nicholas amongst the seven deacons: and even, as one of the said deacons (to wit, holy Stephen) did pray for those who stoned him to death; so do I, for those who, with perjuries, spill my innocent blood; saying, as St. Stephen did, 'O Lord! lay not this sin to them.' I do heartily forgive them, and also the judges, who, by denying me sufficient time to bring my records and witnesses from Ireland, did expose my life to evident danger. I do also forgive all those, who had a hand, in bringing me from Ireland, to be tried here; where it was morally impossible for me to have a fair trial. I do finally forgive all who did concur, directly or indirectly, to take away my life; and I ask forgiveness of all those whom I ever offended by thought, word, or deed.

I beseech the All-powerful, that his Divine Majesty grant our king, queen, and the duke of York, and all the royal family, health, long life, and all prosperity in this world; and in the next, everlasting felicity.

Now, that I have shewed sufficiently (as I think) how innocent I am of any plot or conspiracy: I would I were able, with the like truth, to clear myself of high crimes committed against the Divine Majesty's commandments, often transgressed by me, for which, I am sorry with all my heart; and if I should or could live a thousand years, I have a firm resolution, and a strong purpose, by your grace, O my God! never to offend you; and I beseech your Divine Majesty, by the merits of Christ, and by the intercession of his blessed mother, and all the holy angels and saints, to forgive me my sins, and to grant my soul eternal rest. *Miserere mei Deus, &c. Parce animæ, &c. In manus tuas, &c.*

POSTSCRIPT.

TO the final satisfaction of all persons, that have the charity to believe the words of a dying man; I again declare before God, as I hope for salvation, what is contained in this paper, is the plain and naked truth, without any equivocation, mental reservation, or secret evasion whatsoever; taking the words in their usual sense and meaning, as Protestants do, when they discourse with all candour and sincerity. To all which, I have here subscribed my hand,

OLIVER PLUNKET.

Democritus turned Statesman: Or, Twenty Queries between Jest and Earnest, proposed to all true-hearted Englishmen.

*Semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne reponam
Vexatus toties?*

Si natura negat, facit indignatio-----

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.

London: Printed in the Year 1659.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

I. **W**HETHER it be not convenient that the doctrine of Copernicus, who held that the world turns round, should be established by act of parliament, which our late changes, alterations, and revolutions, in part have verified; and that Tycho Brache, with the gang of the contrary opinion, be adjudged heterodoxal; and that from hence-

forth it be enacted, that what persons soever do profess, publish, or hold-forth any other tenet contrary thereunto, be adjudged *anathema maranatha*, and that public thanks be given to Vincent Wing, for the great pains he took in the composure of that excellent piece called *Harmonicon Cæleste*?

II. Whereas it is humbly conceived fit by Machiavel and his pupils, that all the gangrened members of the body-politick be cut off, lest putrefaction of the whole should ensue: it is therefore worthy the consideration, whether it be not expedient to employ an ambassador to the man in the moon, to procure habitations for our new courtiers, (greater antipodes to the present government, than the old constant Cavaliers?) And, for the better effecting thereof, it is deemed necessary, that the great clerk, Doctor Wilkins¹, warden of Wadham-college in Oxon, (in regard he hath the greatest knowledge in that new plantation,) be desired, with all speed, to provide his winged chariot for their convenient carriage; and that he undertake the employment of a coachman to conduct them thither.

III. But if that design fail; whether it be not expedient to ship them all for 'Oceana', and that Mr. Harrington², our famous modern Columbus, discoverer of that floating *terra incognita*, be desired to be the pilot to conduct them thither; who for his pains deserves to be made knight of the Sun, and that, in a grateful remembrance of his good service, it should always be called after his name, viz. 'Harringtonia?'

IV. Whether it be not convenient, or rather necessary, to call all persons to an account, that have any way contributed their assistance for the establishing of the late deceased tyrant, as chief magistrate of this Commonwealth? And whether any person, or persons, who have any way abetted him, and endeavoured to confirm him in his tyranny, or acted under him in any places of trust, or power, or sat in any parliament, or convention, summoned by his writ, be fit to be intrusted with any office in the Commonwealth, as it is now settled?

V. Whether it be not a great contempt of the law enacted by this Parliament, that made it treason for any one person to aim at the sole government of this Commonwealth, to suffer such person to go unpunished, in despite of the said law? And whether it be not prudence to have such person brought to condign punishment, that hath transgressed that law, to terrify others for the future, from making the like attempt?

VI. Whether those apostate officers of the Army, that were active, and grand instruments in suspending and disturbing this session of parliament, as well as secluding, imprisoning, and unjustly detracting several members of the same parliament before, that were eminent assertors of the people's liberties, against tyranny and oppression, conscientious propagators of the Gospel, and establishers of the fundamental, municipal law of the land, and valiant champions of the true Old Cause: and, by their declaration of August 22, *anno Dom.* 1653; as also by a pasquil called, 'The true state of the Commonwealth,' *an.* 1654, declared this session of parliament to be actually and finally dissolved from being any more a parliament, by an extraordinary providence, but also branded the members thereof ignominiously for a corrupt party, carrying on their own ends, to perpetuate themselves as supreme authority, never answering the ends which God and his people expected from them, exercising arbitrary power, and swallowing up the ancient liberties, and properties of the people, and to perpetuate their miseries, vexations, and oppressions, through the multitude of unnecessary laws, and ordinances, concerning their own particular interest, as they there at large remonstrated, be fit persons to have any employment, either military or civil, within this Commonwealth?

VII. Whether a weather-cock, a king-fisher, a pliant willow, a piece of wax capable of all impressions, a time-server, a Persian still sacrificing to the rising sun, a lord-president³, under the late tyrant, of his high-court of injustice; a man, that hath made jus-

¹ [Vide Dr. Wilkins's Account of the World in the Moon, in Vol. VII.]

² [James Harrington, an eminent political writer, well known as the author of 'Oceana'; a kind of political romance, in imitation of Plato's 'Atlantic Story.']

³ [Bradshaw.]

tice quick-sighted, and redeemed it from blindness, be a fit keeper of the Commonwealth's conscience?

VIII. Whether a hot-brain'd parrot, that multiplies words without matter; a new courtier, an apostate from his first principles and the good Old Cause, as appears by a speech, he made in the last parliament in the behalf of R. C.⁴ be fit to be restored to his place of attorney-general for South-Wales?

IX. Whether *Pride* and arrogancy, one who is of yesterday, and knows nothing; a clerk, or barrister of nine years standing; in his heart a Quaker, yesterday a Protectorian, this day a Republican, to-morrow what you please; a favourer of Levellism, and one that is not constant in any thing but inconstancy, (save only in the opinion, that there are no witches, nor can deserve death, though an act of parliament be made to that end,) be fit to be a judge in Wales?

X. Whether a debaucher of both the Protectors, an oppressor of his country, a persecutor of the godly; one, that sacrilegiously robbed God's house, to build himself sumptuous palaces, and hath purchased five-thousand pounds *per annum*; who never fought, nor drew a sword in anger; be fit to sit in that venerable assembly of the Commonwealth's representatives? Or whether it be not fitter for him to be rejected, and his estate sold to pay just public debts?

XI. Whether it be lawful for an ignorant scribbler to vent his pettish humour, malice, and reproaches against those persons, who, in the seat of judicature, have behaved themselves upright, just, and honest; and done the Commonwealth singular good service, during both the late Protectors' governments?

XII. Whether Levellers, Dippers, Independants, Presbyterians, Jesuits, Donatists, Manichees, Pelagians, Enthusiasts, Schismatics, Hereticks, Hypocrites, Devils incarnate; yea, whatever the present power will have them to be, of any religion, of all religions, of none at all; the true orthodox and learned divines' ordeals; knaves, fools, yea favourers of their brethren learned in the same faculties, and Telenus's house of correction in a mercurial new-found land, be fit persons to be intrusted with the power over the consciences of honest and religious men? And whether some of them, that are so well acquainted with the mysterious art of bribery and simony; and such Simon Magus, as, by the knack of registry, hath increased his estate, from a parsonage of one-hundred pounds *per annum*, to twelve-hundred pounds *per annum* land of inheritance; ought not, in justice and prudence, to be called to an account; and their estates, acquired by the ruins of the church and several poor ministers, to be sold, towards the payment of arrears due to the poor bankrupted common soldiers, that suffer hunger and want, while such enjoy the streams of Tagus in their coffers?

XIII. Whether it be not a matter of dangerous consequence to permit a crop-eared pettifogger, a reviler of the Saints, a constant opposer of powers, an unwearied scribbler, a demoniack possessed with a legion of hellish fiends, the spirit of contradiction to publish a scandalous libel against the good Old Cause and the defenders thereof, in such a juncture of time, wherein most spirits are factious, and apt to take fire, like tinder, at the least spark of encouragement dropping from a fiery pen?

XIV. Whether a Plagiarius, a Demetrius, a jailer of our liberties, and one who, in the last assembly, was in a probability to suffer for his unparalleled crimes, be fit to be trusted with the command of the most important place of the nation? And whether it be not necessary to expose him to the sword of justice, who hath so much abused the sword of the Commonwealth?

XV. Whether it will not be wisdom to look back to the occasion of the late bloody and unhappy war, and gradually to the prosecutions thereof, and the end that was proposed at the beginning; and when the continuance of the medium conducing to that end was everted; and then to return to the place where passion captivated reason, and there

⁴ [Richard Cromwell.]

to build a happy government upon the basis of the true Old Cause, according to the first principles that were owned by all good people?

XVI. Whether it be not the purest and safest kind of free state, to have a free parliament elected annually, or twice a year, as it was before the Conquest, and after many years, without restraint on the wills of the free people of the nation; which parliament may constitute and elect a senate, that shall act according, and subject to the law of the land, in the interval of parliament, and so to be elected from year to year by each parliament; which parliament (being the free people of England's representatives) ought not to be restrained, or curbed, by any sort of court-convention, or council enjoying co-ordinate power; for that will be to abolish the grand inconvenience of one negative voice so much brayed against, and to set up a monstrous hydra of negatives, (for great care ought to be taken to preserve unity in a republick, which lieth most obnoxious to popular commotions, and factions,) [the epidemical disease of this schismatical age.] And further, that such men may be elected for representatives in parliament-councils, and senates, as be wise, honest, prudent, and religious; and not factious sectaries, or such as wear both law, equity, reason, and religion in their scabbards, and father all their prodigious wilful and exorbitant actions on Providence?

XVII. Whether the Army's declaration, and seclusion of the Parliament in 1653, were an absolute dissolution of that session; and whether the people making new elections by virtue of O. P.⁵ his writ, and also most of the members of the said Parliament owning the said elections to be legal by their endeavours to be elected, and sitting by virtue of such election, was a confirmation thereof; and moreover, whether they can be remitted to their ancient right, by getting possession without the concurrence of an ancient remediable right, which is absolutely necessary to work a remitter?

XVIII. Whether it consists with policy and national prudence to keep such a lawless army on foot, who are carried away with a whirlwind or tempest of ambition, and walk antipodes to all settled and peaceable government, and are ready instruments for any insolent apostate, or tyrannical dictator, that will equal them in pretences of religion (yet denying the power thereof), and, like Pompey, will make it his design, by secret engines, to cast the state into an absolute anarchy and confusion, that the state might cast itself into his arms, in necessity, for a protection, and so the sovereign power be cast on him; who, probably, hath neither reason, nor law on his side, save only to make good the saying of Solon, who, when Cræsus shewed him his treasury of gold, said to him: "That, if another came, that had better iron, he would be quickly master of his gold?"

XIX. Whether it be not safer, and more agreeable to the present government of this Commonwealth, and all other free states, where due course of law is admitted for recovery of rights, or deciding of *meum & tuum*, and liberty of subjects favoured, (which we have, with great expence of blood, so long fought for,) to raise the militia in each county, under the command of prudent and religious men, that have interest in their country, and are concerned in the welfare of the Commonwealth; and not mere hirelings, that will be apt to take any impression, to the disturbance of the public peace, for their own private ends, and will make their swords patronize intolerable rapine?

XX. Since the Apostles call religion, our reasonable service to God; insomuch, as the very ceremonies and figures of the old Law were full of reason and signification, but more especially the Christian faith under the Gospel, as in all things, so in this, deserveth to be highly magnified; holding forth the golden mediocrity in this point, between the law of the heathen and the law of Mahomet, which have embraced the two extremes; (for the first had no constant belief or confession, but left altogether to the liberty of professors; and the last, on the other side, interdicteth all arguments about the matter, and enjoineth upity in the manner of the profession of religion, the one having the very face of error, the other of imposture; whereas the faith doth both admit, and reject disputations and professions with difference;) whether then it be not requisite to settle such a religion in this nation, as may consist with the Apostle's words; and such a mediocrity, that we be neither tied on the one hand to a Mahometan unity of ac-

⁵ [Oliver, Protector.]

cidental discipline and manner of worship, nor, on the other hand, be left to a heathenish liberty both in the articles and principles of religion, and also in the substantial matter of belief, and decent manner of discipline and confession; since such boundless liberty is the mother of all sects, heresies, and atheism, (which this age abounds with, though veiled under the specious garment of tender conscience, who are enemies to all settled government, whether monarchy or oligarchy,) except their heretical opinions be favoured, and themselves mounted to the zenith of preferment, and stern of government; which is hoped will never be, though highly at present endeavoured?

The Petition of the Gentlemen and Students of the University of Cambridge. Offered to both Houses, upon Wednesday, being the fifth Day of January, 1642; upon the Arrival of of that News to them, of the Bishops late Imprisonment. With their Appeal to his most Excellent Majesty.

London: Printed for John Greensmith, 1642.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

Humbly and plainly sheweth,

THAT if the very front of our requests be assaulted with a refusal, before we further declare, we, in all humility and observancy, desire not to be admitted; so may we happily ease ourselves of a danger to be bold where we ought, although not where we may.

Yet, if we may be heard to those (we mean yourselves) whose ears cannot and (we dare say) must not, to any whatsoever just requests; we again, as in our former prostration, thus desire you, and, if the expression be more humble, beg of you:

First, not to believe this in itself fictitious, humoursome, affronting, and, if not presumptuous, *uno cætera diximus*, those epithets which we know, (but, if not know, wish, from yourselves,) are not undeservedly, nor unjustly, nor illegally sent forth against those, who, according to your loss, your too much abused patience, (Heaven grant a speedier execution to your commands!) daily, hourly abuse,

Et regem & regnum.

Secondly, although we are not *vox ipsa Academiae*, nor all regent-masters in the cause, yet we hope the liberal sciences may be as prevalent as the mechanical; intruding, not with swords, but knees, which had not yet been bended, but in this alone our impetration.

Now, our most honoured Senates, may we now, with what a too tedious preamble lulled you, now again awake you.

We, the Gentlemen and Students of the University of Cambridge, do utterly, from our hearts, shoot back those arrows of aspersion newly cast upon us to be seducers.

To be seducers is an easy matter, you'll say, if sophistry, with her fallacies, may intitle us.

But we have sucked better milk from the teats of our mother; our mother, who never yet was more dejected, yet, from the dust, may ride upon the clouds, and in her due time shine, nay outshine the female conquest in the Revelation. The pillars of the Mo-

ther is the Church ; you know it all, who Christians are, are those *incarcerati*, those who, like Joseph in the pit, or St. Peter with the jailor : those who, with St. Paul, may pray to be let down by a basket, (pardon our interruption) : may the whole and holy assembly be pleased too ; our meaning was good, although the fault of that omission was pardoned before the reiteration.

Again, your supplicants, who, if without guns or feathers, or those, whose reasons are far lighter than their feathers. Give us leave, yet without musquet-shot, we beseech you, to jog you by the elbow ; a term-phrase or adagy, meanly given, if you are given to cavil. Meanly, that is indifferently : but what need we fear a verbal answer, where too many real are so near at hand ?

Pro aris & focis was the Romans' impress : *pro focis* for a king, *pro aris* for a temple ; so on their very hearths they did adore a majesty ; so knew a king which way to go to St. Paul's Cathedral, which way to the Exchange.

Again, we are ready with our lives and bloods to present all collegiate chapels, if that they lay in our power, as well *in interioribus quàm exterioribus* ; not acknowledging more or less divine service, than (with what, as in former times our more primitive Christians did,) with erected bodies, and drawn weapons, stand to the Doxology, Creed, and Responsals to the Church.

All this we protest, and have hitherto really professed, in these too much to be lamented times, although our warrant, so far as we can read, was allowed of by Edward the Sixth, *Separata Maria continuatum usque ad annum & tempus vicesimum-septimum Caroli regis*. To whose Majesty, whose person, whose religion we appeal to :—To his Majesty, as God's vicegerent ; to his person, as God's representative image ; to his religion, as God himself alone.

By this only consequence,

*Ubi religio,
Ibi templum ;
Ubi templum,
Ibi Deus.*

*Templum deme,
Demus Deum ;
Deme templum,
Demas Deum.*

A Relation of the late wicked Contrivance of Stephen Blackhead and Robert Young, against the Lives of several Persons, by Forging an Association under their Hands. Written by the Bishop of Rochester¹. In Two Parts. The First Part being a Relation of what passed at the Three Examinations of the said Bishop by a Committee of Lords of the Privy-Council. The Second, being an Account of the Two above-mentioned Authors of the Forgery.

In the Savoy: Printed by Edward Jones, 1692.

[Quarto; containing seventy-six pages.]

I THINK it becomes me, as a duty which I owe to my country, and to the character I have the undeserved honour to bear in the church, to give the world some account, how my innocency was cleared from the late wicked contrivance against me; in hopes that this example of a false plot, so manifestly detected, may be, in some sort, beneficial to the whole nation on the like occasions for the future. However, that the enemies of the church may have no reason to cast any blemish upon it, from the least suspicion of my guilt; and that this faithful memorial may remain as a poor monument of my own gratitude to Almighty GOD, to whose immediate protection I cannot but attribute this extraordinary preservation. Perhaps, my reader, at first view, will look on this relation, as too much loaded with small particulars; such as he may judge scarce worth my remembering, or his knowing. But he will pardon me, if I presume that nothing in this whole affair ought to appear little, or inconsiderable, to me at least, who was so nearly concerned in the event of it. I have therefore made no scruple to discharge my weak memory of all it could retain of this matter; nor have I willingly omitted any thing, though never so minute, which, I thought, might serve to fix this wonderful mercy of God the more on my own mind; or did any way conduce to the saving of divers other innocent persons' lives, as well as mine. I cannot indeed promise, that I shall accurately repeat every word or expression that fell from all the parties here mentioned; or that I shall put all down in the very same order, as it was spoken; having not had the opportunity to take notes of every thing as it passed. But this I will say; If I shall not be able to relate all the truth, yet I will omit nothing that is material; I will, as carefully as if I were upon my oath, give in all the truth I can remember, and nothing but the truth. What I write I intend shall consist of two parts:

The first, to be a narrative of the plain matter of fact, from my first being taken into custody, May the 7th, to the time of my last dismissal, June the 13th.

The second, to contain some account of the two perjured wretches that were pleased (for what reasons they know best) to bring me into this danger.

For the truth of the substance of what I shall recollect on the first head, I am bold to appeal to the memories of those honourable lords of the council, by whom I was thrice examined. And, touching the second, I have by me so many original papers, or copies

¹ [Dr. Sprat; for particulars of whom, see a tract intitled 'Some Account of the Life and Writings of the Right Reverend Father in God Thomas Spratt, D. D. late Lord Bishop of Rochester, and Dean of Westminster, with a true Copy of his Last Will and Testament. Lond. 1750.' 8vo. Vide also the Lives of the Poets.]

of unquestionable authority (which I am ready to shew any worthy persons, who shall desire the satisfaction) as are abundantly sufficient to justify all, that I shall think fit for me to say against Blackhead and Young; especially against Young.

It was on Saturday the seventh of May of this present year 1692, in the evening, as I was walking in the orchard at Bromley, (meditating on something I designed to preach the next day,) that I saw a coach and four horses stop at the outer gate, out of which two persons alighted. Immediately I went towards them: believing they were some of my friends, coming to give me a visit. By that time I was got to the gate, they were entered into the hall: but, seeing me hastening to them, they turned, and met me about the middle of the court. The chief of them (perceiving me to look wistly on them, as being altogether strangers to me) said, "My lord, perhaps, you do not know me. My name is Dyve, I am clerk of the council, and here is one of the king's messengers. I am sorry I am sent on this errand. But I am come to arrest you upon suspicion of high-treason." "Sir, (said I,) I suppose you have a warrant for so doing; I pray let me see it." He shewed it me. I read it: and the first name I lighted on being the earl of Nottingham's; I said, "Sir, I believe this is my lord Nottingham's own hand, and I submit. What are your orders how to dispose of me?" "My lord, (said he) I must first search your person, and demand the keys you have about you." My keys I presently gave him. He searched my pockets, and found no papers, but some poor notes of a sermon, and a letter from Mr. B. Fairfax about ordinary business. "Now, (says he,) My lord, I must require to see the rooms, to which these keys belong, and all the places in the house, where you have any papers or books." I straight conducted him up stairs into my study. "This, sir, (said I,) is the only chamber, where I keep all the books and papers, I have in the house." They began to search, and with great readiness turned over every thing in the room, closets, and presses, shaking every book by the cover, and opening every part of a chest of drawers, where were many papers, particularly, some bundles of sermons; which, I told them "were my proper tools: and that all, that knew me, could vouch for me, it was not my custom, to have any treason in them." They read several of the texts, and left them where they found them. But, in one corner of a press, which was half open, they met with a great number of letters filed up. I assured them, they were only matters of usual friendly correspondence, and most of them were of last year's date. Mr. Dyve, looking on some of them, found them to be so; and said, "If he had time to view them all, he might, perhaps, see reason to leave them behind: but, being expressly commanded to bring all letters, he must carry them with him." I left him to do as he pleased: so they sealed them up. Then they went into my bed-chamber, and the closets adjoining, doing as they had done in my study; feeling about the bed and hangings, and knocking the wainscot in several places, to see if there were any private hole or secret conveyance. After that, they came down stairs, and searched the parlour and drawing-room on that side of the house, with the like exactness. In all these rooms, I observed they very carefully pried into every part of the chimneys; the messenger putting his hand into every flower-pot: which I then somewhat smiled at; but since I found he had but too much reason so to do. When they had done searching in all those rooms, and in the hall, as they were going out; and had taken with them what papers they thought fit; they carried me away in the coach, that brought them. By the way, we met my servant, Mr. Moore, coming from London. I called out to him, "Have you any letters for me?" He gave me three or four, which I delivered to Mr. Dyve to open, who found nothing in them, but matters of private concernment, or ordinary news. And so, between ten and eleven at night, we arrived at Whitehall, and I was brought to my lord Nottingham, whom I found alone in his office.

"My lord, (said I,) I am come upon your warrant; but certainly there must be some great mistake, or black villainy in this business. For I declare, as in the presence of God, I am absolutely free from any just accusation relating to the government." His lordship told me, "He himself was much surprized, when he heard my name mentioned." I entreated him, I might be examined that night, if any witnesses could be produced against

me. He said, "That could not possibly be, because the lords, who had the management of such affairs, were separated, and gone home: but, that I was to appear before them, the next day; and in the mean time, all the civility should be shewn me, that could be expected by a man, in my condition." "My lord, (said I,) I hope, it being so very late, you will suffer me to lie at my own house at Westminster." He replied, "You shall do so; but you must have a guard of soldiers, and a messenger with you." "A guard of soldiers, (said I,) my lord! methinks it is not so necessary to secure one of my profession: I should rather offer, that I may have two or more messengers to keep me; though that may put me to greater charges." "My lord, (said he,) I, for my own part, would be glad, if I might take your parole. But I must do what I may answer to others; and therefore I pray be content." At this I acquiesced; only adding, "My lord, here are divers papers, brought up with me, which, upon my credit, are but of common importance; yet, because they are most of them private talk among friends, there may be some expressions, which no man, if it were his own cause, would be willing to have divulged; and therefore I desire your lordship will take care, they may not be shewn to the prejudice of any." He answered, "You have to do with men of honour: and you shall have no occasion to complain upon that account." And so I was conveyed home to Westminster by Mr. Dyve, and Mr. Knight the messenger, in the coach with me, and a guard attending on each side. After we came to the Deanery, Mr. Dyve having diligently surveyed my lodgings, and the avenues to them, left me about midnight, with a strict charge to the messenger and soldiers, not to give me any unnecessary disturbance; but to watch carefully at my bed-chamber door, till further orders; which they did.

The next day, being Sunday, May the eighth, Mr. Dyve came again to me, about noon, to acquaint me, that I was to attend the committee of the council that evening, by six of the clock. "And, (says he,) my lord, I suppose you have here also, at Westminster, a room, where you keep the rest of your books and papers." I told him, I had. "Then, (said he,) I have a commission to search there likewise; particularly in your cabinet." I shewed him my library, and gave him the keys. He opened all the presses of books, and viewed particularly every shelf, and examined every drawer in the cabinet: but finding nothing there of a late date, or that might afford any the least shadow of a traitorous correspondence, he went away without removing any one paper thence. At the time appointed, I was brought by the messenger and guard to Whitehall, where a select number of the lords of the council were assembled, at my lord Nottingham's lodgings. There were present, as I remember, the earl of Devonshire, lord-steward; the earl of Dorset, lord-chamberlain; the earl of Nottingham, secretary of state; the earl of Rochester; the earl of Portland; the lord Sidney, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and sir Edward Seymour. When I was entered the room, and come to the end of the table, my lord Nottingham began.

But now, for the greater perspicuity of the whole proceedings, and to avoid the too frequent repetition of, 'said I,' or 'said such an one,' or 'said they;' I will henceforth give all the questions and answers, and the rest of the discourses, in the name of every person, as they spoke, and by way of dialogue.

Earl of Not. My lord, you cannot but think it must be some extraordinary occasion, which has forced us to send for you hither, in this manner.

Bishop of Roch. My lord, I submit to the necessities of state, in such a time of jealousy and danger, as this is.

Earl of Not. My lord, I am to ask you some questions, to which we desire your plain and true answers.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, I assure you, mine shall be such: as, I hope, I have been always taken for a man of simplicity and sincerity.

Earl of Not. Have you composed a declaration, for the present intended descent of the late king James into England?

Bishop of Roch. I call God to witness, I have not.

Earl of Not. Did you ever draw up any heads, or materials for such a declaration?

Bishop of Roch. Upon the same solemn asseveration, I never did.

Earl of Not. Were you ever solicited, or applied to, by any person, for the undertaking such a work?

Bishop of Roch. I never was.

Earl of Not. Do you hold any correspondencies abroad in France?

Bishop of Roch. I do not hold any.

Earl of Not. Have you ever signed any association for restoring the late king James?

Bishop of Roch. I never signed any.

Earl of Not. Do you know of any such association? or any persons that have subscribed one?

Bishop of Roch. Upon the word of a Christian, and a bishop, I know of no such thing; nor of any person who has subscribed any paper of that nature.

Sir Edw. Seymour. My lord-bishop of Rochester, we have examined the papers that were seized in your closet at Bromley. We find nothing in them, but matters of ordinary and innocent conversation among friends: only we have one scruple, that there are few or no letters among them written since Lady-day last.

Bishop of Roch. Sir, I suppose there may be some of a date since that time in the bundles. If I had preserved more, they would have been of the same nature with the rest that you have; that is, concerning common intelligence, and the talk of the town; not any secrets of state, or against the government. My lords, I hold no correspondencies of that kind. When I am in the country, I desire some friend or other here to let me know how the world goes, that I may inform myself, and the neighbouring gentlemen of the truth of things, and prevent the spreading of false news: and afterwards, I file up such letters according to their dates, as you may perceive I did these, that at any time I may have a present recourse to them, to refresh my memory in any past transaction.

My lord, those are all I thought worth keeping of this kind these two last years. And, I hope the clerk of the council has done me the justice to acquaint your lordships, how I was apprehended out of my house; and how narrowly I myself, and my study, and lodging-chamber, and other rooms, were searched: so that it was impossible for me to have suppressed or smothered any one writing from you. And really, I believe there was not a note, or least scrip of paper of any consequence in my possession, but they had a view of it.

Earl of Devonshire. But, my lord, it is probable a man of your interest, and acquaintance, must have received more letters since, than are here to be found. We see here are many concerning affairs that passed just before that time.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, a little before the conclusion of the last session of parliament, I obtained leave of the house of lords to retire into the country for the recovery of my health. During my abode there, as long as the parliament continued, I was somewhat curious to learn what passed in both houses; and therefore, as your lordship has observed, letters came thicker to me about that time. But, when the parliament was up, very little happening that was remarkable in that interval, I was not so mindful to preserve the letters that came to me, whilst all things, both abroad and at home, were rather in preparation than action.

Besides that, since the time your lordships speak of, I was twice or thrice in town for several days together; once especially, upon a public occasion, the annual election of Westminster-school; which detained me here about a week. And these are the true reasons why you find so few letters to me since the date of time your lordships have mentioned.

Earl of Not. Will it please your lordships to ask the bishop of Rochester any more questions?

They being all silent, I said, "My lords, I cannot imagine how it comes to pass that I should be thus suspected to be guilty of any contrivance against the government: I think I may appeal to all that know me, I am sure I may to all my neighbours in the country where I live, that there has no man submitted to it more peaceably and quietly than I have done ever since the revolution; and I must own, I did it both upon a principle of conscience and gratitude. Of conscience, because I cannot see how the church of England,

and the whole Protestant religion, can be preserved but upon this constitution; since an invasion from France cannot but be destructive to both: and of gratitude, because, as you all know, I happened to be, in the late reign, engaged in an affair,² which since I have been taught, was illegal. And though, I may say, I stopped betimes, and did no great hurt, but hindered, as much as I could, whilst I acted; yet I acted so long, that I might have expected to be severely punished for what I did. But the king's and queen's part, in the general pardon, was so gracious and benign, in making it their own act, and not excluding me out of it, that their Majesties have thereby laid upon me an obligation never to be forgotten."

Upon this, I was bid to withdraw; and, about an hour after, the same clerk of the council was sent out to tell me, 'The lords had ordered I should return to my own house, and be under the same confinement as before, of a messenger, and a guard of soldiers: and there I should shortly hear what their lordships would determine concerning me.' He likewise told the messenger, and the guards, 'That he had a strict command to them to use me, with all respect; only to take care, that I should be safely kept, and forth-coming.' Nor, indeed, had I any thing to object against their behaviour: for, as Mr. Dyve demeaned himself always to me like a gentleman, and the messenger was very civil, so the soldiers themselves were as easy and quiet to the rest of my family, as if they had been a part of it.

The same evening, Mr. Dyve came home to me, and brought me all my papers, telling me, "That the lords had heard him read them over; and, having no exception against them, had sent him to return them all safe to me again."

Thus guarded, I continued from that day, till the 18th of May, under the custody of a messenger and of four centinels, who watched day and night, and were relieved every eight and forty hours. But then, having heard nothing in the mean time from the lords, I wrote this letter to the earl of Nottingham.

'MY Lord; As I have all this while, according to my duty to their Majesties' government, with patience and humility, submitted to my confinement under a guard of soldiers, and a messenger; so now, fearing that my longer silence may be interpreted as a mistrust of my innocency, I think it becomes me to make this application to your lordship; earnestly entreating you to represent my condition and request to the most honourable board, where I was examined. I entirely rely on their justice and honour, that if they find nothing real against me, (as God knows, I am conscious to myself they cannot,) they would be pleased to order my enlargement. I am forced to be the more importunate with your lordship in this business, because it is very well known, in what a dangerous condition of health I went out of town towards the latter end of the session of parliament: and I find my distemper very much increased by this close restraint, in a time when I was just entering upon a course of physick in the country.

' My Lord,

' I am your lordship's most humble, and most obedient servant,

' May 18. Westm.

THO. ROFFEN.'

' To the right honourable the earl of Nottingham, principal secretary of state.'

This letter was read in the cabinet-council that day, and it had the desired effect: for, thereupon, I was ordered to be discharged that evening; which accordingly was done about ten at night, by Mr. Shorter, a messenger of the chamber, coming to my house, and dismissing the messenger, and taking off the guard. The next morning, being May 19th, (to prevent any concourse or congratulations, usual upon such occasions,) I retired early to Bromley, where I remained quiet till June the 9th; little dreaming of a worse mischief still hanging over my head. But that day, being Thursday, as I was upon the road, coming to Westminster, to the meeting of Dr. Busby's preachers (who assemble once a term at my house there), I was stopped by a gentleman, that brought me this letter from my lord Nottingham.

² [The Ecclesiastical Commission.]

My Lord;

Whitehall, June 8, 92.

I Must desire your lordship to be at my office on Friday morning by ten of the clock.

I am your Lordship's most humble servant, NOTTINGHAM.

For the right reverend, the Lord Bishop of Rochester, at Bromley.

I asked the bearer, "whether he had any farther orders concerning me?" He answered, "No: but was forthwith to return." I desired him to acquaint his lord, that I was now going to town upon other business, but that I would presently wait on him at Whitehall. Accordingly, from Lambeth I went to his office. When my lord came to me, I told him, that having met with his lordship's letter accidentally in my way to Westminster, I thought it best to come presently to know his pleasure.

Earl of Not. My lord, there is a mistake, I gave you notice to be here to-morrow morning: and that is the time you are appointed to appear before the committee of the council.

Bishop of Roch. However, my lord, being in town occasionally, I thought it became me to present myself to you as soon as I could. And I now make it my request, if your lordships have any thing farther to say to me, I may be convened before you this day.

Earl of Not. I fear you cannot be so; for there is much business to be this afternoon, both at the great council, and the committee. But I will send you word to the Deanery, if you can be called this evening. In the mean time, you have your full liberty to go where you please.

Thus I went home; but having no notice from my lord that night, the next day, being June the 10th, about ten of the clock, I came to his lordship's office; where were met the same lords as before: only, I think, the earl of Portland was not there, and the earl of Pembroke, lord-privy seal, was. When I was called in, besides the privy-councillors that sat about the table, there was standing against the wall a very ill-favoured man, who afterwards proved to be Blackhead; with whom I straight perceived I was sent for to be confronted: for, as soon as I was in the room, my lord Nottingham said,

"My lord, do you know that person?"

Bishop of Roch. My lord, I have seen this man's face, but I cannot immediately recollect where.

Earl of Not. I pray, view him well. Has he never brought you any letters from one Mr. Young?

Bishop of Roch. I do call to mind, he has brought me a letter. I cannot, in a moment, remember from whom it was.

Earl of Not. He says it was from one Young?

Bishop of Roch. I think it was at my house at Bromley, that he delivered it me; but I verily believe, it was not from any of the name of Young.

Blackhead. I was with the bishop of Rochester at Bromley: I brought him a letter from Mr. Young; and I received an answer to Mr. Young back again from the bishop.

Thus far, during the beginning of this examination, I stood with my face against the window, and my eyes being so very tender and feeble as they are, I had not a perfect view of Blackhead: but he so confidently affirming, that he had of late carried letters between me and one Young, I changed my station, and got the light on my back; and then immediately, (having a true sight of his very remarkable countenance and habit, and whole person, and being also much assisted by his voice, which is very loud and rude;) I did, by God's blessing, perfectly call him to mind; and said, "Now, my lords, by the advantage of this light, I do exactly remember this fellow, and part of his business with me, at Bromley. What he says of Young cannot be true. I know not for what purpose he affirms this; but, upon my reputation, it is utterly false, that he ever brought me a letter from one Young."

Earl of Not. My lord, he says particularly, it was upon a fast-day.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, I do remember this fellow was with me at Bromley on a fast-day. By the same token, I told him, he should stay till after evening-prayers, and must expect only a fasting kind of meal: but then I would return an answer to his business.

Blackhead. It was upon a fast-day. I did eat with the bishop's servants; and I received an answer from his own hand, to the letter I brought him from Mr. Young.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, this that he says of Young, is a wicked lye. All my correspondencies are so innocent (as I hope your lordships can testify) that, if I had received a letter from any Mr. Young, I should have no reason so positively to deny it. I beseech you, examine this fellow thoroughly, and I doubt not but you will discover some impudent knavery. I stand to it: I am sure there is no person whose name is Young, with whom I have of late years maintained any intercourse by letters.

Earl of Devon. My lord, is there no person of the name of Young, a clergyman, with whom you are acquainted?

Bishop of Roch. Oh! my lord, there are *two* excellent persons of the name of Young, both clergymen, to whom I have the good fortune to be very well known. The one was your brother Ossory's chaplain, and is now prebendary of Winchester; the other was canon of Windsor, when I was a member of that church, and is there still. But I suppose, neither of these are the Youngs, whose correspondence this man objects to me. I should take it for an honour to correspond with them. But in truth it has so happened, that I have neither written too, nor received one letter from either of them these many years, to the best of my knowledge.

Blackhead. The bishop, if he please, may remember it was Robert Young, from whom I brought him a letter.

Earl of Not. How long ago say you it was?

Blackhead. It was about two months ago.

Bishop of Roch. I have indeed, my lords, some obscure remembrance, that some years ago, there was one writ to me out of Newgate, under the name of Robert Young, pretending to be a clergyman; and I recall something of the contents of his letter. It was to tell me, 'That he and his wife lay in prison there upon a false accusation, of which he hoped they should be speedily cleared.' In the mean time, he desired me to recollect, 'that he had officiated some weeks for the chaplain at Bromley-college, and had preached once or twice in the parish-church there.' He entreated me to give him 'a certificate of this, because it would stand him in much stead in order to his justification: and withal, that I would send him something out of my charity, for his and his wife's relief in their great distress.' This, my lords, I dare say, was the whole substance of that letter, and this was two or three years ago at least. To that letter I am sure I made no reply in writing. Only, having not the least remembrance of him myself, I enquired in the neighbourhood, and among the widows in the college; intending to have sent him some alms suitable to his condition and mine, had I found him worthy. But upon enquiry, I received from all hands, so very ill a character both of this Young, and his wife, that I resolved to give him no answer at all; and I have never heard any thing more of him to this day. But now, I beseech your lordships, to give me leave to speak to this person myself.

And they intimating I should do as I thought best, I said to him; "I conjure you, in the presence of these noble lords, and especially of the Great Lord of heaven and earth, that you will declare the truth of what I am going to ask you. When you came to my house at Bromley, (upon a fast-day it was, I think the first fast of this year;) did not you desire to speak with me, as having a letter for me? When I came to you into my hall, did not you first kneel down, and ask me blessing? Did you not then deliver me a letter, affirming it was from a country-minister, a doctor of divinity? Did not you tell me, you were his servant, or bailiff? And that your master had sent you on purpose many miles, to receive an answer yourself to that letter from my own hand?"

Blackhead. I never brought a letter to the bishop of Rochester from a country-minister: I know no such doctor of divinity: nor ever was servant to any. I only brought a letter to the bishop from Mr. Young.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, what I say is most certainly true. This man had never any other business with me, but in relation to that letter, pretended by him, (for now I find it was but a pretence) to be written to me by an eminent country-divine, in Buckingham-

shire, a person of a considerable estate, as he told me. My lords, I cannot yet call to mind the doctor's name; but the business of the letter I am, in great part, master of; and it was to this purpose: 'That there was a person (naming him) who had applied to him to be his curate; but that he had reason to suspect he had counterfeited my hand and seal for holy orders; therefore he desired me to send him word, under my own hand, by the bearer, his man, whether I had ordained such a one, in such or such years: that if I had, he would encourage and entertain him; if not, he would take care he should be punished for his forgery.' Now, my lords, upon the receipt of so friendly a letter, by this very messenger; I bid him stay a little, and I would give his master satisfaction out of my books, whether I had ordained any man of that name, which I thought I had not. Accordingly, my secretary and I did severally turn over all my papers relating to such affairs, as carefully as we could; and finding no such man's name in them; in which we could not be easily deceived, because I keep methodically (as no doubt every bishop does) all recommendations, subscriptions, testimonials, and titles of those I admit into orders; I wrote the supposed author of the letter as civil an answer as his seemed to deserve. 'That I was extremely pleased and thankful, that a mere stranger to me should be so careful of my reputation: that my secretary and I had diligently examined all the books, where such things are recorded; and I could assure him, I never had ordained any such person, either priest or deacon, within the space limited in his letter, or at any other time: that I should look upon it as a signal service done to the church in general, and a special favour to me in particular, if he would, as he promised, cause the counterfeit to be apprehended, so that the course of law might pass upon him.' This letter, my lords, all written with my own hand, I delivered to the person here present: and he went away with it, asking me blessing again upon his knees, and promising I should speedily be made acquainted with the success.

Earl of Devonsh. I pray, my lord, how was the letter superscribed you sent back by this man?

Bishop of Roch. My lord, it was to the same person, with the same superscription as he subscribed himself, and directed to the same place where he said he was minister; though the name of place or minister I cannot yet recover. But let that letter of mine be produced, and it will put an end to this whole controversy.

Blackhead. The letter I received from the bishop was superscribed to Mr. Young, and to no other.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, this is a horrid falsehood. I well remember now, this fellow was at my house a second time some weeks after the first. When he came, I was in the garden, with some gentlemen, my neighbours; where, first asking me blessing, he told me "his master, the doctor, had taken up the person who had forged my orders: that the man stood upon his vindication; but that his master was bringing him up to London; and then I should hear farther from him: adding, that his master was a man of such a spirit, and such a plentiful estate, that whenever he suspected a man to be a rogue or a cheat, he would spare no pains to discover him, nor think any cost too much to get him punished." These, my lords, I well remember, were the knave's very words: and I hope your lordships will likewise deal with him in the same manner. I took this second message still more kindly, and ordered my servants to entertain the messenger very civilly.

Blackhead. I brought no such message. All my business with the bishop was from Mr. Young; which, I suppose, was of another nature.

Bishop of Roch. What I say is so true, that I am confident several of my servants do remember the particulars. For this man stuck not to declare his business before them all; very much magnifying his master, and his house-keeping; and vapouring what an example he would make of the counterfeit priest, without putting me to any trouble, or expence.

Earl of Devonsh. Has your lordship none of those servants near at hand?

Bishop of Roch. My lord, some of them are in town; and one (my secretary, Mr. Moore,) by an accidental good fortune, came hither with me: he was without, when I was called in. I doubt not but he will satisfy your lordships what was this man's errand to me. He is a young man of great honesty, and, I believe, would not tell a lie to save my life: I am sure I would not have him.

Whilst they were calling in Mr. Moore, I added, "My lords, I appeal to the great God of Heaven, to judge between me and this wretch, touching the truth or falsehood of what we say, and to deal with us both accordingly at the last day of judgment: and I dare also appeal to your lordships to judge between us, by what appears to you; for did you ever see greater villainy, and consciousness of guilt in any man's countenance than in his?"

By this time Mr. Moore, being come in, I said, "Moore, apply yourself to my lord Nottingham. I charge you do not, for any consideration of me, speak any thing which you cannot justify for truth."

Earl of Not. "Mr. Moore, do you know that person there?" Pointing to Blackhead.

Mr. Moore. My lord, I do know him so far, that I have seen him once or twice at my lord's house at Bromley.

Earl of Not. What business had he at Bromley?

Mr. M. The first time he brought a letter to my lord.

Earl of Not. From whom?

Mr. M. My lord, it was from a country minister in Buckinghamshire, a doctor of divinity, as he wrote himself; his name was Hooke.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, I now very well remember, that was the name; Hooke, or something very near it: there may be the difference of a letter, I will not stand upon that; nor can it be expected I, or my servant, should be positive as to every letter of a name, in so sudden a question.

Earl of Not. Mr. Moore, what was the business of that letter?

Mr. M. My lord, it was concerning one that offered himself to be the doctor's curate, whom he suspected to have counterfeited my lord's letters of orders. The doctor desired my lord to look into his books, whether he had ordained any such a person: my lord and I did thereupon search all the places, where the memorials of such affairs are kept, and we found no such name; and so my lord himself wrote back to the doctor, by this very man that stands here.

Earl of Not. Mr. Moore, will you take your oath of all this?

Mr. M. I am ready to take my oath of it, if you please to give it me.

Earl of Not. What say you, Blackhead? You see here is a young man, the bishop's secretary, comes in by chance, and confirms punctually what the bishop had said before, concerning your message to his lord; and he offers to take his oath of it. If you did bring a letter from one Dr. Hooke, why do you not confess it? It can do you no hurt.

Blackhead. I know of no such divine as Dr. Hooke, nor any thing concerning one that counterfeited the bishop's orders; the letter I brought, was from Mr. Young.

Mr. M. My lord, this fellow cannot but know, that what he says is shamefully false. I assure you, I have the original letter at home to produce, and doubt not, but divers of my lord's servants remember him and his business, as well as I do; for he was a second time at Bromley, some weeks after.

Earl of Not. What was his business then?

Mr. M. He said, he came to acquaint my lord, that his master, Dr. Hooke, had seized on the person who had forged his orders. My lord asked him, "Whether he had also seized the false instrument? and if he had, desired it might be transmitted to him." This man answered, "he believed his master had got it; that he was coming up to London, and bringing the cheat with him; and had been there sooner, had he not sprained, or hurt his leg: but, when he was come, the doctor would give my lord notice, or himself wait upon him." My lord was much pleased with this second message, and gave orders to have the

bringer of it well used. He was so; and freely discoursed with the butler, and the other servants, touching his business there: so that I am verily persuaded, several of them remember all these circumstances of it, and, perhaps, more than I do.

Upon this, Blackhead being again urged by the lords with so plain a testimony, perfectly agreeing with what I had said; and he still persevering obstinately to deny every part of it, I and Mr. Moore were ordered to withdraw, Blackhead staying behind.

As I was going out, I said: "My lords, I cannot comprehend to what purpose this fellow persists in this lie. I am sure he can never prove, that I have injured the government, in word, or deed, or writing." Then I could not but again observe to the lords, what visible marks of falsehood and treachery there were in Blackhead's face; for, indeed, all the while he looked as if he would have sunk into the ground; though (as I was told afterwards) before I came into the room, he had appeared very brisk, and bold, and full of talk. But, upon my first coming in, his complexion, which was naturally very sallow, turned much paler and darker; and he was almost speechless, saying nothing to any purpose, more than what he thought was necessary to keep him firm to the main lie: that he had brought me a letter from one Young, and no other.

But, after my being withdrawn about half an hour, I was called in again, and Blackhead sent forth.

Earl of Not. Now, my lord, the business is out; the fellow has confessed he brought the letter to you, written not in the name of Young, but as from one Dr. Hookes; Hookes was the name, not Hooke: your lordship was in the right in saying you would not stand upon a letter.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, I could not trust my memory so far as to a letter; but one thing I was sure of: *that* was the only letter this rascal ever brought me, and it was not from any whose name was Young.

Earl of Not. Well, that business is over; he has confessed it: and now, my lord, pray take a chair and sit down.

Earl of Devonsh. Pray, my lord, sit down.

Bishop of Roch. No, my lords, I desire you to excuse me.

Earl of Not. My lord, we have some few questions to ask you, and therefore pray repose yourself.

Bishop of Roch. If you please to permit me, I had rather answer what your lordships have farther to say, standing thus as I am at the table.

Earl of Not. Then, my lord, we shall ask you: Have you ever written to the earl of Marlborough within these three months?

Bishop of Roch. I think I may safely affirm, I never writ to my lord Marlborough in my life: but I am certain, and upon the faith of a bishop I declare, I have not written one word to him these three months.

Earl of Not. Have you received any letter from my lord Marlborough, within these three months?

Bishop of Roch. I protest solemnly, I have not received any.

Earl of Not. Have you received any written, or printed papers from my lord Marlborough, within that space of time?

Bishop of Roch. As in the presence of God, I declare, I have not. My lords, I have had some acquaintance with my lord Marlborough, both in king James's court, and in the parliaments since; but I cannot call to mind, that ever I wrote to him, or he to me.

Earl of Not. Then, I think, my lords, we have nothing more to do, but to wish my lord bishop a good journey to Bromley.

With that, they all rose up, and saluted me, testifying their great satisfaction, that I had so well cleared myself, and confounded my adversary. More especially, two noble lords of the company, to whom, I said, I would now particularly appeal, gave me an ample testimony of their belief of my innocency in this accusation, and of my dutiful disposition to the government.

My lord Nottingham then told me, in the name of all the rest, "They had no farther

trouble to give me." I entreated them to suffer me to add a few words; they permitting me, I said:

"My lords, I heartily thank you for confronting me with this fellow, else I could not so well have made out my innocency; but I might still have lain under a suspicion, whereof I had not known the least ground. Had this been a trial for my life, I should have been glad to have such honourable persons for my judges; but now I have much more reason to bless God that you have been my compurgators; that you are witnesses, as well as judges, of the detection of this villainy against me; whereof, I must acknowledge, as yet I do not fathom the bottom. Wherefore I must entreat, that I may put myself under your protection for the future; for, although this fountain of wickedness has been now stopped in this particular, as to myself, yet it seems to run under ground still; and, unless especial care be taken, it may break forth again in some other place, on some other occasion, to the ruin, if not of me, yet of some other innocent person."

Earl of Devonsh. No, my lord, you need never fear this fountain can break forth any more, to do you, or any other good man any prejudice; he having been so palpably convicted of knavery and lying.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, I hope so. As for myself, I take my own innocency to be abundantly vindicated by this your general declaration in my favour. I make no question, but your lordships will next vindicate yourselves, and the justice of the government, by bringing this wicked man to condign punishment, and by examining the main drift of his design, and who have been his accomplices.

They all assuring me, "I might rely upon them for it;" I withdrew.

All this while I had not the least conjecture, or imagination, who this Young should be, with whom Blackhead pretended I held so close a correspondence. But my next appearance before the committee of the council, will clear up what remains of the whole wicked mystery.

In the mean time, returning home that evening to Bromley, I presently met with a plentiful concurrence of evidence from most of my servants, of their discourse with Blackhead, and their knowledge of his business, in reference to Dr. Hookes's letter.

First, the butler, Thomas Warren told me, that according to my order to use him kindly, he had done so both times he was with us: particularly, the second time, he had entertained him, with one of the petty canons of Windsor, who came thither by chance, in the parlour next the garden: that thence he brought him down into the cellar, where Blackhead drank my health with knees almost bended to the ground. That then he earnestly desired him to shew him my study; saying, "I have heard your lord has a very good study of books. My master Hookes has a very good one: he often lets me go into it, and I doubt not but you have the same liberty: I pray let me see his books." The butler answered, "My lord has but few books here; only such as he brings from time to time from Westminster, for present use, and they are locked up in presses, so that I cannot shew them if I would." "I pray then, (said Blackhead,) let me see the room; I hear it is a very fine one. The butler said, he could not presume to do it without my leave. "Then, (said Blackhead,) let me see the rest of the house." The butler excused his not being able to do it then, because there were some ladies with his mistress. The same request, he assured me, Blackhead repeated almost twenty times: but still he denied him.

Then Thomas Phillips, my coachman, and John Jewel, my gardener, confirmed most of what the butler had said: all of them agreeing, that both the times he was at Bromley, especially the second, he had talked publicly with them of the business he came about from his master, Dr. Hookes: enlarging much in commendation of the said doctor, what a worthy man he was; what hospitality he kept; and how he would never rest, till he had brought to punishment the knave that had forged my hand and seal for orders. They added, that after I had dismissed him, he lingered about, in the garden, the hall, and the great parlour, a long time; and was full of such discourses.

Moreover, the gardener, and William Hardy, the groom, and Thomas French, and one or two of the other servants, who remained at Bromley whilst I was in custody at

Westminster, did all assure me, that this man, who brought first the letter, and then the message from Dr. Hooke, had been a third time at my house, whilst I was under confinement. That it was upon a Sunday, (which by computation proved to be Whit-Sunday,) May 15th, that they found him in the midst of the house, before they knew he was entered. He told them, that passing that way, he came to condole for my mishap, and to inquire what the matter was; hoping it was not so bad as was reported at London. They answered, they knew nothing of particulars; yet doubted not but I was innocent. That he then again desired to see the house; but all the doors were locked, except the great parlour, which has no lock upon it. That he would have enticed them to town to drink with him; which they refused, but made him drink there; and he coming after dinner, they persuaded a maid-servant to provide him some meat: which she did, but unwillingly, telling them she did not like the fellow's looks; that, perhaps, he might come to rob, or to set the house, now so few servants were at home: that he rather looked (as indeed he did) like some knavish, broken tradesman, than an honest rich clergyman's bailiff, or steward, as he also called himself; and it has proved since, that her conjecture was true.

All this, and more, my servants repeated to me, touching Blackhead's behaviour in my house, and his discourse concerning his master Dr. Hooke: and they offered to depose it all upon oath. And, above all, the next day, being Saturday, June the 11th, Mr. Moore coming from London, immediately found the original letter, that Blackhead had brought me from the pretended doctor. Wherefore, being furnished with all these fresh materials, especially with the letter itself; and being not a little surprized to hear that the rogue had, the second time of his coming, been so earnest to get into my study, or any of the other rooms; and that he had the diabolical malice against me, to come to my house a third time, on pretence of condoling my misfortune; which I then thought it was probable had chiefly proceeded from his malicious perjury against me. All this considered, I resolved to go to London on Monday morning with these servants, and to carry the letter that he brought me, as from Dr. Hooke; to lay the whole business before the lords of the committee, and to desire their farther examination of Blackhead upon these particulars. Accordingly on Monday, June the 13th, I went, and attended the meeting of the lords that morning in the usual place. When there was a full committee, I sent to them by a clerk of the council, entreating that I might have a short audience. After some time, I was introduced. There were present (besides most of the lords before mentioned) three others, whom I had not seen there since my first appearance before them; the marquis of Caermarthen, lord-president, the lord Godolphin, and sir John Lowther. When I came into the room, and was just going to propose the business that brought me thither; my lord Nottingham prevented me, and said: "My lord, do you know that person there?" Pointing to a man who stood behind the privy-counsellors, near the door which leads into the public room.

Bishop of Roch. My lord, I do not know him.

Earl of Not. My lord, I pray observe him well.

Bishop of Roch. Upon my credit, I never saw this man before in my life, to the utmost of my knowledge.

Then the person standing there looked boldly upon me, and said, "Do you not know me, my lord? Do not you remember that I officiated some weeks at Bromley-college, for Mr. Dobson, in king James's time? And that I preached in the parish-church there once or twice?"

Bishop of Roch. My lords, I solemnly affirm I do not know this man: I never saw him before: I never knew that he officiated in Bromley-college: I never heard him preach in the church there: he is a mere stranger to me: he may have served for the chaplain of that college, in king James's time: but I was not then concerned who officiated there. He may have preached in the church, and I not have heard him: for about that time I was clerk of the closet, and was seldom or never at Bromley on Sundays; by reason of my attendance on the princess Anne of Denmark, either at Whitehall or Windsor, or Hampton-Court, or Richmond.

The same person presently took me up, with insolent confidence, "You will know me better when captain Lawe appears: I warrant you don't know captain Lawe neither."

Bishop of Roch. My lords, if any of your lordships please to ask me any thing, I shall answer with all respect. But I do not understand that I am bound to satisfy this saucy fellow's questions; yet, because he has asked me so familiarly, touching my acquaintance with one captain Lawe, I assure you I know not any such man in the world as captain Lawe. But, my lords, by this person's discourse, I am induced to believe he may be the Young with whom the other knave, Blackhead, pretended the last time that I held a strict correspondence by his means.

Earl of Not. This man's name is Young, Robert Young.

Bishop of Roch. Then, my lords, because my lord-president, and some of the other lords, were not here then, I must beg leave of those that were, that I may repeat what I then remembered concerning one Robert Young. Whereupon, I recollected the substance of what I had said, of a letter I had received some years since, dated at Newgate, from one of the same name, who pretended himself to be a clergyman.

I added, It seems, my lords, by his own confession, this is the very same Young. But, as I never saw him before he was in Newgate, so I declare, upon the faith of a Christian, I never saw, or heard from him since that letter. However, I am very glad you have him now: I make no doubt but he will be found in the end such another villain as Blackhead was proved to be on Friday last.

But, my lords, (said I,) the business that brought me to wait on you now, is to entreat you to take that same Blackhead into further examination, and to inquire a little more into his part in this wicked contrivance, whatever it is. My lords, since I went to Bromley, my servant, Mr. Moore, has had the good fortune to retrieve the very original letter that Blackhead brought me from his counterfeit master, doctor Hookes.

Then I delivered the letter in at the table, and my lord Nottingham read it aloud. And to shew with what a treacherous insinuation, and plausibility of style it was written, to draw from me an answer under my own hand, I here set down the very letter itself, word for word:

'MY Lord; Being destitute of a curate, one Mr. James Curtis came to me, who produced letters dimissory (bearing date, March 13th, 91,) and likewise letters of orders under your hand and episcopal seal. Now, my lord, willing I am to employ any that your lordship shall recommend, and give him all the encouragement imaginable; but being since, by his own words, suspicious that his instruments are forged, I have therefore on purpose sent my man to know the truth thereof; and, in order thereunto, I humbly beg your lordship to give an account in yours by this bearer, promising (for the church of England's credit, and likewise your lordship's honour,) that if he be an impostor, I will see him brought to condign punishment for such his forgery; but, if he be not, I beg your lordship's pardon for this trouble, occasioned by my candid affection for your lordship and all clergymen, being not willing to have them imposed upon.

'Windgrave, April 6. ---92. I am your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

'ROBERT HOOKES, D. D.'

"Now, my lords, (proceeded I,) I thought it would be for your service to acquaint you, that I have received, from divers of my servants, a farther account of all Blackhead's demeanour, the first, second, and third time he was at my house at Bromley; for he was there a third time also, which I knew not of, before I went home on Friday." Then I summed up what, it has been said before, my servants were ready to depose to that purpose, concluding thus; "My lords, my servants are attending without: I pray that Blackhead may be brought before them face to face, and that they may be admitted to give it upon oath, what they have to say concerning him." Upon this several of the lords said, "Send for Blackhead:" and he was sent for. But, before he came, they called in Mrs. Young, the wife, it seems, of the aforesaid Robert Young; but what a

kind of wife, and which of the two wives he had at one and the same time, will appear in what follows.

When she was come in, my lord Nottingham said to her, "Mary Young, whence received you this paper?" Taking up a paper that lay upon the table.

Mary Young. I had it from captain Lawe.

Earl of Not. What did he say when he gave it you?

Mrs. Young. He bid me deliver it to my husband.

Earl of Not. What did he say it was?

Mrs. Young. He said it was a sociate, or some such word.

Earl of Not. What! Did he deliver you a paper of this treasonable nature, in the manner as it is, to be given to your husband, without sealing it up, or inclosing it in another paper?

Mrs. Young. Yes, my lord, he did.

Earl of Not. Did he tell you any of the names to it?

Mrs. Young. Yes: he said there were the late archbishop of Canterbury's, the bishop of Rochester's, and some other lords' names to it.

Earl of Not. What passed afterwards between you about it?

Mrs. Young. I gave it my husband, and when captain Lawe came for it again, my husband said, "No; these lords, whose names are subscribed, have not been so liberal in the relief of my wants as formerly; and therefore I will make another use of this paper;" and so locked it up.

By this time Blackhead was brought in, and the woman ordered to withdraw, and to be kept by herself.

Earl of Not. Blackhead, the last time you confessed you brought the bishop of Rochester a letter from Robert Young, under the false name of Doctor Hookes.

Blackhead. Yes, I did.

Earl of Not. Can you know that letter when you see it?

Blackhead. I cannot tell; I doubt I cannot know it.

Earl of Not. Here it is; (and it was given into his hand;) is that the same letter you delivered the bishop?

Blackhead. I am not sure it is.

Earl of Not. Consider it well; look on the superscription, you cannot but remember that. You began to be somewhat ingenuous last Friday: if you relapse, it will fare the worse with you.

Blackhead. Yes, this may be the letter. This is the very same letter.

Earl of Not. And you received an answer to this from the bishop for Dr. Hookes, which you carried to Robert Young?

Blackhead. Yes, I did; I own it.

Earl of Not. But, what made you, when you were at Bromley the second time, so earnestly desire of the bishop's butler, and his other servants, that you might see the rooms in the house, especially his study?

Blackhead. No, I do not remember that I desired to see the study: the house I might, out of curiosity.

Earl of Not. But here are some of the bishop's servants without, who are ready to swear, that you pressed very often to get a sight of his study; saying, you had the freedom at your master Hookes, to shew any stranger his books, and you doubted not but the butler could do the same there.

Blackhead. I cannot deny that I did desire to see the bishop's study: the other rooms I am sure I did.

Earl of Not. What reason had you to be so importunate to see that, or any of the other rooms? Had you any paper about you, that you designed to drop, or leave in any part of the bishop's house?

Here Blackhead stopped, as very loth to out with it; till divers of the lords urged him to tell the truth. At last he went on, though with much hesitancy.

Blackhead. Yes, I must confess I had a paper in my pocket, which I designed to put somewhere in the house.

Earl of Not. What did you with it?

Blackhead. I did leave it in the parlour next the kitchen.

Earl of Not. In what part of the parlour?

Blackhead. In the flower-pot in the chimney.

"Good Lord bless me, (cried I;) I seriously protest, I never heard that any paper was found there by my servants. To be sure they would have brought it me."

Earl of Not. But, my lord, it will be worth your while to send presently to Bromley, to see whether there be any paper still, and what it is.

Bishop of Roch. My lord, I will send one away immediately. Only my servants are without, expecting to be sworn. Be pleased first to call them in, and dispatch them.

Earl of Not. Nay, my lord, there is no need of their testimony now: for this fellow has said already more than they know. He has confessed, not only that he desired to see your house, and particularly your study, but that he did it with intention to leave a paper somewhere in it; and that he did leave one in your parlour, and in the flower-pot of the chimney.

Bishop of Roch. Then, my lord, I will send away forthwith.

Earl of Not. Stay, my lord; let us first examine him a little farther. Blackhead, what paper was it you left in the bishop's chimney in the flower-pot?

Blackhead. It was the Association.

Earl of Not. Was it this paper here? Shewing the association that lay upon the table.

Blackhead. Yes, it was.

Earl of Not. How came you by it? And who advised you to lodge it there?

Blackhead. I had it from Mr. Young; and he advised me to leave it in the bishop's house, as I did.

Earl of Not. Did Young direct you to put it into the flower-pot in the parlour?

Blackhead. Yes, he did; and I put it there accordingly in the flower-pot.

Earl of Not. But were not you a third time at the bishop's house? It was upon a Sunday, which it seems was Whit-Sunday.

Blackhead. I was.

Earl of Not. You pretended to condole for the bishop's imprisonment. It is manifest that could not be your business. What was it?

Blackhead. I was desired by Mr. Young (seeing the association was not found by those who apprehended the bishop) to go to Bromley, and try to recover it; that being the original. I did so, I came into the house before any of the servants were aware; I went into the parlour unseen, and took the paper out of the same place where I had put it, and delivered it again to Mr. Young.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, I am very much surprized at all this. I cannot but admire the wonderful goodness of God, in this my extraordinary deliverance. It appears, by what this fellow confesses, that this forged association was in my house, in a flower-pot, for many days together; and that it was there at the very time I was seized on by your lordships' order. For he says he put it there the second time he was at Bromley, (which was a pretty while before I was in hold,) and took it not out till the third time, which was upon Whitsunday, the ninth day after I was under confinement; and, by a strange and marvellous providence, that parlour, where he says it lay so long in the chimney, was never searched or inquired after by the clerk of the council, or the messenger. The other part of the house, on the left-hand of the hall, where my study is, and bed-chamber above stairs, and a parlour and drawing-room below, all these they searched very accurately; particularly, I well remember, the messenger thrust his hand into the flower-pots in every chimney; which seemed very odd to me, but I now understand the meaning of it.

At this, my lord Sydney, my lord Nottingham, my lord Devonshire, and some others of the council affirmed, that they perfectly remembered, both Blackhead and Young did especially direct them to give order to those, who should be sent to take me, to search all the flower-pots.

By this time it was thought seasonable by the lords to confront Blackhead with Young.

But, in the mean while, the counterfeit association, being handed about the table, was at length delivered to me ; it was to this purpose, as much of it as, by a transient view, I could carry away in my memory :

‘ **T**HAT we, whose names were subscribed, should solemnly promise, in the presence of God, to contribute our utmost assistance towards king James’s recovery of his kingdoms : that, to this end, we would have ready to meet him, at his landing, thirty-thousand men well armed : that we would seize upon the person of the princess of Orange, dead or alive ; and take care, that some strong garrison should be forthwith delivered into his hands ; and furnish him with a considerable sum of money, for the support of his army ;’ or to this sense.

March 20. 1691.

And the forged subscriptions were, as I remember, after this manner :

Marlborough.

Salisbury.

Basil Firebrace.

W. Cant.

Tho. Roffen.

Cornbury.

John Wilcox.

Now, upon the first sight of this paper, I presently said, “ I protest, my lords, I am very much amazed to see my hand so well counterfeited ; all the difference is, they have done me the favour to write it finer, than I can : otherwise, I acknowledge it is so like, that I verily believe, I myself, had I seen it in another place, should have been apt to doubt, whether it were of my writing, or no. I am confident it might, upon the first blush, deceive the best friends I have. But, my lords, here is another innocent person’s name, whose hand I know very well ; and I dare venture to say, it is even better forged than mine ; I mean, archbishop Sancroft’s.

Lord Godolphin. My lords, I am very well acquainted with archbishop Sancroft’s hand, and really it is here most exactly counterfeited.

Moreover, my lord Godolphin, my lord Sydney, and others said, that the earl of Marlborough’s hand had been so well feigned, in a letter pretended to be written to Young himself, that it was very difficult for his most intimate friends to observe any distinction : and, in that letter, the bishop of Rochester was said to have the paper in his keeping ; which appears now to have been meant of the false association’s being in my custody.

Nay, my lord Sidney assured me, these very impostors had brought him a letter, supposed also to be written by me to Young ; which, being but of ordinary matters, he thought not worth the keeping, but he well remembered, the subscription of my name was very like this in the association, as well indeed it might.

By this time, Young being come into the room, my lord Nottingham spoke to him : “ Young, look upon that letter (shewing him his own name, under the name of Dr. Hookes) ; do you know that hand ?”

Young. No, I don’t know it.

Earl of Not. Did not you send that letter to the bishop of Rochester, by Blackhead ?

Young. No, I know no Hookes ; I never writ to the bishop of Rochester, but in my own name, with my own hand.

Earl of Not. What say you, Blackhead ?

Blackhead. I did receive that very letter from Mr. Young’s own hand, and delivered it to the bishop of Rochester with mine.

Earl of Not. (Taking up the association, and shewing it to Young.) Did not you give this paper to Blackhead, and order him to put it into a chimney in the bishop of Rochester’s house, and into a flower-pot, if there were any ?

Young. No, I never desired him to carry it thither, or to put it into a flower-pot.

Earl of Not. What say you, Blackhead ?

Blackhead. Mr. Young did give me that paper, and directed me to leave it in the

bishop's house; and, if I could, to put it in a flower-pot in some room; which I did, in the parlour.

Young. There is no such matter; I absolutely deny it.

Upon this, the earl of Nottingham, the lord Sydney, and some others of the counsellors, asked Young, "Why then did you give us such express directions, to send and search the flower-pots, among other places, in the bishop's house?"

Young. I said nothing of flower-pots. I bid you take care that the bishop's person should be exactly searched; because, when he went abroad, he carried the association about him; when he was at home, he put it in some private place, for fear of surprise: perhaps, I might say, in the chimney.

The lords replied, "Nay, we all remember, you particularly mentioned the flower-pots."

Earl of Not. Young, when you perceived that the persons sent to seize on the bishop had missed the association, did you not then desire Blackhead to go a third time to the bishop's house, and to take it out of the pot, where he had laid it?

Young. No, I know nothing of it.

Earl of Not. What say you, Blackhead?

Blackhead. At Mr. Young's request, I went to the bishop's house a third time; it was upon a Sunday; I privately got into the parlour, and took out the association out of the same flower-pot where I had laid it, and returned it back to Mr. Young.

Young. This is a combination between the bishop of Rochester and Blackhead, to baffle the whole discovery of the plot.

Which saying of Young's could not but raise a general smile among all the company; they lifting up their hands with great indignation at his unparalleled impudence.

Bishop of Roch. I thought, my lords, the last time I was here, Blackhead was the most brazen-faced fellow that ever I saw; but now I find this same Young to be a much viler miscreant than he. This is so base a suggestion against me, and so impossible for me to be guilty of, and I know your lordships so little suspect it of me, that I need not make any answer to it in my defence.

Lord-President. Young, thou art the strangest creature that ever I heard of. Dost thou think we could imagine, that the bishop of Rochester would combine with this thy confederate, to have an association written, with his own hand to it, and then laid in his own house, in a flower-pot there? Which, if it had been found, must have endangered his life. And we see it was the most remarkable good fortune to him that almost ever happened to any man, that it was not found there.

But, Young still persisting, "that he believed I had taken Blackhead off;" they were both ordered to withdraw. And, I assure my reader, that, during this whole examination, though Young's forgery was so evidently convicted by the confession of his own companion and instrument, yet he behaved himself with a daring unconcerned confidence, with a bold and erect countenance, though it had naturally very much of a villain in it. His whole carriage, indeed, was such, as became the discipline he has undergone for these divers years; having so long been almost a constant inhabitant, together with his wife, of many of the common gaols in England and Ireland; as you shall find before I leave them.

But to make haste to the conclusion of this narration; the lord-president called for the letter which Young had sent to me under the name of Hookes. When his lordship had viewed it deliberately, he asked also for the association; and, having compared them for some considerable time, he broke forth in these words, "Really, my lords, it is a very great providence, that this letter, sent by Young, under the name of Hookes, to the bishop of Rochester, was preserved by his servant; for this very letter and the association, were both apparently written by the same hand: you may perceive there is no manner of difference in the writing, but only, that the letter is written in a less hand, as letters are wont to be; and the association in a greater, as a public instrument." At this, the whole board, one after another, had a perfect sight of both, and all applauded the happiness of the discovery. For it was as clear as light to all that were present, that the letters, and

words, of both, were of the very same form and figure. Particularly, my lord Godolphin farther observed, and made it plain to them all, that the *W* in *W. Cant.* in the subscription, was the very same letter with the *W* in *Whereas*, which was the first word of the counterfeit association. For my part, I could not forbear exclaiming, "Great is truth, and it will prevail."

After all this, I asking the lords, "Whether they had any farther service to command me?" And they saying, No; I spoke these few words:

"My lords, I must always acknowledge, that, next the signal providence of God, in so visibly protecting an innocent man, your lordships' fair and honourable way of proceeding with me, in not shutting me up close in the Tower immediately upon my first accusation; but, in openly confronting me with these varlets, whilst the matter was fresh in my memory; and in so strictly and impartially examining them now, has been the principal occasion, that my innocence has met with a vindication as public and unquestionable, as I myself could have wished and prayed for. But still, my good lords, I do again most humbly recommend to your lordships, the prosecution of this black contrivance to the bottom, for the sake of truth and justice, and for the safety of every other honest man, whose lot this might have been as well as mine. I am sure your lordships all believe, that there can be no greater service to the government, especially at this time, than to have such perjured informers, so plainly discovered, to be severely punished according to their demerits." And so I took my leave of their lordships.

This is the substance of what I can remember, as far as my part goes in this surprising adventure. As to the account I promised of my wicked accusers, my reader shall have it as fast as my weak eyes will give me leave to write it.

Bromley, Aug. 1, 1692.

THO. ROFFEN.

The Second Part of the Relation of the late wicked Contrivance against the Lives of several Persons, by Forging an Association under their Hands: Being a farther Account of the said Forgery, and of the two Authors of it, Stephen Blackhead and Robert Young, *alias* Youngs, *alias* Brown, *alias* Hopkins, *alias* Hutt, *alias* Green, *alias* Jones, *alias* Smith, *alias*, &c. Written by the Bishop of Rochester.

Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?

Imprimatur, November 25, 1692, Edmund Bohun.

To the Reader.

IT is well known to divers persons of worth and honour, that this 'Second Part' was finished, and has lain by me some considerable time: excepting the addition of some very few original papers lately come to my hands, which serve only to explain and confirm some passages I had written before. The cause of my not printing it sooner, was an expectation of Robert Young's speedy trial. But that being now deferred till the next term, upon occasion of Mr. Aaron Smith's sickness, I have been prevailed with, no longer to

delay the publication of it. If any shall still surmise, that I might have done better to let him alone yet a little while, till the justice of the nation had passed upon him: I answer, that well-nigh all, that I say of him, relates to such of his crimes, which the justice of this, or a neighbouring nation, has already passed upon. And though I can prove, this villainous contrivance of his plot has been at least of a year and a half standing; and do know many steps of it more than are hitherto commonly known; and have seen many letters to this effect, all written by Robert Young's hand, some in his own name, some forged for me, and divers other persons far more considerable; yet my reader will find, I pass all, or the greatest part of that by, and leave still enough to be produced against him at his trial. I do indeed briefly touch upon his late endeavours to suborn one Holland, to support his perjuries by perjuring himself. But his discourse with Holland to that purpose, and the instructions he sent him to swear by, having been both averred already upon oath, in an open court of justice, before a great assembly at Hicks's-hall; I know no pretence, why I should be bound to conceal what was then, in so solemn a manner, made public. The truth is, the chief reason that urges me, at this time, to make known to the world the certain discoveries I have made of Robert Young's most detestable villainies of all kinds, is; that I am assured, this infamous man does still persist in his causeless and wild malice against me, and other innocent persons; and attempts, at this time of day, to justify his forged association, by the false testimonies of others like himself. Wherefore, since he will not give me over, it is high time I should begin with him: and whilst he goes on in such a barbarous manner, to strike at my life; surely none can blame me if I debase myself so much as to write his. But if any one shall still suggest, that I have troubled myself too much, and spent too many words on so inconsiderable a rascal; I have this yet to say, that since he could think himself so considerable, as to hope to be an evidence against mine, and several others' lives; I should be wanting to myself, to them, and indeed to the publick, should I not prove him to be a dangerous rascal, now it has come so unexpectedly into my power to do it. It seems also the more seasonable for me at this very time to shew him to the world; since Blackhead has made a second escape out of the messenger's hands; and since there goes about a letter (forged, one would think, by Young himself, among his infinite other forgeries,) wherein it is declared in Blackhead's name, but in Young's English, 'That Blackhead has done no wrong to no man upon earth but Young.' Whether this can possibly be true, I leave to any man upon earth, that has read my 'First Part,' to judge. And whoever shall peruse this my 'Second Part,' I doubt not but he will be convinced, 'That whatever Blackhead has done, I have done Young no wrong.'

IN the former Part, I promised to give some account and character of those wicked wretches, that brought me into the troubles there described. I come now to make good my promise. Only I fear, let me do what I can, the account of them, which I at first designed should be very short, will be much longer, and rise to a far greater bulk, than I intended: especially, in what I have to say of Robert Young. But for that, I hope, my reader will reckon it to be his fault, and only my penance: since his life has been so highly criminal, and this is so clearly attested, that I must be somewhat large, or else I cannot do him all the right he deserves, and fully satisfy the world, concerning him. I must confess, I could never have been brought to foul my fingers with so base a subject, had I not been provoked, and almost challenged to it, by the same Young's intolerable insolence, even after he found himself detected of manifest forgery. For, the last time I was discharged by the lords at Whitehall, on June the thirteenth, (whereof I have already given a full relation;) whilst I was passing through the outer room, in my way home, there being a crowd of people; I stopped, and said, "I pray, gentlemen, is Mr. Young here? I would fain have another sight of the man, who has put himself upon me as my old acquaintance, and intimate

friend: though I never saw him in my life, till this very day." Divers of the company presently shewing me, where he was, sitting by himself; I said to him, "Robert Young, your conscience cannot but condemn you, for having thus mortally injured me, and other innocent persons. I cannot call to mind, that ever I gave you the least provocation: I am sorry now for your own sake, that you are still so obstinate in defending your forgeries, after they have been so undeniably detected. For you know, there is one of your own confederates within, who has plainly confessed them." At this he briskly, and most audaciously, replied to me, without the least concernment, that I could observe, "Confessed! No; you shall find to your sorrow, all is not confessed yet. A parliament will come, and then you shall hear more from me." I left him, praying God to give him grace to repent; and only adding, that else he was more in danger of his own damnation, than I of his accusation in parliament.

Now, therefore, because of this impudent defiance, I have taken some pains to inquire into the man, and his former course of life. And notwithstanding the time of my inquiry has been so short (for he was never personally known to me, till I saw him at Whitehall, on the thirteenth of June last), nay, though the scene of his impious actions has been so large, that I have been forced to collect my intelligence, from far and near; yet I have been so fortunate in my discoveries of him, and his meet-help, that now I look upon the loathsome heap of scandalous materials, I have got together against him, I am almost ashamed to make it public. But, perhaps, it may be no unacceptable (I am sure it will be no unseasonable) service to my country, to present it with a faithful picture of one of the most graceless wretches, that ever yet entered upon the stage of evidencing; which I think is as bad as can be said of him, in so few words.

As to a discovery of the whole plot and contrivance against myself and others; I have been able to penetrate no farther yet, than to find that it was hatched and ripened in Newgate, wherever it was first laid, or designed. Of the managers or abettors of it, there are but very few, hitherto, come to my knowledge: though, no doubt, there are more still behind the curtain. And many other honest men, in all likelihood, had been accused after the same manner, had this first attempt taken effect. For how can it be imagined, they would only have introduced the good archbishop Sancroft, and the poor bishop of Rochester, and joining us with three or four persons of honour, and a citizen or two, have then supposed us to be so mad, as to engage under our hands, to seize on the queen's person; to surprize the Tower; to raise a mighty army; and to bring the city of London into subjection. No; without all question, if this false association had once passed for authentic, many other papers of the same nature would soon have been produced out of the same forge; to the involving of many other innocent persons, both of clergy and laity, in the like counterfeit guilt. But, till time shall bring to light more of this detestable work of darkness, the whole ignominy of it must be shared at present among the pretended witnesses, whom I have already heard named. Of these there was one Captain Lawe, mentioned both by Young, and his wife: and they boasted much of his concurring testimony, when he should appear. Yet of him I have nothing more to say, than that I find, there really was such a man as Lawe, a prisoner too in Newgate; and freed from thence the fifth day of August, 1691. A captain, Young said he was; and he might as easily make him one, as he made himself a priest; which (I thank God for the church's sake) he was no otherwise than in fiction. How this captain got his liberty, I have yet no reason, that I know of, to examine strictly; seeing he has hitherto had either the modesty or the cunning to withdraw himself, and not to venture being an evidence in so bad a cause. For the present, therefore, I leave captain Lawe, as I found him; with no other mark of disgrace, but what his friend Young has fixed upon him; by naming him as a man likely to deserve the title of the third discoverer of his plot. Of Blackhead too, besides what relates to myself, which the reader has had before, I have but one story more to insert here; though that indeed is home, and to the purpose. For this very Stephen Blackhead was prisoner also in Newgate, and condemned on January 15, 1689, to stand in the pillory, and to lose his ears; together with one Lewis and one Patrick; being all three convicted of one

and the same forgery. Lewis and Patrick, it seems, were so ill befriended, as to have the rigour of the law pass upon them. By what favour, Blackhead came to be reprieved and pardoned, it is not now my business over-curiously to inquire: else I could perhaps tell a story, how the knave, being himself a broken taylor, and employed in the soliciting of others debts; and having, as is usual, some bills and letters of attorney entrusted with him for that purpose, had the good luck, and the honesty, (by delivering up and cancelling one of them,) to save his ears, and purchase his pardon. But, perhaps, I do not well to anticipate any part of Blackhead's other knaveries, not doubting, but he will, in time, supply abundant matter, to deserve a like history of himself. It is more than probable, that some other good and peaceably-minded man, having been as vilely trepanned by him, as I have been, (though perhaps, by some other way, than a flower-pot,) will have the same reason to search into all his tricks, and to set them out with as much variety, in as ample a manner, as I shall now endeavour to do Robert Young's. It is this Robert Young, that, I conceive, has most merited to be my proper subject. By what appears yet, Blackhead was only the tool, and the instrument; Young was the chief, if not the first contriver of this treacherous design. Blackhead was touched with some remorse, so far as to reveal some part of the truth: Young persisted to the last, without any relenting. And when one would have thought he should have been quite overwhelmed with what his colleague confessed, he had the face, in so honourable a presence, with a prodigious and inimitable turn of impudence, to impute Blackhead's confession to my having suborned him.

As to Robert Young therefore, I will first give a true draught in little of his whole life: that my reader, keeping the principal passages of that in his memory, may know where to require satisfaction in any particular, from my original papers.

But now, in the very beginning of Robert Young's story, I might be at some loss, what is really his name: for, in several places, he has gone under divers names; and behaved himself so, as quickly to wear them all out, and to make it necessary for him to change them often.

Thus, on sundry occasions, he has passed under the names of Brown, Smith, Hutt, Jones, Green, &c. In Dublin, he sometimes called himself Marsh: in Raphoe, Hopkins; to render himself more acceptable, in his ill projects: taking the true names of the worthy archbishop and bishop of those sees, at that time. Yet, after all, I find the name of Young is most likely to pay all his scores; for, notwithstanding his many divings, under other disguises, it has so happened, that he has still risen up again at last, in his own true name of Robert Young. There may be also as great a controversy raised, what countryman he is. In some of the original papers in my keeping, he passes for an Irishman; in some, for a Scotchman; in his own letters (which I have the least reason of all to believe, and, being myself an Englishman, I am most unwilling to believe) he gives himself out for an Englishman, born at Chester. Wherefore, till I am more familiarly acquainted with him, than he himself says I am, I must be forced to leave his country uncertain: though I am confident, there will be no great contention or emulation between the three kingdoms, to which of them he owes his birth. In the same letters, wherein he says he was born at Chester, he affirms, that his grandfather was sir Peter Young's son, and his grandmother the duke of Lenox's daughter. Had he really been descended from sir Peter Young, I might still urge, that he is the more to blame in rendering an honest stock (as he calls it there) infamous, by making it degenerate into the most enormous crimes. But how can I credit him in this matter of his extraction from sir Peter Young, and the illustrious house of Lenox; when, in the very same paper, there follows immediately, that which, to my knowledge, is a horrid lie: that he was ordained priest by the bishop of Clogher. For I shall give infallible proof, that his priest's orders he only imposed on himself, by his own false hand. But, to clear up this whole business, I have also by me a true copy of an account, he gave of himself; wherein, quite forgetting this romance of his being a Cheshire man, and his near kindred to the duke of Lenox, he gives this narrative of his own life. It is dated, May 26, 1683; and declares, that he was born at Warrington in Lancashire;

that he went over into Ireland, and to school at Iniskillin; that he thence removed to Dublin-college, being eighteen years old, where he continued seven years, and was made master of arts, eleven years since: that thence he went to be curate in Leighlin; and, for three years last past, was chaplain to the bishop of Ferns and Leighlin: that he preached all the courses, for the dean and prebends, at ten shillings a sermon: that he had all the book-money; that is, the fees for marriages, burials and christenings, there being no other parish-church, but the cathedral: that he lived in the bishop's house, till his death, since Christmas: that, two years before, he married the bishop's house-keeper: that he had testimonials from the college of Dublin, and was ordained by his own bishop.

Now would not any plain honest man take this to be a simple and true narrative of the man's birth, his education, and conversation? But nothing is more certain, than that every line almost of all this, is full of gross falsehoods. And, as ill-luck would have it, after he and his reputed wife had rambled over England for divers years, and cheated multitudes of well-disposed persons, by the help of false and lying certificates, (they being at last apprehended and imprisoned at Bury,) as you will hear, confessed before the magistrates, that all their testimonials and recommendations were false, and forged. Wherefore, it is time for me to leave still in the dark, as I find it, that age of Mr. Young's life, which he has made either to be merely fabulous, or so mixed with truth and fable, that there is no distinguishing between them.

I now apply myself to that part of it, which, from undoubted testimony, I can affirm to be historical. And I shall date the beginning of this period about the year 1680. In that year, or near thereupon, his first famous exploit, that occurs to me worthy of himself, was his marrying a second wife, Mary Hutt, whilst his first lawful wife Anne Yeabsly was living; with whom he had cohabited five years, and had three children by her. Then, to qualify himself for employment in the church of Ireland, and to maintain his family (which he had taken such a way to increase) he did really insinuate himself into deacon's orders by the hands of the bishop of Killaloe¹; whom he circumvented by forging the archbishop of Cashell's², the bishop of Waterford's³, and other clergymen's hands, to false, but very ample, testimonials of his morals and learning. But, as for his priest's-orders, he was beholden to no bishop for them. He had only recourse to his own incomparable faculty of counterfeiting hands and seals; so that, if that same Dr. Hookes, you wot of, had been but an honest man, he might easily have found out the false priest, without ever troubling himself to write to me about him. However, being after this manner ordained deacon, and having ordained himself priest, he got to be entertained as a curate, first at Tallogh in the diocese of Waterford; whence, for divers crimes, he ran away, with another man's horse, which he never restored: then at Castle-Reah in the county of Roscommon, whence he was forced to flee for getting a bastard: and, lastly, at Kildallin in the diocese of Kilmore. Nor had he been long in this last cure, but he was accused, for many heinous offences, before the bishop of that see, who, at the time of my writing this, is the most reverend archbishop of Dublin⁴: whose just description of the man I shall give in its due place; wherein his Grace has represented him, as the most impudent, lying, profligate wretch, on the face of the earth. Wherefore, to escape the justice of his diocesan, who knew him so thoroughly, he fled into the diocese of Raphoe. But, being pursued thither, and traced out by the notoriety of some of his new pranks, he was apprehended by my old friend bishop Hopkins, and first imprisoned at Lifford; then removed to the gaol of Cavan: where he was presently loaded with many of his former crimes; especially for having two wives then living: Simon Hutt, the father of the second, being then an inhabitant and innkeeper in Cavan. Whereupon, the good bishop of Kilmore (now archbishop of Dublin), fearing Robert Young might come to be hanged in his gown, degraded him from his orders; if I may call them his; since the one of them he had surreptitiously gotten, the other was really none at all. Shortly after he was indicted,

¹ [Dr. John Roan.]² [Dr. Thomas Price.]³ [Dr. Hugh Gore.]⁴ [Dr. Marsh.]

and should have been tried for his having two wives: but he had so ordered the matter, by an admirable artifice (which I shall tell by-and-by), that the two women could never be brought together at his trial, to own him for their husband. By this means he was discharged of a crime, whereof I shall presently give manifest proofs, besides his own confession, under his own hand; which, I hope, the reader will not think he did counterfeit too. But, still being in Cavan gaol for fees and debts contracted there, to free himself thence he made application to the duke of Ormond (at that time lord-lieutenant of that kingdom), pretending, that, if he were once out of prison, and had leave to appear before his Grace, he could make notable discoveries of dangerous plots against the government; in which some of the nobility, and several bishops, were concerned. Whereupon, the Popish plot having been just before in full vogue there, as well as here, the duke thought it expedient to grant him his liberty, in order to his coming up to Dublin, to make good what he had so confidently promised. But the knave had his end; and having got out of gaol, by a pretence so plausible, he never thought of calling at Dublin, but retired secretly to Iniskillin, and let the discovery of that plot shift for itself: which, they that knew him best may think, was the honestest action of his life; to break only a promise, that he might avoid being an Irish evidence. And perhaps some of my friends may be apt to say, *Si sic omnia!* Whilst he was lurking at Iniskillin, he enticed thither his second wife Mary Hutt, who has ever since run the same fortune with him, and been the inseparable companion of all his frauds; and was the very woman that appeared against me before the lords, to justify the association. So that from that time we hear nothing more of his true wife, Anne Yeabsley. It seems he then entirely cast her off, after he had allured her by the most solemn vows of living with her alone, and for ever renouncing the other, to be the chief instrument of his not being convicted at Cavan; and that by no less than a downright perjuring herself for his sake. But, whatever became of her; it is certain, that it was with Mary Hutt he fled into England, in or about the year 1683. And, from that time to this, they have run a constant uninterrupted race of all kinds of wickedness in this kingdom, scarce ever passing a month, or week, of these eleven years, without either being actually in some prison, or committing such crimes as deserved the deepest dungeons.

The first news I hear of him after his arrival in England, was upon his making application to the venerable archbishop Sancroft, for some employment in our church. This he did in the garb, and under the character of a distressed Irish clergyman; and, to prove himself such, he exhibited his counterfeit orders from the bishop of Clogher. And I must not omit, that, as a testimony of his modesty, this his first visit at Lambeth, and the producing his orders there, was within a month after he had been degraded in Ireland. But the wise and wary archbishop immediately suspected him and his letters of orders, they being not in form, or the usual style, nor the seal fixed in its due place. Against all which exceptions the falsary fenced as well as he could with a shameless lye. Yet he received no other answer, but that his Grace had no cure void in his gift. But Young would not be put off so: shortly after he came again, desiring and pressing the archbishop to recommend him to be a chaplain to some ship, or to some cure in our Western plantations. Which his Grace again refused, and upon surer grounds than before. For, in the mean time, he had sent to Dr. Foley (chaplain to the archbishop of Dublin, then in England,) for a better information concerning this bold and importunate man, which produced the letters hereafter set down from the lord archbishop of Dublin, and the lord bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, touching his forging of orders, his degradation, his double marriage, and other his good qualities. Thus failing at the archbishop's, he forthwith sent his woman to Windsor, where the court then resided, with a petition to the king. Therein she sets forth, that her name was Mary Green, the wife of one Robert Green, an Irish minister; who, going into the West-Indies, upon urgent affairs, was taken captive by the pirates of Sallee. Therefore she prays that the king would be graciously pleased to recommend her sad condition to the clergy of England; and that his Majesty would request them (so her secretary words it) to contribute their charity toward her husband's ransom. This

petition was read in council, June 18, 1684, and referred to the lord-archbishop of Canterbury, and the lord-bishop of London. But we may be sure the petitioner, or her husband, came no more to Lambeth for an answer to the reference. They took a shorter way, and much easier to themselves; they forged a favourable report upon the petition, under the archbishop and bishop of London's hands and seals; by virtue of which (together with the archbishop's true hand and seal, which they had gotten by chance, and affixed a false recommendation to it,) they wandered a long time over England, sometimes together, sometimes asunder, he passing for her brother, (sometimes under the name of Robert Hutt, sometimes of Robert Green;) and so cheated the king's subjects of very considerable sums. But at length this plot was unluckily spoiled by their coming, in their progress, to play their pranks in Suffolk (the archbishop's native country), especially in Bury; where exhibiting their false recommendations to Mr. Cleggat, the minister of that town, the vagabond and his quean were seized upon suspicion; and, being severally examined, they themselves confessed before divers justices of the peace the whole train of their forgeries in this particular. Whereupon they were tried, and found guilty, and sentenced to stand in the pillory in the market of Bury, October 6, 1684; he going under the name of Robert Young, *aliàs* Hutt; she of Mary Green, *aliàs* Hutt, *aliàs* Peirson, *aliàs* Young. Some time after this, having made a property of the name of Green, and of the captive Irish minister long enough, and squeezed out of it as much money as it would afford; and not being to be terrified from so gainful a traffick by one pillorying at Bury; they still carried it on, only changing the scene, and altering their style. She, that before was Mary Green, is again sent out, and furnished by her friend, with a new set of forged instruments and names. In some of her false recommendatory papers, she passed for Mrs. Mary Jones, wife of Mr. Robert Jones, rector of Ashford: in others, for Mrs. Mary Smith, wife of Mr. John Smith, supposed rector too, at the same time, of the same Ashford, in the diocese of Canterbury; whereas neither Jones, nor Smith, was ever rector there, no more than doctor Hookes is rector of Wingrave in Buckinghamshire. However, each of these her new husbands was pretended to be a prisoner for a vast debt, upon the account of suretiship: and she carried about with her divers counterfeit letters of the hand still of archbishop Sancroft, desiring (and in one of her papers making his Grace humbly to beseech) the contributions of the bishops and clergy for the poor man's enlargement. This cheat was indeed more gainful to them than the former. The archbishop's hand was so admirably well imitated, especially in the subscriptions of his name, that she generally met with a very kind reception; and particularly applying herself to three bishops, who, of all the bench, were the archbishop's most intimate friends, even they were deceived by a legerdemain so well devised, and nothing doubting, but it was his Grace's true hand, (though they knew it almost as well as their own,) they and their clergy were very bountiful to her. Nor was Robert Young himself all this while idle: but sometimes he accompanied this Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Smith, as her brother; sometimes he came after her as her receiver; sometimes he went a different road from her, as her agent deputed to solicit good people's charity to so pious a work: shewing another false letter under the hand of Dr. Faulconberge, secretary to the archbishop; wherein were set down divers sums, as given by several of the clergy, to draw in others; and among the rest, (I thank her,) she owns the receipt of 4*l.* from the bishop of Rochester.

I admire how it was possible this their wicked trade was no sooner discovered; which it had been in a nation less charitable than ours. But here they successfully drove it on the better part of the year 1687; till at length the archbishop was alarmed from divers quarters, by notice that his hand and seal went a-begging about the kingdom; which occasioned the advertisements, that were given to the whole nation, in the Gazettes of September and October 1687, to beware of Mrs. Jones and Robert Smith; and to apprehend them, that they might be dealt with according to law. Whereupon Mrs. Jones was very closely traced to Chester, and searched for there by the lord-bishop of St. Asaph's order: but she prevented the diligence of his messenger, and escaped to London. Not long after this, they both came to Bromley. The occasion of it was (as I have under-

stood since) that Mr. Goodwyn, who officiated sometime for Mr. Dobson, falling suddenly ill, and going to London for cure; and being at a loss for the supply of a chaplain at the college of widows, had by chance this Young offered to him, as a grave Irish clergyman, of good preferment in that church, but at present out of business; having fled that kingdom with his family, upon the beginning of the duke of Tyrconnel's rage against the Protestants. By help of this imposture, he and his wife were entertained at Bromley; though, by good hap, they made a very little stay here. Yet, as short as it was, he has left marks behind him of his wickedness, and particularly of his owning that he had the knack to counterfeit any man's hand in England. However, during his small time in the college, the good widows had respected him, and his fellow-traveller so kindly, that he remembered it two or three years after, when he was in Newgate. I will presently produce the very letter written thence, in which he is not ashamed to beg of an hospital, and (in a canting strain) to entreat they would make a collection among them, towards his being removed to the King's-bench. The whole letter is full of prevarications: but there is one I cannot forbear mentioning now. For though the true cause of his and his reputed wife's being clapped up in Newgate, was their forging several bills of exchange, and receiving the money upon them, for which they both then stood convicted, and had been pilloried; yet he solemnly protests, and thanks God, that he was not a prisoner for any ill thing, but only because an Irishman, whom I pray God forgive, (these are his very words) swore against me, that by virtue of bills, I raised money for the use of king James: whereas (says he) you all remember I stood up for the church of England, and stood in the gap against the Roman-catholicks in the worst times. But after a short time of sojourning here, of about six weeks, or two months, in the year 1687, Robert Young soon perceived, that the poor town of Bromley was not a proper seat for him to set up his rest in; where he could only expect a bare subsistence by reading prayers, as a substitute to one who was himself a substitute to the chaplain of the college. Whereas he knew, and had practised, a far more ready way of getting a plentiful livelihood: whether honest or dishonest he mattered not. Wherefore, removing hence to Wapping, and thence to White-chapel, he began to look out for some fitter place for a new scene of action; where he might more profitably exercise his best-beloved faculty of counterfeiting hands and seals. At length he cast his eye on St. Albans, a town, which, by reason of its great trade, and convenient distance from London, and being so great a thorough-fair, he pitched on to practise in it some of the cleanliest feats, I must say, of his knavish dexterity in that kind. Between St. Albans, and London, he began to ply in the beginning of the year 1688, and it was not long before he crept into a great familiarity in the post-house there. By what arts of courtship he became so intimate on a sudden in the family, I leave it to the ensuing papers to inform my reader. However, by this means, he procured the absolute command of all the mails of that road; and so had the opportunity of opening and perusing, and taking out, and putting in, what letters he pleased, between the chief traders of those parts, and their correspondents in London. Having thus furnished himself with proper tools, and chosen as fit a shop to work in, as any in England, he presently fell to his usual way of commerce; whereof I shall only mention three or four instances; they being the very same for which he and his supposed wife were afterwards condemned of forgery at the Old-Bailey.

His first cheat was thus: In July 1688, he went to Northampton, and, under the name of Robert Smith, paid to Mr. John Clarke, an inhabitant there, the sum of twenty pounds, and took his bill of exchange for it, to one Mr. Jonathan Kendall of London: Mr. Clarke also sending a letter of advice, that he had drawn such a bill upon him for the use of Mr. Robert Smith. Robert Young (whom we must now call Robert Smith) forged another bill *verbatim* by the true one, for the sum of twenty pounds, payable to himself under the same false name; and, straight-coming up to London, delivered the forged bill to Mr. Kendall; which being so very exactly done, Mr. Kendall made no delay of paying it, and had Robert Smith's receipt, dated July 16. As soon as this was over, honest Robert immediately took horse, and hasted down to Northampton; where, arriving

on July 17, he forthwith went to Mr. Clarke, and told him, that he had offered his bill at London, but Mr. Kendall refused to pay it, and therefore desired his money again, producing the true bill; which Mr. Clarke receiving, and seeing no imaginable cause of distrust, paid the twenty pounds without demurr. Thus far Mr. Clarke and Mr. Kendall only sustained the loss of twenty pounds, and, perhaps, somewhat smiled at the clever contrivance. But that which next follows, was more extraordinary, and struck deeper into their purses. And how can my reader now think it probable, that both Mr. Clarke and Kendall should be again cheated by the same hand, of a much greater sum, within less than three months after? Yet so it really happened; and, in such a manner, that it was almost impossible for the wit of man to prevent it.

His second St. Alban's cheat, therefore, was this: Being now become perfect in the exact character of Mr. Clarke's writing, he forged a bill, dated October 5, 1688, as drawn by Mr. Clarke on Mr. Kendall, for one-hundred and fifty pounds, payable at sight to his own Mary Young, under the name of Mrs. Mary Clarke. And, because there was a necessity that a letter of advice should go before the bill, he counterfeited one also in this manner. In the Northampton bag, which he opened at St. Albans, he found a long letter written to Mr. Kendall by Mr. Clarke, touching divers particular affairs then transacting between them. This letter he intercepted, transcribed it throughout, and, about the middle of his false copy, inserted these words—that he had drawn on Mr. Kendall a bill of one-hundred and fifty pounds, to be paid upon sight to Mrs. Mary Clarke; and so went on with the other business, as in the true letter. This forged letter he put into the Northampton mail; so it went safe to Mr. Kendall at London. The next morning after, Mrs. Mary Clarke came to him with her bill. Whereupon Mr. Kendall, not in the least suspecting that the bill or letter of advice were forged, because he was confident, they were both of Mr. Clarke's own hand-writing, and the letter giving him an account of several other businesses, which he thought could not possibly be known to any, but to Mr. Clarke and himself, he presently paid to Mary Clarke the one-hundred and fifty pounds, and so lost the whole sum beyond recovery.

His third cheat on the same road was in this manner: About the latter end of February, in the same year, 1688, he sent his second false-self now again under the name of Mary Young, to Mr. Jonathan Mathew of Daventry in Northamptonshire. She paid him nine pounds; for which he gave her a bill of exchange upon Mr. Richard Shipton of London, payable to the said Mary Young, which she received March the 14th. By this true original of Mr. Mathew's own hand, on the 18th of March following, he forged another bill in the name of the said Mr. Mathew, for two-hundred pounds charged also on the said Mr. Shipton. And, having still the liberty to search the Daventry mail at St. Albans, and finding there a letter from Mr. Mathew to Mr. Shipton, he made the same use of it as he had done that of Mr. Clarke's to Mr. Kendall; transcribed it entirely, and, in the same surreptitious manner as before, put in an advice of his having drawn a bill of two-hundred pounds, and for whom. Which letter was immediately sent by the post to Mr. Shipton.

The false bill and letter of advice, I am assured, was so accurately counterfeited, that Mr. Mathew himself could not discover the difference, nor disown it upon view; but only in that he was certain he had never drawn any bill of that importance. Mr. Shipton therefore was easily deceived by the similitude of hands; and Robert Young having sent Mary to London, to receive the money, he paid it without the least scruple; since this letter of advice also mentioned other things which Mr. Shipton knew to be true. Mr. Mathew, as soon as Mr. Shipton sent him word, that he had paid in his name a sum so considerable, dispatched immediately a servant up to London, to let him know, he had never drawn any such bill upon him, and had given him this timely notice, that, if possible, he might retrieve the money. Thenceforth, they both used all imaginable endeavours to discover the authors of the fraud. Which Mary Young perceiving, by their frequent letters to each other, (Robert having still the advantage of opening at St. Albans,) she wrote Mr. Mathew a most insulting letter; telling him, that she had made bold to

borrow of Mr. Shipton two-hundred pounds upon his credit, but would repay it, when she was able. And, to amuse him the more in his search, she addeth a flam story, that she had got his hand by corrupting one of the letter-carriers in London; and that, therefore, he need not trouble himself to enquire any farther about the matter: subscribing herself, Mary Young, *aliàs* Brown, *aliàs* Stewart, *aliàs* Forbus, *aliàs* Boner, &c. of which pretty piece of impudent raillery, my reader shall have the true copy, when it comes in its course.

His last forgeries practised at St. Albans, that have come within my observation, were upon Mr. Olds of Coventry, and Mr. Billers of London.

But, before I proceed to these, I must acquaint my reader, that Robert Young had owed Mr. Olds and Mr. Billers an ancient grudge, of as long standing as the year 1683; because then he could only defraud them of ten pounds, and a ring, and not of one-hundred pounds, as he designed. The case was thus: Robert Young, in June 1683, forged a bill in the name of Mr. Joseph Olds of Coventry, for one-hundred pounds, upon Mr. John Billers of London, payable at sight. He likewise forged a letter of advice of the said bill, which he procured to be put into some post upon the road. And accordingly it was delivered in London to Mr. Billers on June the 12th. The next day, being June the 13th, Robert Young, in a canonical habit with a scarf on, presented to Mr. Billers the forged bill for one-hundred pounds: the counterfeit was exact, and Mr. Billers had received a letter of advice before; whereupon he straight ordered his cash-keeper to pay the reverend Mr. Young his bill. Robert, seeing the money come so freely, would have taken it upon content. The servant would not pay it, except he would tell it over; which at length he did. But, before he could carry it away, the servant whispering this to his master; and Mr. Billers himself observing something in the bill, that gave him reason to suspect it, came to them, and said to Robert, "That he desired to be better satisfied in the said bill, and that he was the person, whose right it was to receive it, since he knew him not." Robert replied, he was a country-minister, altogether a stranger in town, and known to none but the archbishop of Canterbury. "Well, (said Mr. Billers,) when you bring me any of the archbishop's gentlemen to give me an account of his Grace's knowledge of you, you shall presently have the money." But Robert pretended very urgent occasions for it, and that he was to pay away some of it that night; and therefore earnestly entreated he might have the whole, or at least ten pounds of it for the present. Mr. Billers consented to this last request: Mr. Young gave a receipt for the ten pounds; and, to prevent a farther trouble of telling the money again, Mr. Billers desired him to seal the rest up in the bag where it was put. Mr. Young had no seal. Mr. Billers pulled off his finger a gold ring set with a cornelian stone; bid Mr. Young seal the bag with it; gave the ring into his keeping; and appointed him to bring it again the next day, when he came for the residue of the money. Mr. Young very fairly went away with the ten pounds and the ring, but never came again for the remainder of his bill, or to bring witness, that he was acquainted with the archbishop.

Having now set forth this matter of fact of Mr. Billers's keeping back ninety pounds from Mr. Robert Young, even just when he was in the very act of receiving it, I leave it to my reader to judge, whether Robert did not owe him a good turn. My next business is to shew how he paid it him. Some years, indeed, had passed, before he took his revenge; which I somewhat wonder at: but he took it at last to some purpose. The manner how it was done I shall express as briefly as I can, because the circumstances of this were very near the same with the other aforementioned St. Albans forgeries.

About the middle of February, 1688, he sent his faithful instrument Mary, under the name now of Mrs. Sarah Harris, to pay the same Mr. Olds ten pounds at Coventry, for which he gave her a bill of exchange upon the same Mr. Billers, payable at sight. So, for very good cause, Robert took care all or most of his bills should be worded. By this means Robert renewed his acquaintance with Mr. Olds's hand, and soon perfected himself in it, by watching over all his letters of correspondence with Mr. Billers, which must come from Coventry through St. Albans, where he governed those that governed the post-

house. Being thus prepared, he began at first to play at small game, that he might keep his hand in use; for, finding in one of Mr. Olds's letters two bills, the one of fourteen pounds ten shillings, the other of twenty pounds, both payable to Mr. Billers, he took possession of the letter, forged indorsements on the bills, in the name of Mr. Billers, that they should be paid to his servant, James Moreton (whose true name was James Young, and he was really Robert's servant), and accordingly both these bills were paid, Aug. 5, 1689, to James Moreton, *aliàs* Young: as, it seems, nothing can belong to Robert Young, without being entitled to an *aliàs*. This James Moreton, *aliàs* Young, I say, did actually receive both the bills; and, thinking it was but reasonable he should have a share in the profit, as he had in the knavery, paid the sum of the one bill to his master, and kept the other to himself: the first cheat (and the last, I believe) that was ever put upon Mr. Robert Young.

But, after these less gainful experiments, it seems, Robert Young thought it now a fit season, that his main plot upon Mr. Olds and Mr. Billers should begin to work; for, by his long familiarity with the northern mails, he had learned, that, at this time, there was a considerable cash of Mr. Olds remaining in the hands of Mr. Billers. Wherefore, by the same method which he had used in his other cheats of this kind, he forged a bill of two-hundred pounds to be paid at sight to the same Mrs. Sarah Harris, proceeding in the same steps as before: that is, he intercepted one of Mr. Olds's letters, transcribed it, adding an advice of having drawn the said bill of two-hundred pounds for Mrs. Sarah Harris; then suppressed the true letter, and put the false one into the post; which was delivered to Mr. Billers, at London, upon August the 11th, 1689. The next morning came Mrs. Sarah Harris to Mr. Billers, and produced her forged bill. He could discover no deceit in the hand, owned he had received the letter of advice, and was just giving order for the payment; when, by good fortune, he recollected, that he had heard Mr. Shipton, of Friday-street, had, not long before, been defrauded after the same manner, by a woman coming, as this did, in the morning, and of the same sum of two-hundred pounds. The fresh remembrance of this gave him just grounds of being jealous of the like trick; so that, while the money was telling out, he thought it would not be amiss to send and desire Mr. Shipton to come and take a view of this Mrs. Harris; intimating the reason why he sent for him. Mr. Shipton came accordingly, and, upon the first sight, declared her to be the same Mary Young, that had lately cheated him of his two-hundred pounds. She, being thus unexpectedly charged with this crime, confessed it upon the place, whereupon she was apprehended, and committed to the King's-Bench, after she had received above five-hundred pounds, in a short space, by the like ways; whilst she was such a kind of agent at London for Robert Young, as my reader will find she owned upon oath afterwards at Litchfield.

But in the King's-Bench I must leave her for a short time, that I may look out after her dear friend, and inquire how he behaved himself, in this sad catastrophe of their affairs, after they had so long proceeded smoothly and prosperously. It was high time for him now to intermit his correspondencies at St. Albans, and to remove to a greater distance from London; so that the next footsteps I have traced of his rogueries, were at Litchfield; whither, I find also, he had made some excursions in the year 1688. But now, in the year 1689, it seems, he went thither, resolving to settle there for some time. There he appeared in a genteel habit, with his man, James Young, *aliàs* Moreton, to wait upon him. There he personated again an Irish clergyman, of considerable preferments in that church, and a plentiful temporal estate. He kept two horses, rode often abroad in an equipage, rather fitting a highway-man, than a divine. He had plenty of gold and silver, and some plate; the product, no doubt, of his late cheats upon Mr. Clark and Mr. Mathew, and Mr. Olds; besides some remains, probably, of what was collected for Mr. Green, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Smith; whilst they, good men, perhaps, lay in prison for it, all the while. During his abode at Litchfield, he professed himself to be a single man, and, upon that pretence, made love to divers women, in the way of marriage; believing, that his former Mary was lodged so safely in the King's-Bench, that she could

never get out to disturb his designs. But there he was deceived. For, when the fire broke out in Southwark, she made her escape, and so had leisure to look out after him, and came time enough, to prevent his intended marriage. For just then he was in close pursuit of a young woman at Tamworth, who had at least one-thousand pounds to her portion, and he was in great probability of obtaining her. But Mary, having got loose by the above-mentioned accident, wrote him divers letters, 'That all her money was spent; that she would be with him shortly, though she begged by the way.' Which at last she made good, and arrived there, some few days before his new-designed wedding, and challenged him for her husband. Or else, undoubtedly, he had served Mary Hutt the same trick, for the sake of a thousand pounds; as my reader will find, he really served Anne Yeabsly, for one-hundred and fifty pounds. But this had like to have cost Mary her life. For Robert (being enraged at the disappointment) practised with his man, to meet her in her coming down; and either to cut her throat, or drown her. And, when he refused (which was a wonderful honesty in any one, that could submit to be his man) Robert's next attempt was to dispatch and kill his man, as he went abroad, one day, with him a shooting.

My reader, no doubt, will be amazed at this horrible story; yet I say no more than what his man himself declared upon oath, at Litchfield, and what all the country thereabout believes to be true. But, the gun not going off, his man fled from him, first to Litchfield, and thence to Coventry; where, he acquainted Mr. Olds, a mercer there, whom I have already so often mentioned, with the several cheats, that his master, Robert Young, had formerly acted upon him, by forging bills of exchange.

Mr. Olds, having never before, by all his search, been able to discover the contrivers of those forgeries, without delay, repaired to Litchfield, and lighted upon Robert Young, whilst he was yet flush of money and plate; which he pretended to have brought out of Ireland, where he affirmed, he was a dean. Mr. Robert, being thus unawares charged with all these cheats, freely confessed them all to Mr. Olds. And, that he might not lose his new-gotten reputation in the church there, and all his hopes at once, privately made up the business, and repaid to Mr. Olds all he could demand: that is to say, the fourteen pounds, ten shillings; the twenty pounds; and the ten pounds; and the value of the gold ring: which unlucky blow to his fortune made him, for the future, be content to be served without plate. But this was also the occasion of a worse mischief, that shortly after befel Robert Young and Mary: I say Mary also. For, before this, she arrived safe at Litchfield; and though, at first, he positively denied her to be his wife, and forswore her too, according to his custom; yet, in a short time, I know not how, they were pieced together again, as seeming indeed to be born for one another's society.

I have already told my reader, that Mr. Mathew of Daventry had used all possible industry, and written a vast number of letters, and made many fruitless journies, in quest of the author of his two-hundred pounds forgery. But all in vain, till now the noise of it, spreading all over the country, came, at length, to Mr. Olds at Coventry. He presently gave intimation by letter to Mr. Mathew, how he himself had likewise been cheated of divers less sums, and recovered them again, by composition: and that his knave was still in a flourishing condition at Litchfield; and he might probably be the same man. Mr. Mathew, upon this intelligence, quickly posted down to Litchfield: beset the house, over night, where Robert and Mary lodged. The next morning Mary was soon taken; and Robert also, after above an hour's search, was pulled out from under a heap of furz, in a corner of the cellar. They both immediately confessed the fact; and Robert would fain have stopped Mr. Mathew's mouth, as he had done Mr. Olds's, with the small reliicks of his ill-gotten wealth. But that not sufficing for a sum so considerable, Robert stoutly denied all again, and defied him to do his worst: whereupon they were both clapped up in Litchfield gaol.

During this time, news was come to the secretaries-office at Whitehall, of the aforesaid violations on the post-office, at St. Albans; and that the persons offending were in custody at Litchfield. Whereupon the right honourable the earl of Shrewsbury, then prin-

cipal secretary of state, granted a warrant to Mr. Legatt, the king's messenger, to bring them up to town, as being accused for dangerous practices against the government: the persons, abused by the former forgeries, giving their consent, that they should be so removed. Mr. Legatt brought them up, and laid them first in the Gate house in Westminster; whence, by a warrant of the lord-chief-justice, they were removed into London, and lodged safely (one would have thought) in Newgate. To Newgate, they had directly steered their courses the greatest part of their lives; and thus, at last, wrought their way thither *per varios casus, per tot discrimina*. There they were tried and condemned for these forgeries, and underwent again the punishment of the pillory: he being fined, for one fault, a hundred marks; for the other, a hundred marks; and she twenty marks. If my reader shall ask, why Robert was found guilty of no more than two of these cheats? It was, because there was no other proof against him for the rest, but the confession of Mary, who plainly confessed him to be the author of all. But that, it seems, in law, is not evidence sufficient, because they supposed her to be his wife: it was a pity the judges and jury had not known how little she was his lawful wife. However, in Newgate they continued above two years, for want of payment of these fines, till the twenty-fifth of May last, when his fines were paid. I suppose his wife's fine was discharged too: for they both came forth in triumph, and new clothes on, that day, with the association in their hands; after they had prevailed with Blackhead to steal it in, and steal it out of my chimney.

Thus, according to the fashion, I have given a true portrait of these precious evidences of a new plot. My next business will be, to exemplify all this more largely, by authentic proofs: which, if I mistake not, I shall do so unquestionably, that none shall be able to disbelieve what I say against Young, but such as can believe what Young has said against me.

But first I will dispatch Blackhead. Touching whom, I will only give a copy of the record of the sessions at the Old-Bailey, where he was condemned for forgery.

London ss.—Deliberat' gaol' dominor' regis & regin' de Newgate tent' pro civitat' London', apud Justice-Hall in le Old Bayly London', die Jovis (scil.) 15^o die Januarii, anno regni Will' & Mar' nunc regis & regin' Angl' prim'; &c.

Felix Don Lewis, Thomas Patrick, Steph. Blackhead, convict' pro fabricand' & publicand' falsum script' obligator' in nomine cujusd' Thom' Faulkener pro summ' 60l. ponantur & quilibet eor' ponatur supra pillor' uno die in Cornhill prope Ex-camb' London' ab horâ undecimâ ante merid' usque ad hor' prim' post merid' ejus diei: et quilibet eor' habeant un' aur' ibid' absciss'; & quodd' quilibet eor' habeat & sustineat imprisonment' in gaol' de Newgate per spatium unius anni integri sine bal' vel manucaptur' juxta form' statut' ejusd'.

By this it appears, Blackhead and his two companions were convicted of cheating one Mr. Faulkener of sixty pounds, by a false bill or bond; and were condemned to stand in the pillory in Cornhill near the Exchange, for two hours; to lose each of them an ear; and to continue prisoners, for twelve months, without bail or mainprize, in Newgate: where, no doubt, that intimacy between Blackhead and Young was contracted, which had been so fatal to me, had not God marvellously defeated their conspiracy against me.

Having thus, for the present, rid my hands of Blackhead; I proceed next to Young. And the first scene of his villainies, that have come to my knowledge, having been in Ireland, I will now give certain demonstration of the particulars, out of the original papers themselves: which seem to me to describe the caitiff so plainly, that I need only set them down in their order, without any comment of mine upon them. The principal crimes, I have already objected against him in Ireland, were his marrying a second wife, whilst his first was alive: his counterfeiting certificates for deacon's orders: his entirely forging of his priest's orders; and his feigning the knowledge of a dangerous plot, in that kingdom; wherein he would make out, that divers great persons were engaged. There are, also, several others of his rogueries; such as his having a bastard by a kitchen-wench at Castle-Reah, whilst he was, a short time, curate there: his lewd life, and cheating divers people

of money by counterfeit bills, at Tallogh, where he was also sometimes curate: his running away with another man's horse, when he was forced to flee thence, for his other pranks; and the like. All these, and more such, will come in, as by the by; and it will be enough for me only to give my reader this notice, to mark them in the papers I am going to produce: the method of which shall be this:

First, He shall have Robert Young's general character, in a letter from the present lord archbishop of Dublin; and another from the lord bishop of Ferns and Leighlin; both written so long ago, as the year 1683: whilst he was only under suspicion at Lambeth; and before he had entered upon so many vile practices in England. In these letters, he is, even then, described to be as wicked a liar, as the little Carmelite friar Moor, and to be as very a rogue as the Spanish wits have fancied their Gusman. Who the Carmelite friar was, I know not; Gusman is sufficiently known. But, in the sequel, it will appear, that our rogue has far outdone the very Spanish romance of theirs.

Secondly, He shall have the lord bishop of Raphoe's letter to the lord bishop of Kilmore, when R. Young was apprehended in that diocese under the name of Robert Hopkins; for which name also he shewed his forged letters of priest's orders, upon his examination by the said bishop, which shall also follow.

Thirdly, Here are the copies of the original certificates confirming the truth of both his marriages.

Fourthly, Here are divers letters of Robert Young's own hand, when he was imprisoned at Cavan, and in danger of his life for having two wives. 1. A letter to one justice Waldrum; to offer him a bribe, if he would take bail for him. 2. Another letter to the lord bishop of Kilmore; confessing some of his knaveries, but solemnly denying his having married two wives.

Next, Here is a letter to Roger Yeabsly, brother to his first wife Ann Yeabsly, *alias* Apsly: then another to George Yeabsly, her father; then two letters to herself.

In all these he confesses his two marriages: however, proposes, to her and her brother, a way to save his life by forswearing themselves: that they should get a certificate at Cork, signed by a public notary, that Ann Yeabsly was really married to one Robert Young, and that Roger her brother was present at the marriage, and that then they should both come to Cavan, and, upon his trial, deny that he was the man; and if they did him this service, he promised (with horrible imprecations upon himself,) that he would only stay to receive Mary Hutt his second wife's portion, and then run away with Ann Yeabsly, his first wife, into England.

Lastly, To complete all, I will produce two of his letters to his second wife Mary Hutt: the one after he had fled out of the diocese of Kilmore; the other after he had got to Iniskillin out of Cavan gaol.

The first is full of the like blasphemous curses and execrations upon himself, if ever he was married to any other woman but her; therefore inviting her to come and relieve him, with dreadful promises and vows of never forsaking her.

In the second, (to say nothing of his impudent reviling of the lord bishop of Kilmore,) he desires her to steal away from her friends to him, and to bring the bond with her (a true one, without doubt); to bring also all the money she could get, and to be sure to pay nobody: which was accordingly done, and so with her he fled, and took sanctuary in England.

A Letter from Dr. Foley, containing Part of a Letter from the present Lord Archbishop of Dublin, concerning Robert Young; written, in the Year 1683, to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

MAY it please your Grace; Last night I received a letter from my lord archbishop of Dublin, concerning Mr. Young: part of it runs thus;

‘ If he be Robert Young whom I degraded, he is the veriest villain alive: he has now, or had when I knew him, several wives living: a notorious cheat; has counterfeited several hands and seals, by which he has deceived men of money, and stolen into credit and holy orders. He has been in several gaols, as namely Lifford, where he was laid up by the bishop of Raphoe, now Derry, who is going now for London; and, if you can procure him to see him, I am confident he remembers him well enough. He was long in Cavan gaol, and to be tried for his life; where I got, and have by me, very many of his papers, which would enable any man to write the Scotchman’s life, which I think would transcend the Spanish Rogue. For fear he should hang in his gown, by the advice of the lord primate, I degraded him for the least of his villainies; because the canon was express, and he guilty, as was proved, of marrying without licence. In brief, he is a notorious wicked man, and so well furnished with the necessary instruments of it, that I think friar Moor, the late convert, cannot exceed him in lying. He is a black swarthy man, of a suspicious countenance. He has several names. He assumed mine at some places; Hopkins at Raphoe; and was here lately by the name of Brown: but, hearing that I was here, I suppose, made off again. The last wife he married was one Simon Hutt’s daughter of Cavan. I send you the inclosed, which I pray reserve for me. It is a letter he wrote to his second wife, after he fled from me. Keep the letter for me: I send it, because I am mightily of opinion he is the man. Here is another letter to his former wife, Ann Yeabsly, at the same time; by which you will be satisfied that Robert Young is a very ingenious person, and a man of deep contrivance. Had he been in time and place, he would have made an excellent evidence; and, had that trade gone on, I had doubtless been in a plot; for he declared he had a plot to discover, in which some noblemen and several bishops were concerned. I am confident I had been one; and the bishop of Waterford (whose hand and seal he counterfeited to me, and the bishop of Elphin) another; from whom he pretended orders, and the bishop disowned, upon my letter to him.’

Dublin, June 2, 1683.

(Thus far the Archbishop.)

I send inclosed to your Grace the two letters, which my lord sent me, and beg your Grace will please to keep them by you, till I can wait on you for them; because he desires to have them again. I am bold to say, that your Grace will hereafter be a little suspicious of clergymen who come out of Ireland, without better testimonials; and that it will be for the honour of our clergy and university, that wicked and ignorant men, who pretend to be of them, and are not, be animadverted on by your Grace, with some severity. I beg your Grace’s blessing, and am

Tunbridge, June 27, 1683.

Your Grace’s, &c. SAM. FOLEY.

A Letter from the Lord Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, now Archbishop of Cashel, to Dr. Foley, concerning the same Robert Young; written in the Year 1683.

SIR; According to your desire, I waited on my lord archbishop of Dublin, to inquire of his Grace concerning one Young, whom he degraded for several notorious crimes; as having two wives, counterfeiting the archbishop of Cashel’s hand to the bishop of Killaloe, for his being made deacon; which the bishop (not discovering the cheat) did; and then his counterfeiting the bishop of Clogher’s hand for the order of priesthood, which he never had. He went likewise under several names, and was in several gaols; particularly in that at Cavan, for a great while. The man (my lord says) is about his Grace’s own stature, that is, somewhat tall; neither lean nor corpulent; of a pretty long, black, ill visage; his hair, if his own, is black, thin, pretty long, and hangs flag without any curls. He is a Scotchman, about twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age; and will

lye as fast as the little Carmelite fryar Moor, (to use his Grace's own expression). And this is all I can say of him. I am

Dublin, June 2.

Yours, &c. NARCISSUS FERNS and LEIGHLIN.

A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, from Bishop Hopkins, then Lord Bishop of Raphoe; written in the Year 1680, concerning Robert Young's Apprehension in his Diocese, under the Name of R. Hopkins.

MY LORD; Your lordship's to me came very seasonably, that is, one day before Mr. Young: and he came very confidently, expecting much kindness for name's-sake; for he thought it fit to assume mine; and, at his first accost, thrust into my hands letters dimissory, lewdly forged, as from the bishop of Killaloo; with the seal to them vilely cut, and the date of *octo die Octobris*. This alone would have given me suspicion of an imposture; but, being forewarned by your lordship, I was certain I had the man, though he lurked under another name. The contents of the letters were the amplest form of commendations, which I keep by me, but shall remit when your lordship requires it. I put many cross interrogatories to him, till, at last, one lye so contradicted another, that the man was perfectly confounded, and began to speak truth. There were two other justices then with me: we took his examination, a copy of which I have sent here inclosed. When I pressed him upon the point of polygamy, he utterly denied it, as indeed it concerned him; as also that he ever was at Londonderry, much more that ever he was school-master there; and this some who were present believe to be truth. Besides, some affirm, that, to their knowledge, Sarah Mallon, who was afterwards married to one Young, was, upon his decease, married to one Mr. Laughtin, a minister in the diocese of Londonderry, with whom she now lives. I know not whether he can be so well vindicated from others, for your lordship speaks of two or three more. However, his misdemeanours and forgeries were so many, that we committed him to the county-gaol, where, I hope, he will not long continue. For, as at your lordship's desire I have secured him, so I must desire that your lordship would speedily take order to have him sent where the fullest evidence may be given against him. I am

Raphoe, Nov. 11, 80.

Your Lordship's, &c. EZECHIEL RAPHOE.

The Examination and Confession of R. Young, before the Lord Bishop of Raphoe, and others; in the Year 1680.

County Donegal.

THE voluntary examination of R. Young, late of the parish of Kildallin, in the diocese of Kilmore, and county of Cavan, clerk; taken at Raphoe the tenth of November, 1680, before the right reverend father in God, Ezechiel lord bishop of Raphoe, Richard Inett, clerk, and Mathew Cocken, esq.; justices of the peace of the said county of Donegal. Who being voluntarily examined, upon suspicion of being guilty of several forgeries and misdemeanours, saith, ' That he was curate at the said parish of Kildallin for three quarters ' of a year; that he came thence in October last; that he had not any certificate or dis- ' miss from the bishop of that diocese; that he confessed the counterfeiting of letters ' dimissory from the lord bishop of Killaloo, and the seal and subscription thereof are false; ' as also the name of R. Hopkins in those letters dimissory mentioned, he intended to ' have taken on him; but that his own name is Robert Young: that he was about three ' years since ordained deacon by the bishop of Killaloo: that he is a married man; and ' that his wife's name is Hutt, daughter to Simon Hutt, and is now with her father in ' the town of Cavan; that he was never married before: and saith, that he is not guilty ' of counterfeiting any letters of orders; but confessed, that he did counterfeit and forge

‘ a letter from one Dr. Smith of Limerick, to the bishop of Killaloo, upon which letter,
‘ he ordained the said exanimate deacon, as aforesaid, and further saith not.

ROBERT YOUNG.

Capt. coram nobis, Ezechiel Rapotensi; Rich. Inett; Mat. Cocken.

Copies of the Original Certificates and Papers, confirming the Truth of both Robert Young's Marriages, and both his Wives being alive at the same Time.

The Certificate upon oath of George Yeabsly, or Apsly, his wife's father, concerning R. Young's first Marriage; with three other Certificates of his Cheats.

Memorandum.

Jan. 17, 1680.

THE day and year above written, George Apsly, of the Breedas, in the parish of Arda, in the county of Cork, yeoman, came before me, Richard Pine, one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the said county, and made oath, that on, or about the 18th of May last was five years past, he, this deponent, was present, and gave his daughter, Ann Apsly, in marriage with one Mr. Robert Young, clerk, at Ralph-cormack in the county aforesaid; and that he saw them lawfully joined in matrimony (Dr. Smith, minister), and lived together several years afterwards. He afterwards, (that is to say, about two years last past,) was curate under Mr. Francis Beecher, in the parish of Tallogh, in the county of Waterford; and that his daughter Ann had three children born and begot by him, and that she, his daughter, is now living.

Jurat. coram me R. Pine, 17^o die Jan. anno Dom. 1680:

GEORGE APSLY.

Thos. Neesham, *notario publico*, præsente.

Jan. 17, 1680.

IRICHARD BURT of Tallogh, in the county of Waterford, esq. do certify, that (upon perusal of the within contents) the within named Robert Young was entertained, and licensed as a curate in the parish abovesaid, and afterwards deposed for reasons unknown to me; but did soon after, viz. about Christmas 1679, feign and counterfeit my name and hand-writing to an acquaintance and kinsman of mine at Fealher, for seven pounds, (Mr. Cook by name,) and did, by virtue of his other counterfeit letter in my name, receive (as I am assuredly told) the sum of three pounds of one Henry Russel of Clonmell. The truth of all which I certify under my hand and seal, the day and year above written.

RICHARD BURT, Vice-com.

Jan. 17. 1680.

ITHOMAS ELMS of Tallogh in the county of Waterford, feltmonger, do certify, that the afore-named R. Young, on or about the first of December, 1679, did hire an horse, with bridle and saddle, to ride to Cashel, of me, at the rate of twelve-pence *per* day; all which he hath deceived me of to my great damage. And I certify under my hand the day and year abovesaid.

Being present: Richard Burt, *vice-com.*; Francis Foulke;

Thom. Neesham, *notarius publicus*; Garret Roche;

Roger Power.

his

THOMAS † ELMS.

mark.

The Counterfeit Bill of Mr. Burt.

SIR,

Tallogh, 17 Dec. 1679.

THE bearer hereof, Mr. Robert Young, minister of our town, is bound for Cashel to the archbishop, to pay some money. Therefore, I entreat you to do me that great kind-

ness, as to let him have three pounds; and I will pay you, when you call for it. If you do me this courtesy, I will requite you for it. So hoping you will not fail, I rest your loving friend,

To Mr. Henry Russel, goldsmith, at Clonmell.

RICHARD BURT.

December 18, 79.

RECEIVED of Henry Russel the sum of three pound: I say, received by me,
R. YOUNG, clerk.

The Certificate of divers other Persons, touching Robert Young's First Marriage.

WE, whose names are subscribed, do hereby certify all whom it may concern, that R. Young, who lately supplied the cure at Tallogh, was, as we are credibly informed, married at Rath-cormack, by Dr. William Smith, to Ann, the daughter of George Yeabsly, about five years since; during which time, the said Robert Young and Ann did cohabit, or dwell together, as man and wife, at the house of the said George Yeabsly; where they had three children: which said George Yeabsly and Ann his daughter do now dwell at Monoth, within four miles of this town of Tallogh. All which we do certify this twenty-first day of January, 1680.

Thomas Beecher, *prebend. de* Clashmore; Richard Gist; Richard Giles; John Yeabsly; William Gist; William Page; Thomas Clark; Richard Burt, *vice-com.*; George Oburn; Robert Benger; Francis Cooper; Thomas Bateman.

The Certificate of the Dean of Kilmore, concerning Robert Young's Second Marriage with Mary Hutt.

I EDWARD DIXY, dean of Kilmore, do hereby own and acknowledge, that I married Robert Young (formerly clerk and curate of Kildallin, in the diocese of Kilmore,) and Mary Hutt, daughter of Simeon Hutt, of the town of Cavan, vintner, on the first day of July last, in the presence of the under-named persons, and others; who, with myself, do hereby certify the same, and subscribe hereunto this fifth of March, *anno Dom.* 1680.

Edw. Dixy, *decan.* Kilmor.; Hen. Gillorist, *notar. public.*; Simeon Hutt; Lettis Hart, *sen.*; Lettis Hart, *jun.*; Ann Hollend; Alexander Makeland; Thomas Lavender.

AT the request of Mary Young, *aliàs* Hutt, we do hereby certify, that Robert Young, in the abovesaid certificate mentioned, lieth in the gaol of Cavan, and standeth charged with being the husband of two wives, *viz.* Mary Hutt, now resident in the corporation of Cavan; and one Ann Absly, in the county of Cork, unknown to us. And we do hereby desire some of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the said county of Cork, that they will be pleased to bind over the said Ann Absly, her father, and some other persons, who were present at the inter-marriage of the said Ann to the said Robert Young; that they may appear the 30th instant, to give their evidence against the said Robert Young.

Dated at Cavan, the 5th of March, 1680.
Humphry Perriot, *vice-com.*; Richard Lewis; Samuel Townly; John Maxwell; Henry Waldram, *sov.* of Cavan; Mer. Hart.

An Order of the Justices to summon George Yeabsly, his Son Roger, and Ann Young his Daughter, to appear at the Assizes at Cavan, at the Tryal of Robert Young.

By his Majesty's Lords-Justices of the Assize for the Province of Munster.

WHEREAS George Absly of Breedas, in the parish of Arda, in the county of Cork, yeoman; Roger Absly of the same, in the said county, yeoman; son to the said George Absly, and Ann Young, are material evidences in his Majesty's behalf, against Robert Young, now prisoner in his Majesty's gaol of the county of Cavan, and charged with being married to two wives, both being alive: these are therefore, in his Majesty's name, to will and require you, George Absly, Roger Absly, and Ann Young, to appear before his Majesty's lords-justices of assize for the north-west circuit of Ulster at Cavan, on the thirtieth day of this instant; then and there to give your evidence, in his Majesty's behalf, against the said Robert Young. Whereof you may not fail, at your peril.

Dated at Cork, this seventeenth day
of March, 1680.

Hen. Hen.

WILLIAM DAVIS.

Robert Young's Letter to the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, confessing his Guilt of some Crimes, but denying his double Marriage.

MAY it please your Lordship; Having deliberately considered the evils I have really done, and the greater evils that have been mis-reported of me to your lordship, I cannot but acknowledge the justice of your lordship's displeasure; and I am now so far from making any defence for the disingenuous shifts, my necessities and fears have put me upon, that I have already been my own accuser, and do as much condemn myself as the severest judge can do. And I hope no temptation of secular advantage shall ever hereafter make me so far swerve from the severe rules of virtue, becoming a Christian and a clergyman. But though I am willing, in all humility, to submit myself to your lordship's censure, for what I have done amiss: yet I hope your lordship's goodness will be my sanctuary, where I am manifestly wronged. There are so many persons of credit here, that knew the gentlewoman, that was affirmed, and, as I hear, sworn to be my wife in these parts; that I doubt not but it will be made clear to your lordship, that that report was the issue of ignorance and malice: and I hope a little time will acquit me of what other reports I suffer under in that matter. But, while I am here in confinement, I am in a manner debarred of all expedients to clear my innocence; at least, to do it speedily. And, in the mean while, I suffer all the hardship of a gaol amongst people, from whom I can expect no relief, and at so great a distance from such as might relieve me, that I can hope for little comfort from them. May it therefore please your lordship, so far to favour my innocence in this matter, as that I may be brought to hearing before your lordship; where, if it appear that I have any other wife but her, with whom I have lived in your lordship's diocese, I shall quietly submit myself to the severity of the laws; if not, I hope my penitence and reformation may in time mitigate your lordship's just displeasure for the confessed faults of

Lifford, Novemb. 26, 1680.

Your Lordship's most humble Suppliant,

ROBERT YOUNG.

A Letter from Robert Young to Justice Waldram, offering him a Bribe to let him be bailed.

MAY it please your Worship; My mind I thought your Worship understood; therefore, if your Worship does not understand what I mean (as I suppose you do) I will discover it

to your Worship. For may it please your worship, I have not any to make my complaint to, but to your Worship: therefor I most humbly beg your Worship to take bayl, and I will give you forty shillings. Moreover, my brother will bring a letter from captain Sanderson, that my brother is sufficient bayl; and that captain Sanderson is satisfied to take him, provided I get any other: and I, not being acquainted with any, in these parts, fears I cannot procure another easily; but, if your Worship will take any other bondsman with my brother, I will give you the aforesaid summ of money, before you take bayl: and I will take my oath to your Worship, that I will not tell it to any body. Dear Mr. Waldram, do me that charity, for I ly in a sad condition; indeed, you will do me a singular kindness, and shew a great deal of charity, in so doing; for I know, if your Worship please, it lyes in your hands. I desire your Worship not to discover any thing to the bearer, or any other. I intreat your Worship, to write your Worship's mind to me by the bearer, that I may send him for captain Sanderson's letter to your Worship. So I rest

Your Worship's most humble Suppliant to command, ROBERT YOUNG.

A Letter from Robert Young to Roger Yeabsly his Brother-in-law, to come and save his Life, by forswearing himself.

Dear Brother,

Cavan, Feb. 5, 1680.

COME along to me, with your sister; for I have fallen under a sad business, and I will loose my life, if you and your sister does not come to deny, that I am not the man. For Christ's sake, dear brother, come along with her, and I hope you shall not be the worse for it; for my life lyes in my wife's, and your hands: so that I am certain, you will do what lyes in you. If you do not come, I will be put to death; but, if you and my wife comes, you may have many a merry day with me hereafter. So I rest

Your loving Brother, ROBERT YOUNG.

A Letter from Robert Young out of Cavan Gaol, to his first Wife, Ann Yeabsly, to the same Purpose.

WHEN I left you last, I came to Belturbet in the county of Cavan, where I served as curate for the space of half a year, and had thirty-five pounds a year. Upon which, I spoke to my brother-in-law to bring you down to me, but he seemed unwilling to go so far: at which time, I used too oft, (which is my sorrow this day,) at one Simon Hutts in Cavan; (cursed be the time, that ever I went there!) Whereupon Simon Hutt proffered me a hundred and fifty pound with his daughter; and he getting me drunk one night, I was married to her, and was ready to cut my own throat, the next day: but I seeing what a primary I had by my ludness brought myself in, I saw that it could not be avoided. Whereupon I resolved only to stay till I had gott the money promised, and then to come to you, my dear honey, and so for you and I to go for England, where we should never be known. But my journey was stopt, for Simon Hutt heard something of my marriage to you, before the portion was paid; and so sent up to know, whether it was so, or no. And so the messenger brought word, that one Robert Young, a minister, was married to one Ann Yeabsly, daughter to George Yeabsly, near Tallogh. But, for all that the messenger brought, they knew not whether I was the man or no: so that it may be denied with safety, to preserve my life. For they have clapt me in goale upon suspition, where I lye in a deplorable condition, and nobody to help me. Therefore, dear honey, for Christ's sake come to me, and bring my brother Roger along with you: for the assizes is the sixth of March, where I will be tried for my life; and there is not any in the world can preserve it, only you, my dear honey. If you come and say, that I am not the man, you were married to; and bring my brother Roger along with you to justifie the same; I wil be set at liberty, and then I shal get what money is promised, and

go over to England with you. And I wish, that I may never thrive in this world, if ever I leave you hereafter; for I care no more for this husy, than for the durt under my shoo. O curse of God light on me, if ever I leave you hereafter, if you prove so real to me, as to come and deny that I am none of your husband! for there is no way to save my life but that. I wish that I may never see the kingdome of God, if I do not prove as real, constant, and loving husband to you, as ever man did to woman.

Dear heart, I know that I have committed a grievous and abominable fault; but I may blame bad company, and my drink for it. Therefore, for Christ's sake, dear honey, forgive me; and come along with the bearer, and clear me. And the curse of God light on me, if I prove false to you, after saving my life: for now my life lyes in your hands. I will earnestly repent for what I have done; and I hope God Almighty will forgive me. If I had a hundred wives, it is you alone that is my lawfull wife, and shal be to my dying day. For Christ's sake, come and say, that I was not the man you were married to. I say, dear heart, come along with the bearer, and bring my brother Roger along with you. If you do not clear me, I will be put to death; and is it not better for you to come, and tell a lye to preserve your husband's life; and to enjoy him as long as you live, and I lives; than for to have him put to death, and never to see him again? And this I will assure you, that there will be an order from my lord-chief-justice to bring you down against the assizes. So that I sent the messenger to prevent that, by giving you timely notice: for you may come and stay in my brother-in-law's house, until such time as we do get our business done; and I will go with you unknown to any body. So hoping you will come and save the life of your loving husband; I rest, dear heart,

Cavan, Feb. 5, 1680. Your loving Husband, and till death, ROBERT YOUNG.

Here I have sent you the enclosed to my father, and my brother Roger.

Pray present my duty to my mother, and my love to my brother John, and William Haskins, and my sister Else; and my blessing to my poor child, if she be alive.

A Letter to her Father George Yeabsly from Robert Young; proposing the Means, how he might get off, by his Son and Daughter's Perjuring themselves.

Dear Father,

Cavan, Feb. 5, 1680.

I HAVE declared the reasons and causes of my marriage in my wife's letter, which you may peruse: therefore, dear father and mother, forgive me, for it was a folly of youth-hood, and, if you come to prosecute to put me to death, I cannot help it. But if you give your consent to my wife, to preserve my life, this shal be a warning to me so long as I live. O! dear father, you know that David, a man after God's own heart, was guilty of both murder and adultery: and therefore, dear father, preserve my life, if you please; and I protest to God Almighty, I will never forsake my poor wife, your daughter, so long as life continues; for it is she, that is my lawfull wife. And therefore, for Christ's sake, dear father, send my dear wife and my brother Roger, to clear me by the same means, that I have prescribed in my wife's leter. If I were cleared, I could gett mony enough to do you and I good, as the bearer can tell you. After I am cleared, I will carry my wife and my brother Roger down to se my grany, whom I dare not as yet write to. If you have a mind to save my life, do not come yourself; but send my wife and my brother Roger down to me. And go to Tallow, and gett a certificate drawn, and have it signed by Mr. Burt, and Mr. Neesham, that Ann Yeabsly is your daughter, and that she was married to one Robert Young, that they may believe, she is the same woman; and that Roger Yeabsly is your son, and that he was standing by, when Robert Young was married to your daughter; and if you have a mind to save my life, they must deny, that I am the man: for there is no way to preserve my life, but that. Write also to Simon Hutt, in Cavan, that you would a com't to se if it were the same person, to prosecute him, but

only you fell sick; and therefore you sent your son and daughter, to prosecute, if it be the same man. So having no more at present to write, I rest

Your loving Son, ROBERT YOUNG.

My duty to my mother, and love to my brother John, and sister Else, and my brother Haskins, and all the rest of our friends in general.

A Letter to his Second Wife, Mary Hutt, denying his first Marriage, with terrible Curses.

O, my dear Heart,

YOU know it was for love of you that I brought this misery upon myself, God Almighty help me; I was fully resolved to tell you the contents of all my letters, whenever I could have the opportunity of speaking to you: for my landlady can tell you, that I was fully resolved to shew you the letters, but could not; by reason I could not gett speaking to you. O, my dear, have I thrown myself, for the love of you, into all this misery, and you to serve me thus? Surely, if you have the heart of a stone, you will not do it. O, if I had but only you here, I would a reckoned all this nothing; but, if I be requited thus, I cannot help it. O, I wish to Christ I were ten foot under ground, and then you would have your heart's desire as I perceive. Those letters that I write, was only for that woman to come and clear me: for I was afraid, that if I had writ any otherwise, she would not come; but, upon those letters, I was certain would a com't and cleared me. And then I was in good hopes to have enjoyed you again. If I had my liberty and your consent, I would quickly have brought you out of all your misery. I write purposely to that woman against you, for to have her come and clear me; which, if she did me justice, I am certain she cannot do to the contrary. I wish I may never leave this place alive, if ever I was married to any other woman upon the face of the earth, but you! But, if you will be pleased to give me a meeting, I will satisfy you why I write so to that woman; and you will find it so at long running; though I dare not say that my soul is my own here. For Christ's sake take pity on me; and let me not starve in this deplorable condition. For God's sake pay my landlady but only for one month's diet unknown to any; and, if I do not prove, what I said formerly, to be truth, then never pay another week for me again. My dear heart, for Christ's sake do not heed these letters, for I write them only in design to gett my liberty, and to enjoy your sweet company again. God let me never se the face of God Almighty, if there was any other design in it. You may believe me, a poor miserable soul. I hope you will take all this to consideration, for if I had but only your favour, I did not care for any thing; but if not, pray put an end to my days. I wish that I may never se the kingdome of God and Christ, if ever I was married to any woman but yourself. Indeed, I should not take such an oath as this, if I found myself guilty, and knowing not how long I have to live. O, my dear soul, you will believe any body before me: I have seen the day, you would not believe any before mee; but now, it seems, the case is altered. I wil take the sacrament to-morrow, and take it on my death if I were going to dye, that those letters were write upon no other design: O, I wish that I may never se the face of my Saviour, if ever I was married to any other woman but yourself. Surely, you may believe me in this sad condition, and know not how long I have to live. If you will but only to do me the charity as to come and speak to me, I will give you full satisfaction why I write to Absly. If you remember, I told you somewhat of that woman before I left Belturbit. O my dear heart! will you not do me the charity as to give me a meeting, that I may satisfy you? O! will you, my dear, leave me comfortless in this sad condition? God knows, I ly weeping and writing. I thought I was well enough so long as I had you on my side; but now, it seems, all comfort is fled from me. O, wil not death make an end of this misery? If not, I wil, if I can conveniently. If you give me any comfort, I will endeavour to clear myself, and take a good heart still: but if not, I wish they would put me out of this misery: for I am sure

I shal die with a clear conscience. If you forsake me, I have none to take my part ; but if not, I hope you and I shal have joyful days for all this. So, hoping you will pity my condition, I rest, dear soul,

Your loving Husband till death, ROBERT YOUNG.

I hope you wil send me an answer by the bearer, what you are resolved to do. If you will pay for my diet unknown to any, my landlady will say, that she took my word.

Another Letter to her, from Iniskillin, after he was got out of Cavan Gaol.

My dear Heart,

I AM safely arrived at Iniskillin, and am well at present, and cares not for all your barking dogs at Belturbit and Cavan both. Let them do what they can ; I care no more for them than I care for the silliest dog in the street. But, as to that, I will leave it off at present. I hope you are mindful of your promise to me in Harris's garden, made to me there. Here I have sent the bearer purposely for you, and I gave him 6s. for going for you. Dear heart, do not fail ; but come along with him to me, for my life lyes where you do. If I had your company, I did not care for all the world. Dear heart, I say again, come to me ; for I will assure you have as many tears from my eyes, as there are letters in this letter, from your poor husband. Therefore, dear heart, if ever you intend to se me alive, come to me now ; if you do not, I will make this town my burial-place. I hope you will take no body's counsell, in this case, but your own. If your friends will not let you come to me, pray (if you have any love for me) steal away to come to me. Send all your linnen and cloaths of woollen, and my cloaths also out before you, and seal all that you cannot bring along with you ; and be sure not to pay a farthing to any body, but keep it yourself : take my counsel, I desire you. Dear heart, you and the bearer may contrive the business I suppose, and be sure bring the bond or mony along with you ; for you know I have but little money when I pay the bearer. I could a had a place, but only it is too nigh your bishop, that dog. Do not fear, for I will soon get a place if I would look for it. So, hoping you wil come to your poor husband, I rest, dear heart,

Your loving Husband, till death do us part, ROBERT YOUNG.

Pray do not trust any thing with the bearer, but come yourself.

Dear heart, be sure to bring the bond along with you, if you love me ; and all the papers that you find in my box. I hope you will not fail to perform all that I have spoken.

All these letters of Robert Young's I have set down, just as I found them under his own hand, in his own way of spelling, as I shall do the rest of his which are to follow ; and, perhaps, some reader or other, who is more acute in such matters, than I am, will shrewdly guess thereby, and by divers unusual words and expressions, and his manner of syntax, what country-man he is.

That, which next follows, is another of his disingenuous shifts (as he modestly calls them) performed also in Ireland ; I mean, his profane invasions of holy orders : that of deacon, by deluding the lord bishop of Killaloo with forged certificates ; that of presbyter, by his own sacrilegious self-ordination.

To prove this, I shall produce also the undoubted evidence of original writings ; wherein, (as in those foregoing, and indeed in most of the other papers, I have by me concerning him,) it may easily be observed, that, besides the main crime they chiefly intend to prove, there is also, here and there, a casual mention made of divers other steps towards his present pitch of perfection. And particularly, in this whole cheat relating to his orders, it may be observed, that he had always ready divers sets of testimonials, letters dimissory, and letters of orders fitted to his several names, and pretended to be from several bishops. But let the papers speak for themselves.

A Letter, from one Dr. Nicholson, of Castle-Reah, to the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, concerning Robert Young's Forging Certificates.

My Lord, *Castle-Reah, in the County of Roscommon, Decemb. 22, 1680.*

I RECEIVED a letter from your lordship concerning Mr. Young: I am glad he is secured. Upon better recollection of his doings, I remember exactly, that he produced letters of priest's orders here, not from your lordship, (as I at first supposed,) but from the bishop of Killaloo; and that by the pretended recommendation of the archbishop of Cashell; under whose hand he shewed a letter here, directed as to the bishop of Killaloo; and another from the bishop of Killaloo in answer to that, and to acquaint the archbishop, that he had ordained Mr. Young. Several others here saw his letters. I hope his forgery and sacrilegious invasion of the priesthood will receive due punishment, for the necessary discouragement of others of the like impudence. I am

Your Lordship's, &c.

EDWARD NICHOLSON.

A Letter, from the same Dr. Nicholson, to the Lord Bishop of Elphin, concerning Robert Young's heinous Miscarriages.

My Lord, *Castle-Reah, Octob. 11, 1680.*

I DO verily believe, that Mr. Young was never ordained by your lordship, nor any else. He produced parchments, in this diocese, from the bishop of Kilmore, as ordained presbyter by him, and that, by mediation of a letter from the archbishop of Cashell, which he shewed me here, and I suspected it counterfeit; as also I did his letter of orders: for which suspicions, if I had had as great evidences then, as I have had since, I should have seized his papers; but, being then glad to be rid of him, I dispatched him, without giving him the interruption to meddle with his papers. As to the character of him, I am sure he was a most unconscionable ignorant villain: he got a bastard here, by a kitchen-maid, at the inn he first lodged at, which he owned himself to me; and, being needy, I bestowed on him forty shillings more than I owed him, to carry him away. Yet, when he went to Dublin, he counterfeited letters, under my hand, to my brother, a merchant there, to get fifty shillings-worth of goods; and did also the same for Mr. Dalton, to his son-in-law in Dublin. Both the letters were returned to us by the post, and we never heard from him since: but we hear, he had a wife living, and another before her, and was seeking for a third very busily. We have heard so much of him since, that we all think it a great pity, he was not rather hanged, than employed to serve at the altar. I am certain, if any conscientious person, that could apprehend him, would make it his design to rid the church of such a scandal, he would sufficiently appear to have deserved that, if not to be quite packed out of the world. And I assure your lordship, it is no grudge at his person, but perfect charity and zeal for the church, which forces me to give this testimony of him, in obedience to your lordship's commands, which require my character of him; and, if your lordship could be a means of preventing him from further proceeding in the profanation of holy things and offices, it would, no doubt, be acceptable service to God and his church; which is only submitted to your lordship's wisdom, by

Your Lordship's, &c.

EDW. NICHOLSON.

A Letter, from one Mr. Fletcher, to the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, to the same Purpose.

My Lord, *James-Town, Octob. 19, 1680.*

I SUPPOSE my lord of Elphin will be particular with your lordship in the matter of Mr. Young: Mr. Cooke, who was surrogate of Elphin diocese, tells me, he had never letters

of orders from that bishop. It is certain, he fled from his cure at Castle-Reah, having got a wench with child; and fame says, he has two wives, besides the last. I am

Your Lordship's, &c.

BEN. FLETCHER.

A Letter, from the Lord Bishop of Waterford, to the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, concerning Robert Young.

My Lord,

Waterford, Feb. 5, 1680.

I SHOULD have sent your lordship an earlier account of your last to me concerning Young, but I did desire to inform myself, the best I could, for your better satisfaction, of his having a wife in these parts; and being chaplain to the earl of Barrimore, and tutor to his son. As to the former, you will receive here inclosed a certificate from the high-sheriff of the county, and several of the best of the inhabitants of Tallogh, to which I refer you: and, as to the latter, I have spoken with some persons of quality from those parts, who tell me plainly, that Young was never chaplain to the earl of Barrimore, nor went tutor to his son to Oxford; for his son was never there. But, for farther satisfaction, I have employed a friend to the earl of Barrimore himself for his certificate, which every day I now expect. This Young's rogueries and forgeries must needs redound to the great discredit of the church; and I think your lordship has done very well, in taking up his pretended letters of ordination. I humbly entreat you farther, that you would be pleased to take up that forged testimonial, he shewed you in my name, and to send it to me; who am

Your Lordship's, &c.

HEN. WATERFORD and LISMORE.

Robert Young's Counterfeit Letter, from the Lord Bishop of Waterford, to himself; together with his forged Testimonials from the same Bishop.

SIR,

Waterford, March 30, 1680.

ACCORDING to your expectation I have sent you the inclosed, and truly am sorry you left my diocese; but, however, I will be kind to you, if any thing offers itself worthy your acceptance. So, concluding with my blessing to you, I rest

Your, &c.

H. WATERFORD and LISMORE.

Locus sigilli.

H. Waterford and
Lismore.

'These are to certify, that Mr. Robert Young, *cler'*, and master of arts, (whose testimonials from the university of Oxford, in Magdalene-College, I have often perused,) is a man whom I have known from a child; and knows him to be of a sober, and religious, yea, a singular life and conversation: who behaved himself, in my diocese, as becometh a labourer in God's vineyard. And, as concerning whose parts, I myself has often sounded them, and knows him to be a singular scholar; yea, I may say, as well qualified for the function, as any within my episcopal see; which is not all I have to speak in his commendation. All this I do certify, as witness my hand and seal, this 30th day of March, *ann. Dom.* 1680.'

A Letter from the Lord Bishop of Waterford, to the Lord Bishop of Kilmore; and another from the Earl of Barrimore, touching Robert Young's never having been the Earl's Chaplain, or Tutor to his Son, as he pretended.

My Lord,

Waterford, Feb. 18, 1680.

I ACQUAINTED your lordship in my last, that I daily expected an account from the earl of Barrimore, concerning Young's pretended chaplainship to his lordship: I do now send

your lordship here inclosed an account thereof from the earl; and do earnestly intreat that your lordship will be pleased to take up that forged certificate Young shewed you in my name; and to send it to me. Our post will not give me leave to write any more, but that I am

Your Lordship's, &c.

HEN. WATERFORD and LISMORE.

My Lord,

Castlelyons, Feb. 11, 1680.

I RECEIVED a letter from Mr. Dalton, wherein he gives me an account of one Young, who has impudently and falsely called himself my chaplain, and my son Buttevant's tutor. I never saw him but once that he brought me a letter from the now high-sheriff of your county, to recommend him to colonel Witenham (late deceased) at Castletown. If he had been never so much my chaplain, if he failed in the least part of that duty he owes your lordship, he should not have been owned by, my very good lord,

To the Lord Bishop of Waterford.

Your Lordship's, &c. BARRIMORE.

A Letter from the Bishop of Waterford, to the Bishop of Kilmore, touching Robert Young.

My Lord,

Waterford, Oct. 11, 1680.

I HEARTILY thank your lordship for communicating to me the inclosed silly forged certificate concerning Mr. Robert Young therein mentioned. This Young I never knew till about three years since, when he came to the archbishop of Cashell, with a letter of high recommendation from Dr. Smith to be ordained deacon. The archbishop being somewhat indisposed, and not suspecting the letter, writes to me that I would do that office, and inclosed Dr. Smith's letter to him therein. I knew the archbishop's hand, and his secretary's hand that transcribed the letter. But Young, it seems, not contented therewith, breaks open the letter by the way, and adds a silly postscript (as near as I can remember) in these words; 'Moreover, dear brother, fail not to do this office for Mr. Young; for he is a good scholar, and moreover a very good preacher.' This postscript gave me some suspicion: I charged him with it, but he stood stiffly to it a great while, that the postscript was the archbishop's as well as the letter; but, at length, confessed he had broke open the letter by the way, and added the postscript himself. Then I began to examine Dr. Smith's letter, and went into my study to compare it with some I had of Dr. Smith's, which I found to be nothing like, and charged him with that too; and, after a little while, he confessed he had bribed a kinsman of Dr. Smith's to forge the letter to the archbishop; whereupon I gave him a reproof, and dismissed him from me, *re infectâ*. The next news that I heard of him, was, that he had forged a letter from the archbishop of Cashell to the bishop of Killaloo, to be ordained deacon; and thereupon he was ordained. But how he came to be ordained priest by the bishop of Elphin, I cannot give your lordship any good account: yet this I have heard, that whilst he was labouring his ordination there, in a few days, he was to have married some poor woman in those parts, had not some person of the neighbourhood where he lived here in Munster, being casually there, discovered that he had a wife and children then living here in these parts: an account whereof, if occasion be, may easily be had. And now, my lord, I have an humble and earnest request, that your lordship would not return this forged testimonial to Young, but either destroy it yourself, or send it by the next, to

Your Lordship's, &c. H. WATERFORD and LISMORE.

If Young be not free to part with his testimonials and letters of orders too (if your lordship think good) I pray let him be secured; and in short time there will be enough to be said against him.

A Postscript of a Letter, together with a Letter to the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, both from the Lord Bishop of Elphin, concerning Robert Young's having counterfeited Priest's Orders from his Lordship.

Elphin, Oct. 4, 1680.

The inclosed gives your lordship an account of Mr. Robert Young, who was in an ill name before he left us; and since it appeareth that he is ἀνόμιμος, fills his own hand, the church cannot do herself greater right, than to cast such unsavoury salt to the dunghill.

My Lord,

MR. YOUNG, *aliàs* Hopkins, coming into these parts, and producing letters of orders from Dr. Roan, bishop of Killaloo, was by me admitted in writing under my own hand and seal, to serve a cure in this diocese. That wretched and unworthy man was not by me ordained deacon or presbyter: I had much rather have laid my hands on briars than on such heads. The inclosed has been viewed by such as know his hand, and compared; all conclude it a forgery; the instrument formed by himself, the register's hand counterfeited. How he should get my seal, I am not able to say, unless it was taken off the licence I granted him; and of that there are strong presumptions. I shall acquaint those that knew him there, that he is now in safe custody; and if he should escape without some brand, his scandalous crimes being divulged and spread abroad, it would tend to the great dishonour of God, and to the great discredit of our whole profession. I shall not give your lordship farther trouble, but shall beseech God to direct you herein; and likewise shall watch all opportunities to serve you, and approve myself

Your lordship's, &c.

JOH. ELPHIN.

The counterfeit Orders themselves.

TENORE præsentium nos Johannes Providen' Divin' Elphin' episcopus notum facimus universis quod nos Dei omnipotent' præsidio in ecclesia cathedr' sanctæ Mariæ Elphinensis vigesimo-sexto die mensis Novembr' ann. Dom. millesimo-sexcentesimo septuagesimo-septimo, sacrosantos ordines celebrantes, dilectum nobis in Christo Robertum Young, in artibus magistrum de vitâ suâ laudabili morumque & virtut' suarum donis nobis multipliciter commendat' & per nos etiam examinat' & approbat' & ad sancta Dei evangelia primitus jurat' de agnoscendo supremam regiam authoritat' in omnibus causis tam ecclesiasticis quàm civilibus, & de recusando & refut' omnes & singulas jurisdictiones forinsecas quascunque juxta form' statut' hujus regni in hujusmodi casu editi & provisi, manuali insuper subscriptione suâ assensum & consensum suum præbentem quatuor primis canonibus ecclesiæ Hiberniæ editis anno decimo regis Caroli primi beatæ memoriæ, ad sacrum presbyteratum ordinem juxta morem & ritus ecclesiæ Anglicæ & Hibernicæ editos & provisos, admisimus & promovimus: ipsumque Robertum Young in presbyterum ritè & canonicè ordinavimus tunc & ibidem. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum Episcopale præsentibus apponi Fecimus & subscripsimus die mense & anno & nostræ consecrat' An. undecimo.

Locus sigilli. JOH. ELPHINENSIS.

THOM. BANNESTER, Registrarius.

Aprilis 22^o. 1679.—'Exhibit' suit hæc licencia in ordinario visitationis cursu Reverend' Decan' de Lismore.

THO. NEESHAM, Registrarius.

'Exhibit' in visitatione ordinaria tent' apud Cavan, septimo Aprilis, 1680.'

I think my reader will say I have given a sufficient heap of evidence concerning Robert Young's life and conversation in Ireland. And to prove that all these allegations

against him are undeniable, (for I would not willingly bely Robert Young himself,) I will briefly shew by what certain means I came by my intelligence.

Having, among other papers sent me by archbishop Sancroft, found the aforementioned letter of Dr. Foley's, inclosing one from the lord archbishop of Dublin, I sent a copy of it to that excellent person, my dear and honoured friend, sir Charles Porter, lord-chancellor of that kingdom; withal, intreating his lordship to enquire a little farther into Young's character there. Whereupon, my lord-chancellor took such care, that in a short time I had the originals of all these papers transmitted to me by the favour of the lord archbishop of Dublin; together with a letter from his Grace to myself, justifying them all to be authentic; as may be seen in their lordships' own letters, which I here subjoin, as a testimony of the great obligations they have hereby laid on me, and right they have done the world, in respect to Robert Young.

Three Letters from my Lord-Chancellor Porter to me.

My good Lord,

Dublin, July 28, 1692.

SO soon as I received your lordship's of the eleventh, with the inclosed from Dr. Foley to archbishop Sancroft, and found my lord archbishop of Dublin was most likely to give me an account of the person you desired from Dr. Foley; I went to him, and told him what reason I had to enquire after one Robert Young; and desired he would give me some directions, how I might certainly know his character. I did not shew him Dr. Foley's letter; but he remembered him and his rogueries so perfectly, that he gave me the same with what is in the letter; and withal said, "He did believe he could recover some papers which would give me a full account of all that passed." And, within a day or two after, he came to dine with me, and brought them with him; which I now have in my custody, and have perused. They are such as shew by his own confession, as well as proof, that he had two wives at the same time in this kingdom, for which he was in gaol; and I find by some of his letters, that he writes to his first wife (wherein he owns his second marriage); he desires her to save his life, by swearing he was never married to her; and promises, if she will do it, that he may gain his liberty, he will immediately go into England with her, and never more see his second wife, who was the daughter of one Simon Hutt in Cavan. It appears by these papers, that he counterfeited the hands and seals of the bishops of Elphin and Waterford, to letters of his admission into priest's orders; and the hands of Dr. Wilson (now bishop of Limerick) and Dr. Nicholson, and the archbishop of Cashell, all certifying in his behalf, as to his morals and learning. In a word, I never met with so infamous a villain. He was degraded by the archbishop of Dublin, when bishop of Kilmore. I know not how he got out of gaol, where he was committed for having two wives; the truth whereof appears by several letters under his own hand. But I will inform myself, and then give your lordship an account. I know not whether you would have the originals of all the papers or copies relating to this rogue; when I know your mind, I will take the best care I can to observe it. I am

Your Lordship's, &c.

CHARLES PORTER.

He has counterfeited other men's hands in bills,
and got the money thereupon; one of which I find
among the papers.

To the Lord Bishop of Rochester.

My Lord,

Dublin, August 17, 1692.

I HAVE yours of the 9th instant, and having shewed it to my lord-archbishop of Dublin, he has freely consented I shall transmit you the original papers, which, as soon as I can light of a safe hand to bring them to your lordship, shall be done; they being now with a publick notary, for authentick copies to be kept here. My lord-archbishop has also writ

your lordship a letter relating to the man, and the matters of those papers, which he sent me just now. I will not be wanting in giving it all possible dispatch, that your lordship may have opportunity to publish what you intend. I am, my lord,

To the Lord Bishop of Rochester. Your Lordship's, &c. CHARLES PORTER.

My Lord,

Dublin, Aug. 26, 1692.

I HAVE now sent you the original papers about Young. Mr. Roberts has promised me to deliver them to your own hands: he goes from this place to-morrow. I have sent also my lord-archbishop's letter to your lordship (of which I formerly sent you a copy) in the same box; and have caused a publick notary to make copies of all those relating to Young, which I keep by me, as I must also desire your lordship to do the originals; for I have undertaken you will do so: and you will find by what his Grace writes, that he desires the same. I am

Your Lordship's, &c. CHARLES PORTER.

A Letter from my Lord Archbishop of Dublin to me.

My Lord,

Dublin, Aug. 17, 1692.

BY permission of my lord-chancellor, I had the view of your lordship's letter to him concerning Mr. R. Young, whom I found employed as a curate in the diocese of Kilmore, when I served there. He was delated to me for many extravagancies, the least of which was marrying without banns or license. Though after his avoidance, by running out of my diocese, upon his apprehension in the diocese of Raphoe (whither he had betaken himself), and was sent back to Cavan gaol by warrant of the justices, procured by Simeon Hutt, whose daughter he had married, and her father had discovered to be married to another woman then living; I took the advantage of using all the force of the canon in that case, and degraded him; being then apprehensive of the danger of his hanging in his gown. For this crime he was indicted, but both the women could not be brought together; and if they had, the then riding judge (which, as I remember, was Mr. Herbert) declared the fact within benefit of the clergy. He was not sentenced, but left still in Cavan gaol for fees and debts contracted there; where Simeon Hutt, an inn-keeper and inhabitant there, by his interest and proper concern, found means of intercepting, and getting into his hands some of the letters of his own hand-writing, and brought them to me. The other, which are written to me, are all realities; and his pretended orders I received of himself, before he run away. But, my lord, as I was saying, he was left in gaol, and not knowing how to get out, he used means of applying to my lord duke of Ormond, then lord lieutenant; pretending he could make notable discoveries of dangerous plots against the government. The Popish plot was then on foot, and his Grace, as imported, very tender and cautious of discountenancing his offered service, gave him his liberty, and ordered him to come up to Dublin, and make out what he could. The Scotchman had his end, never appeared, but run away into England with his second wife, and I never heard of him till this overture with your lordship. I indeed did write to Dr. Foley, then in England, to make some enquiry after him, and to give notice of him, that there was such a privateer abroad, and to obviate, as much as I could, the evil practices of so vile a man, and the dishonour of the church he pretended to. It is certain he stole into deacon's orders unobserved; he forged his priest's orders, and was self-ordained. He was extremely vicious and had ignorance and impudence enough to offer at any thing. Much of his story (it is so long since 1680) is out of my head; and I wonder how these papers, now sent to your lordship, escaped the general plunder I underwent, when all my books and papers were utterly lost for ever. I cannot otherwise account for their preservation, than that they were all tied together, and thrown into a box of loose and useless letters, which they who took the rest of my goods neglected, because they had store

of better things; and consequently were preserved by a servant of mine: and by a very casual view, since my return out of England, after the late general dispersion, came into my hands as I left them, utterly beyond any purpose or design of mine. However, it fell out happily enough, if your lordship can make any use of them, for the vindication of any honest and innocent person, or the detection of a notorious villain. I beg your lordship would let me know, by some means or other, that you received them, and that you will preserve them; for, if they be any way available to your lordship, they may be so (though that be, as this was, more than I can possibly forethink) to some body else. I am

My Lord, your Lordship's, &c. FRANCIS DUBLIN.

To the Lord Bishop of Rochester.

I have now brought the true Robert Young and his false wife safe into England; though, I confess, I had rather any man in England had done it than myself. But, now, they are here, I will proceed with them in the very same plain and just method as I did before in relating their actions in Ireland; I will trace out their crooked paths as near as I can, step by step, and follow them close at their backs, with an honest hue and cry of original papers, describing them and their crimes.

I have already declared, that, after their arrival in England, about the year 1683, upon Robert Young's unlucky repulse at Lambeth, one of the most memorable enterprises, in which he and his woman displayed their art, was the taking upon them the names, first of Green, then of Jones, then of Smith (all counterfeits of clergymen in distress) and then authorising the whole cheat by forged recommendations of archbishop Sancroft's: beginning thus to practice on other men's purses, by forging his Grace's hand, that when they were more perfect in it, they might attempt with it to strike at his life.

I begin, first, with their cheating dealings under the name of Green; which was the first considerable figure I know of, that they made of themselves in England. By this, having deluded vast numbers of good people in several dioceses, especially that of Norwich, (whereof I have by me a large list of the parochial collections,) they came at last, as I have said, to be detected and punished for it at Bury.

Now, to clear up this part of their history which concluded there, it will be very material that I should recount distinctly the occasion and manner of their being apprehended, and some of Robert's most notorious enormities even whilst he was imprisoned in that gaol, which was for the space of a year.

When Robert and Mary brought the recommendation falsified under the hands of the lord archbishop of Canterbury, and the lord bishop of London, to Mr. Cleggat, minister of that town; and boldly required him to ask the charity of the inhabitants thereupon; both Mr. Cleggat, and Mr. Samuel Battely, a very worthy person dwelling there, (whose brother was then the archbishop's chaplain,) soon discerned the knavery, and immediately repaired to the magistrate's for a warrant to seize them.

In the mean time Robert Young, *aliàs* Youngs, *aliàs* Hutt, *aliàs* Green, suspecting he was discovered, went directly to his inn, and, with his sister and wife, Mrs. Mary Green, *aliàs* Young, &c. presently took horse, and rode as fast as they could out of town, in hopes to have escaped. Mr. Battely, believing they would do so, left the constable to bring the warrant, and ran straight towards the inn to look after them; when he soon perceived them on horse-back, making all possible speed away. But, by good luck, their horse being weak and poor, he overtook them, laid hold on the bridle, and led them back. Whereupon they were committed, tried, and, upon their own confession, condemned and pilloried; as by the record will appear, when it shall be produced.

After this Robert—— (what shall I call him?) remained in Bury-gaol divers months, for not paying his fees; till the summer of the year 1685. That being the first year of king James' reign, and about the time of the duke of Monmouth's invasion, he thought it a proper season for him to declare (as he had done before in Ireland, upon the like exigency of his affairs) that he could make out a certain discovery of seditious and treasonable

practices, wherein divers considerable persons thereabouts were engaged. To this purpose, he not only actually swore treason against one John Pannel, to whom he owed a spite, (who was then a fellow-prisoner with him for debt, and is now an officer in the said borough,) but also sent up a petition, which he called, ‘ A full discovery of treason by Robert Youngs, clerk, to be delivered to the king and parliament then sitting;’ wherein he offered to prove, (if he might have his freedom, and be brought up to London,) that divers wicked traitors in that country, particularly ten Presbyterian ministers, one lord, two esquires, a colonel, a captain, and a cornet, and a gentleman, had been long plotting and contriving the death of the king, and the subversion of the government.

But, of his whole behaviour at Bury, the following papers, being of undoubted authority, are an abundant proof. It will be enough for me to name them as they pass along by me. Only here I entreat my reader once for all to observe, what is most for my purpose, That such has been the constant method of his life, both before and since, as far as I have been able to obtain any knowledge of it: whenever he was out of prison, he has forged hands to bills, and recommendations to get money; and, when he happened to be imprisoned for those forgeries, then he has fallen to counterfeit mighty discoveries of plots against the state, to gain his liberty.

First, then, here are the several confessions of Robert Young and Mary Hutt themselves, before the justices of the peace at Bury, in 1684.

Number I.

Borough of Bury St. Edmonds.

The Information of Mary Green, *aliàs* Hutt, *aliàs* Pierson, *aliàs* Young; taken by Martin Spensley, Esq. Mayor of the said Borough; Thomas Holland, Esq.; John Sotheby, Esq.; and Robert Sharp, Gent. Justices of the Peace for the said Borough, the 15th Day of September, 1684.

THE said informant saith, that the paper and seal thereunto annexed, pretended to be a certificate from the bishop of Elphin, in Ireland, was counterfeited in Ireland, and brought over from thence by her, in April or May last; and that she neither hath, or ever had, any husband called by the name of Robert Green: but that all in the same certificate mentioned concerning him is counterfeit; and that the person, who is now in her company, came with her out of Ireland, and that he is her brother, and his name is Robert Hutt; and that they came together to London, where, in the square at Essex-stairs, she met with one, whose name she doth not now remember, that writ the petition, which she carried to Windsor; and, with her own hands, presented it to the king, who delivered it back to one Mr. Bolstred, without any further answer to it. Whereupon, she repaired to the archbishop of Canterbury, and shewed him her counterfeit certificate from the bishop of Elphin; and he, having viewed it, recommended it to sir John Nicholas, to whom she repaired accordingly, and shewed him the petition which she had delivered to his Majesty, and left it with him; and afterwards (as he told this informant) he carried the same to his Majesty at Hampton-Court; and that, (it being read,) because it concerned Ireland, the king recommended it to the duke of Ormond, and afterwards this informant had the answer to it from him, mentioned in the paper to which sir John Nicholas’s name is subscribed. And further saith, that the paper, to which the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London’s hands and seals are set, is also counterfeit, and was written by another person, whose name she remembereth not; and that the same person did set the archbishop and bishop of London’s hands and seals to it: and saith, that, by virtue of the said paper and seals, she and her brother have gathered a great deal of money, and thereby abused many of the king’s subjects.

MARY HUTT.

The Information of the said Robert Hutt, taken before us the day and year abovesaid.

WHO saith, that the said Mary Hutt (who goes by the names aforesaid) is his sister; and that he never knew any person by the name of Green or Young, that was her husband; but says, that he living in or about Cork in Ireland, and she in Connaught, above an hundred miles distant, in March last she came to this informant's house, and told him, that she had been married to one Green a clergyman, and that he, going to sea, was taken by the Turks, and she was going to London to petition his Majesty for money for his release; and that she had a certificate from the bishop of the diocese of the truth thereof, and thereupon desired this informant to go along with her, and pressed him so hard therein, that at last he left his own occasions with a friend, and went with her to London, by the name of Green, and knew no other name she had; and at London carried her to one William Youngs a drummer, living in Petty-France, beyond Westminster, near the sign of Whitehall, where they stayed all the time they were about London; and during that time she went to Windsor to petition his Majesty; and, finding no satisfaction there, she applied herself to the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London, sir John Nicholas, and others; as in her said information is set down. But saith, that he knew nothing how she came by the said certificates and papers, or who drew her petitions, he knows not. But saith, that upon and with them he hath gone about the country with her, and hath collected several sums of money in several countries in the papers thereof mentioned; he not knowing but all her papers and certificates were true.

MARTIN SPENSLEY, Mayor.

ROBERT HUTT.

The further Information and Examination of the said Robert Hutt, taken the day and year aforesaid.

THE said examine saith, that his name is Robert Young, not Hutt, and that the said Mary is his wife; and that they came out of Ireland at the same time aforementioned; and that he is in priest's orders according to the church of England, and received the same from Dr. Roan, bishop of Killaloo in Ireland, and had a cure of eighteen pounds *per annum* at Calthorn there, and that he hath preached in St. Margaret's church in Westminster; and confesseth, that all the papers and certificates aforesaid are counterfeit, and were made by one Wright⁵, a scrivener in Oxford; and he set the hands and seals to them, except that from the bishop of Elphin in Ireland, which is signed by Thomas Bannister, and was made by him; and he obtained the bishop's seal to it, for which he had ten shillings. And further, that about two years since, he was in England, and applied himself to the archbishop of Canterbury for some preferment, and dined with him; but, finding none, he returned into Ireland; and, being destitute of friends, he applied himself to this ill course, presuming thereby to obtain charity from the people. And further saith, that the said Wright set sir John Nicholas's hand, in answer to the petition to the king; and for that, and for setting the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London, he had a guinea.

THOM. HOLLAND.

JOHN SOTHEY.

ROB. SHARP.

ROBERT YOUNG, Clerk.

Secondly; Here are copies of Mary Hutt's petition to king Charles the Second, under the feigned name of Mary Green; and of the forged reference and recommendations upon it.

⁵ I am certainly informed, that there never was one Wright, scrivener, in Oxford; so that he has abused the name of Wright, as he has done that of Green, Jones, Smith, and divers others.

Number II.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty, and the Right Honourable Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy-council.

The humble Petition of Mary Green, wife of Robert Green, of the kingdom of Ireland,
Most humbly sheweth,

THAT, your petitioner's said husband being minded to take a voyage into the West-Indies upon some extraordinary occasions, it was his hard fortune to be taken by a Sallee man of war, about six months since, as may appear by a certificate under the hand and seal of the right reverend father in God, the lord bishop of Elphin in the kingdom of Ireland; and that he still remains under the extreme burthen of slavery in Sallee, his ransom being set at a thousand dollars; which your petitioner, in regard of her great poverty, is no ways able to raise; she having two small children, being with child of a third hath not wherewith to provide for herself and them, but is like to perish, for want of relief.

Your petitioner therefore most humbly prays, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to recommend your petitioner's and her husband's distressed condition to the consideration of the clergy of England; and, in his behalf, to request them to contribute their charity towards her husband's ransom, and your petitioner's present relief.

And your petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

Read in council, *Jun.* 18, 1684.

THE petitioner is referred to his Grace the archbishop of Canterbury, and bishop of London, to do therein, as to them shall seem meet and convenient, for the redemption of this said Robert Green, Clerk.

JOHN NICHOLAS.

WE recommend the petitioner to the clergy of (provided this our order continue no longer than three months) England, intreating them freely to contribute their charity toward the ransom of the said Robert Green. Moreover (on his Majesty's command to us) we require, and earnestly desire the respective ministers of all cities, towns, &c. to go from house to house, to receive the charitable benevolence of well disposed christians, whom we hope will likewise contribute to the enlargement of a poor distressed clergyman.

Given under our Hand and Seal, at Lambeth-house, June 16, 1684.

W. CANT. Here ☉ the seal.

H. LONDON. Here ☉ the seal.

Number III.

Robert Young's Petition to the Magistrates at Bury, acknowledging his Crime.

To the Worshipful Mayor, and the rest of the Justices for the Borough of Bury St. Edmonds.

The humble Petition of Robert Youngs, Clerk.

Sheweth,

THAT the petitioner being not only sensible, as it is apparent, of his bidding adieu to all truth and honesty, and measuring the same by his own humorsome fancy; making every thing ridiculous, that was not suitable to his own ignorant conceptions; but penitent likewise, thinking himself bound, for the future, to take a notice, that 'Honesty is the best policy.'

Forasmuch therefore, as your poor suppliant being a stranger, and such to most in this kingdom, and having little or no friends or acquaintance, Humbly beseecheth, that your

worshipes will be graciously pleased to accept of such baile, as your poor suppliant can conveniently produce; whereby he may not in a gaol be compelled to end his days, but have his liberty to compose those differences, now depending. The Lord create in your worships bowells of compassion, towards him, who prays for,

Your, &c.

Next, here is Robert Young's first letter to the lord archbishop of Canterbury, in 1684, confessing his crime of forgery; but, in all else, giving a very lying account of himself. A letter very singular for the elegance of its stile; and recommended to the reading of all who call themselves Presbyterians.

Number IV.

May it please your Grace,

Bury, Sept. 30, 1684.

THIS rude and imperfect supplication, being now to pass into your Grace's hands, shal I be so bold as to begg your Grace to peruse it. In prosecution whereof, I do conceive my birth and education, wil in your Grace create a better understanding of me, my life and conversation, than that which the envious man realy represents it to be. For envy is ever working upon some or other: for which cause, it is the proper attribute of the devill, who is called the envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat, by night. But to return, your poor suppliant is (by birth) an Englishman, born of an honest stock, at Chester, a town of merchandize on the sea-coast of England, whose grandfather was sir Peter Young's son, and grandmother the duke of Lenox's daughter; the truth whereof, if questioned, may sufficiently, by a gentleman in London, be proved: knowing some persons to delight in giddiness, and accounts it a bondage to fix a belief, affecting freewill in thinking, as well as in doing. Your poor suppliant likewise (after some knowledge in schoole learning) was removed to Trinity-colledge near Dublin; where, in good litterature, he for the space of seven years remained: and, from thence, by the instigation of Dr. Smith, dean of Limerick, was employed as a reader; which duty by me was faithfully performed, for the space of two years, being then only a deacon. From thence, by the death of the said Dr. Smith, removed I was to serve Dr. John Wilson's cure, sometime fellow of St. Magdalene-college in Oxford, who, as chaplain to his Grace my lord duke of Ormond, came for Ireland, on which provision (though inconsiderable) admitted I was into full orders, by the late bishop of Clogher, who was a man of that divine nature, that all that knew him had a loss of him; the very memory of whom may justly draw a fountain of water from mine eyes: his favour to me ward cannot easily be forgotten.

Thus, in short, your Grace has a description of my birth, education, life, and conversation; which leads me to expostulate my present sufferings. I am, and ever was, a faithfull son of the church of England. All discentors were ever odious in mine eyes, 'specially that damnable faction of Presbytery. If I could, as well as others, have winked at their irregular undertakings, poverty and bondage would not now have dominion over me. But my method was to reduce such factious persons to a regular understanding, and observe wherein, and how far, they have degenerated; although others gleanings, I confess, are better than my vintage, as I am the least of the tribe. Yet, I cannot sit still, but, if occasion offered itself, would once more adventure to cast in my mite against such hæresy, as those gifted persons pretended to. But, knowing to whom I speak, I must not hold your Grace too long to peruse this ignorant discourse, least I give offence.

Lastly, to make an ingenious confession, your poor suppliant in the aforesaid cure, though insufficient if narrowly considered to maintain a family, continued without scandal and corruption, for the space of four years; but by the insufficiency thereof, being but eighteen pound, *per annum*, was forced to borrow money, which summ, at the day prefixed,

I could not disburss; whereupon they issued out writs against me. But I, considering fortune to be like the markt, where, if a man stay a little, the price will fall: thus I thought it better to meet some danger half way, than to keep too long a watch upon my enemies approach: for, if a man watch too long, (as my case stood,) though he committ the beginnings thereof to Argos, with his hundred eyes; and the ends to Briareus, with his hundred hands, tis odds he will fall a-sleep: so that I thought it my best way, for a time, to remove myself and family, to prevent future inconveniences. Whereupon I, with a discontented heart, came for England; and (if your Grace call to mind) made to you my application. Willing was I to take up with the least provision: but no vacancy in your Grace's diocess, was the answer; and withal told me, that my Lord of London possibly might answer my request. Whereupon, I strait way attended my Lord of London, but no satisfactory answer, could I find there. On which, what to do I knew not; but the second time waited on your Grace, and gave up my Lord of London's answer; and withal told your Grace, that willing I was to go for the West Indias. Your Grace's answer was, that provisions there lay in my Lord of London, but being destitute of money and friends, disenabled I was to get thither, unless I had sold myself for a bond-slave, which I was not willing to do. So that for Ireland I again repaired: but no sooner was I well there settled, in a cure far remote from the other, but news my creditors had; for which, without my salary, glad was I to flee again in a distracted condition; and came, accompanied with my wife, to Oxford; where friendship I did endeavour to create, but all in vain. From thence went I towards Bristol, thinking to have made my address to the bishop of that diocesse, but supplanted I was by his death. So that myself I applied to the body of the clergy, but meet not with a satisfactory answer. My second application was to desire them to disburss money for our freight; but, meeting not with my desired success, I came away, not knowing which way to turn myself. To go and steal, I would be hanged; to take by violence a purse, I would be in the same condition; to work, I knew not which way; to begg of the clergy (so many cheats going about) I knew, being a stranger, they would, though undeserved then, pass on me the same sentence. Thus friendless and moneyless, we came to Oxford, in a sad condition, and accidentally meet with one Wright by surname; who, after some days acquaintance, put me upon this hellish stratageme upon your Grace; which forgery he committed, although I am not thereby excused. Truly a terrour to my conscience was it every hower, knowing such clandestine actions to be both against the laws of God and man. O fie! that ever it should be said that a clergyman have committed such dirty actions. O! that my eyes were a fountain of water, to weep for remission, for pardon, for satisfaction, both to God and man. For sure I am the unjust shall be punished in the next world, if not in this. I acknowledge my crime to be great; the Lord give a right understanding of my errour, wherein I have offended both God and man. And what shall I do, or what shall I say to mitigate this crime? 'Tis true, I am heartily sorry, which perhaps, in your Grace, may create mercy; but not pardon from my God, without a loathing and hearty detestation of such unlawfull ways of gain, and an absolution from a bishop. Truly my intention, after the receipt of twenty pounds, was for the West Indias; no more did I desire than what would carry my family thither. But disappointed I was by the just judgement of the Almighty: all we received was spent to recover my wife's health; seaven weeks did she lye sick, which the justices here are not ignorant of; and what little stock we had was exhausted, so that we have neither friends nor money. Your poor suppliant therefore, in most humble manner, beseecheth, that your Grace will be graciously pleased to regulate the hearts and minds of these justices, who have committed my poor sickly wife, as well as myself; and, by your Grace's letter, to animate their hearts to charity, the sessions being Monday next. 'Tis true, I have in a most gross manner incurred your Grace's displeasure, and does not deserve the least favour, 'specially at your Grace's hands; for which, from the bottom of my heart, I humbly beg your Grace's pardon, beseeching your Grace in justice to remember mercy: and though your Grace may cast a severe eye upon the example, yet I humbly

beseech your Grace, to cast a merciful eye upon the person, to whom this shal for ever be a warning-piece, and subscribes himself,

Your Grace's

Most penitent and obedient Servant,

ROBERT YOUNG.

My reader finds that this first letter of Robert Young's to archbishop Sancroft, which seems full of remorse and solemn detestation of his former wickedness, in forging his Grace's name, was dated in prison at Bury, Sept. 30, 1684; but, to shew what kind of penitent he was, I will here subjoin the informations of divers persons at Bury in 1685, touching Robert Young's threatenings against the archbishop of Canterbury's life, not long after he had written this first letter.

Number V.

Bury St. Edmonds, Mart. 27, 1685.

MEMORANDUM, that we whose names are underwritten, being in company with Robert Young, (who was laid in Bury gaol for counterfeiting his Grace the archbishop of Canterbury's hand and seal, &c.) he spoke these words immediately upon hearing of his late Majesty's death, which was Saturday, February 7, 84. "Is the king dead? Then have at the archbishop of Canterbury's head." These words were spoken in his chamber in my hearing. Witness my hand,

THOMAS BOUME.

THE same day in the cellar, the said Robert Young declared, "That now the king was dead, he would have the archbishop of Canterbury's head off." Witness our hands,

JOHN PANNELL.

MATTHEW † BAXTER,
his mark.

AND at other times, in my hearing, and others that are now out of town, the said Robert Young declared, "That, if ever he got out of prison, he would revenge himself on his Grace the archbishop of Canterbury." JOHN PANNELL.

AT another time, some two or three days before, the said Robert Young, upon hearing of his Majesty's death, did in the hearing of me John Rewse, in the said Young's chamber, in Bury prison, say these words: "Some of my enemies may repent what they have done to me. It will not be long e're the archbishop of Canterbury's head be off."

JOHN REWSE.

WILLIAM ROSE of Elmswel, in the county of Suffolk, Yeoman, saith, that Robert Young, a prisoner in Bury gaol, upon hearing of his late Majesty's death, did publicly say these words following, *viz.* "Now, by God, have at the archbishop of Canterbury's head." And that, at several times, he hath discovered himself to bear hatred against his Grace, and hath often spoken reproachfully against his Grace.

WILLIAM ROSE.

Sixthly, Here is Robert Young's second letter to the lord archbishop of Canterbury; confessing still his own guilt, but intended chiefly to weaken the evidence of John Pannell, one of those Bury witnesses, by accusing him of treason.

Number VI.

May it please your Grace,

Bury, July 23, 85.

IN the first place, all that I design in this letter, is an apology for myself, to ask pardon for my transgression against your Grace (although deluded thereto), hoping, that this my mean and weak supplication will be sheltered under the canopy of your profound charity. And seeing I have, by wicked advice, consented to things misbecoming an honest man, most reverend father, let not my honesty be tainted therewith, but evil counsell justly blamed; which, for ever hereafter, shal be a warning-piece to me, never to commit the like again; but, by honest and christian endeavours, to provide for himself and family, whose conditions are now reduced so low, that perish they must, unless by your Grace's clemency eased. Furthermore, I do promise to do your Grace that justice, as to bring in the first actours and contrivers of that wicked action, who did not only encourage me, but several imposthims they likewise have sent abroad, which I can prove. Having thus far declared myself, and endeavoured to take off such aspersions as might possibly have been thrown on me; give me leave to acquaint your Grace, that I am given to understand, that one John Pannel have lately sent your Grace a petition, intreating you to incense the judge, that comes this circuit, against me; which petition I humbly desire and beseech you, for your honour, to disregard. For that person is a rebellious traitor, and have declared himself so to be; his words and intended actions are, in breve, as followeth. He called the king 'a popish dog, a rogue,' and said, that he has taken that which was none of his own, but the duke of Monmouth's; he has said likewise, that he would do his endeavour to chop off that Popish rogue's head. *Si indixeris mihi ut singula dilatem, non recusabo; modò tempus mihi concesseris: nam statim hoc facere, non est harum, quoad corpus, virium: paratus semper dicere, qui sunt subditi probati & qui non.* My lord, I thought fit thus to acquaint your Grace, that you may not so much as mention his name with any due respect; his factious ancestors will make him notorious enough, if no treason were objected and laid to his charge. But, seeing what I have in part acquainted your Grace with, will, next assizes, be sworn against him by three evidences, and the king likewise acquainted therewith; and the said John Pannell a great finatick: I humbly have sent your Grace (out of that love and affection I bear to my king and to the clergy) this caution of the said John Pannell. So I take leave, desiring to remain

Your Grace's most humble Servant, ROBERT YOUNGS.

Seventhly, Here is the true hand and seal of archbishop Sancroft, which Robert Young having torn off from a real instrument of his Grace's that he had casually lighted on, prefixed a false licence to it to beg in three other dioceses; and that dated even after the former letters to the archbishop, and after he had been pilloried at Bury for the first forgery.

Number VII.

WE recommend the petitioner to the diocesse of Oxford, Lincoln, and Sarum, humbly beseeching the clergy of all cities and corporations (within the aforesaid diocesses) to go from house to house to receive the benevolence of all charitable christians, towards the relief of a poor distressed clergyman.

Given under our hand and seal, at Lambeth-House,
Jan. 2. ann. Dom. 1685.

Locus Sigilli.
W. CANT.

Two papers relating to a false plot in king James's time, which Robert Young offered to discover at Bury, when he was prisoner there, in the year 1685: both which papers are written with his own hand, and were taken out of his pocket, when he was searched for instruments, wherewith he designed to break prison there.

The first paper; which seems to be a letter to some lord at court, concerning Robert Young's plot in 1685, but is not superscribed.

Number VIII.

May it please your Lordship,

Bury Goale, June 13, 85.

ALTHOUGH I have been, and also am unwilling to truble you with my letters, yet, notwithstanding, the treacherous speeches and intended actions of wicked rebels forceth me thereunto at present. I leatly a petition to the king and parliament sent, which petition (declaring in part the purport of what I have to say) I humbly beseech your lordship, for the love of a gracious king, to take care of; and so far, that king and parliament may therewith be acquainted. Nothing is therein delivered, but what I, by sufficient evidence, can make appear to be truth. Justice will in no wise for the king here be done; the reasons, when removed, I'll produce, but here I dare not. I humbly desier, before his royal majesty, and his high honorable court of parliament, to be, as soon as may be, called up, where with justice, and not with partiality, I may be heard to speak.

[And here follows some of his former sort of Latin, which I set down as I find it in his own hand.]

De his rebus omnibus obsecro & suppliciter imploro te mihi rescribere literam, in qua si indixeris mihi ut singula delatem non recusabo, paratus semper ostendere, qui sunt probati, subditi & qui non. Nihil jam superest aliud scribendum, nisi quod supplex orem ut omnes actiones secundat Deus optimus maximusque. Et ex toto corde vale.
Ex Carcere 13^o die mensis, Junij, ann. Dom. 85.

Tuæ salutis & amplitudinis cupidissimus, &c.

R. Y.

The second paper; which is the original petition that Robert Young sent up, to be presented to the king and parliament in May 1685; wherein he promises to make out the discovery of his plot, if he might have his liberty, and be brought up to London to be the king's evidence. This is also recommended to the reading of the Presbyterians.

A full Discovery of Treason by Robert Youngs, Clerk.

To the most High and Mighty Prince, James the Second, by the Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. and to His Most Honourable and High Court of Parliament.

The Humble Petition of Robert Youngs, Clerk; now a Prisoner in Bury St. Edmunds, in the County of Suffolk.

In most humble and lamentable wise complaineth unto your Majesty, and your High Court of Parliament,

THAT whereas your most obedient subjecte, living under the laws of God and your majesty's realms, in the days of the late gracious king Charles the Second, of ever blessed memory, did in all things show himself a true, faithful, and obedient subject, according to his function, as well as in the sincere administration (according to the church of England) of God's holy word, as in due obedience to the higher powers. Your said suppliant, notwithstanding, contrary to all laws of justice and equity, was notwithstanding, in very extream manner, not only cast into prison (where he, being altogether a stranger, have these eight months by past continued); but likewise (last assizes nothing being objected against him) bound over to his good behaviour, where he will (through malice, and for fear of discovering their rebellious and clandestine actions) perish inevitably. For such is the malignity of your majesties enemies against your poor subject, that they keep him close lock't up, not suffering his wife to come to him; giving order likewise, that all pen, ink, and paper should not be permitted to be carried to him, least he make complaint. And the more severity they show; because your obedient subject did discover one John

Pannel, who like a rebel and a traiter, did call your sacred majesty 'a popish dog and rogue;' and said, 'that he, against your sacred majesty, would fight for the duke of Monmouth, so long as he had blud in his body.' Moreover, Feb. 7, 84, about three of clock in the afternoon, he swore, 'That now he would accomplish his long design'd 'and intended purpose.' "Now," said he, (news being brought a little before that the late king was really dead) "I will have that popish rogue's head," &c.

Now by the discovery hereof, your poor subject have to himself enemies innumerable created; and yet will (so long as life continues) stand firm and unshaken, notwithstanding all the vain attempts and impetuous assaults made against him, by such men as are given to change, and have always discovered a greater regard to their own treacherous and rebellious spirits, than to that duty and legality which they owe unto your most sacred majesty. All these things, and much more, shall against John Pannel, and others (whom to discover here, were to no purpose) be confirmed by three witnesses. Many are the conspiracies and conspirators, who have plotted and contrived how to bring their wicked enterprizes to an head. In order hereunto (as in conscience obliged, and as a faithful subject to your majesty) can, and will make a full discovery of ten presbyterian ministers, one lord, two esquires, a colonel, a captain, a cornet, a gentleman, who having long since plotted and contrived the death of your most sacred majesty, and the subversion of the government now established amongst us, and still continues their hellish devices, who (if in time not prevented) will (with a sad memento) make known what your faithful subject doth now in part relate; they having promised, vowed, and protested, that if ever your majesty came to the crown, enjoy it you should not one year to an end. Such evidence against them singularly shall be produced, as to the consciences of all loving subjects shall seem reasonable and sufficient; and if your poor subject does not prove by sufficient evidence what he now affirms, your said subject offers himself then to the most heavy punishment that it shall please your majesty to appoint.

In consideration whereof, may it please your most sacred majesty, and this your high court of parliament, graciously to take the premises so far into your tender consideration, as to call up to London before your princely majesty your poor subject, who will in full discover all those clandestine actions and hellish stratagems of rebellious and treacherous rebles, who intends no goodnesse towards your royal person, whom God preserve, &c. which thing being granted, your said subject doubts not but that it shall plainly appear de unde by sufficient evidence, who are faithful subjects and who not. Wherefore, for the tender mercy of God, your said subjecte in bonds and irons, most humbly beseecheth your majesty, and this high court of parliament, benignly and graciously to grant this petition; tending so graciously to the preservation of your majesty and the government now establish'd amongst us, &c.

And your petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray, &c.

In this last, and in several of the foregoing papers, my reader finds mention of one John Pannel. Upon this there depends a story which must not be omitted, because it is sent me from Bury, attested under hand and seal by persons of known credit and repute. And with this I shall end all Robert Young's transactions at Bury.

It appears, that this John Pannel had not only fallen into Robert Young's displeasure by his having been one of the witnesses of his menaces against the archbishop's life, but also for having prevented Robert's designed escape out of the common gaol there.

Robert Young, in revenge of all this, not only wrote to the archbishop against him in the venomous manner, as appears in his second letter to his grace, that there should be high treason sworn against the said John the next assizes, and not only also named him as guilty in the foregoing petition to the king and parliament, mentioning in both the particular treasons, but effectually made good his word; and the very next assizes at Ipswich, for the county of Suffolk in the same year 1685, prosecuted John Pannell for his life before the lord-chief-justice Jones.

Nay, when it was objected by the judge, that this was but a single witness, Robert immediately took care to supply that defect, and out of hand produced Mary to swear the

very same words, and the very same time and place, as her foreman had sworn before her. So that had not the lord-chief-justice been seasonably informed of the profligate reputation of Robert and Mary; and had not the deputy gaoler of Bury preferred voluntary to take his oath, 'That Mary was really absent from Robert, and had been so for a good space, both before and after the time, when the treasonable words were pretended by Robert to have been spoken by John Pannell;' the poor innocent man had been in danger of being hanged for a traitor to king James, by the perjury of these two wretched gaol-birds.

But thus much for Robert and Mary Green, &c.

Next, we shall behold the same farce acted over again by the same persons, under the disguised names of Robert and Mary Jones; John and Mary Smith: She the wives of him the rectors of the same Ashford in Kent, and both at the same time.

Nay (to shew how necessary it is that great liars should have great memories) we shall see, that two of these pretended recommendations, from archbishop Sancroft, do very unhappily bear date the very same day, September the third, of the very same year, 1687, for the same woman, under different names.

First, Here are the forged recommendations, pretended to be from archbishop Sancroft, of Mary Hutt, both as Mary Jones and Mary Smith, to the Lords Bishops of Chichester, Norwich, and St. Asaph. The body of these letters being an imitation of his Grace's own hand, but all the subscriptions counterfeited to admiration.

Number I.

My lord; This is to acquaint your lordship, that one Mr. Robert Jones, rector of Ashford in my diocese, is a prisoner for debt, occasioned by suretyship; he is a person well known to me, and deserves our assistance. I hope you will therefore give his wife (who will suddenly attend your lordship) licence to ask and receive the charity of your dean and chapter, towards her husband's freedom, as we in our diocese have done. I am,

Lambeth, June 11, 1687.

Your loving friend and brother,

To the Lord Bishop of Chichester.

W. CANT.

My Lord; This is to acquaint your lordship, that one Mr. John Smith, rector of Ashford in my diocese, is a prisoner for debt, occasioned by suretyship; he is a person well known to me, and deserves our assistance. I hope you will therefore (as other of our brethren have done) extend your charity toward his freedom; and likewise recommend his distressed condition to your dean and chapter, or in his absence to the subdean. I am, my lord,

Lambeth, Sept. 3, 1687.

Your loving friend and brother,

To the Lord Bishop of Norwich.

W. CANT.

My Lord; This is to acquaint your lordship, that one Mr. Robert Jones, rector of Ashford in my diocese, is a prisoner for debt, occasioned by suretyship; he is a person well known to me, and deserves our assistance. I hope you will therefore extend your charity toward his freedom, as we in our diocese have done: And likewise give his wife (who will suddenly attend your lordship) licence to ask and receive the charity of your dean and chapter. I am, my Lord,

Lambeth, Sept. 3, 1687.

Your loving friend and brother,

To the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.

W. CANT.

This letter was sealed with a bishop's seal and a wafer; and the stamp under-marked on the back of it, to signify what part of the town it came from.

Secondly, Here is a forged letter from Dr. Fauconberge, secretary to my lord arch-

bishop, accompanying that letter to the lord bishop of Norwich; wherein is a false list of what sums other churches and church-men had given, to excite his lordship and his church and diocese by those examples.

Number II.

May it please your Lordship,

Sept. 3, 87.

I AM commanded by my lord's grace of Canterbury to send this as a cover to the enclosed; and to let your lordship know, that Mr. Robert Smith (brother to the prisoner) is appointed as the receiver. Therefore, your lordship is humbly desired to transmit, by bill of exchange, your lordship's charity, together with the dean's and chapter's, to the afore-said Robert Smith, living in Maiden-lane, in Westminster, and so soon as your lordship possibly can. Your Lordship's, &c.

HEN. FAUCONBERGE.

I am likewise commanded to transmit you the names of those that have already given.

By the	{	LORD Archbishop of Canterbury	—	20	00	00
		Dean and Chapter of Canterbury	—	45	00	00
		Bishop of London	—	10	00	00
		Bishop of Ely	—	10	00	00
		Dean and Chapter of Ely	—	8	00	00
		Bishop of Rochester	—	4	00	00
		Dean and Chapter thereof	—	7	00	00
		Bishop of Winchester	—	12	Guinnys.	
		Dean and Chapter thereof	—	9	00	00
		Bishop of Sarum	—	5	00	00
		Dean and Chapter thereof	—	12	00	00
		Bishop of Chichester	—	4	00	00
		Dean and Chapter thereof	—	5	00	00
		Bishop of Exon	—	4	00	00
		Dean and Chapter of Exon	—	10	00	00
		Bishop of Bath and Wells	—	5	00	00
		Dean and Chapter thereof	—	5	00	00
		University of Oxford	—	25	00	00

Thirdly, Here are the letters of those three bishops written at that time, acknowledging that they were every one deceived by an imposture so well managed; though they were some of the archbishop's most familiar friends, and perfectly acquainted with his grace's hand.

Number III.

May it please your Grace,

I HAVE returned the letter which came to me in your Grace's name on the behalf of Mr. Jones, pretended to be of your diocese; and now find enough in it to have made me suspect the cheat. But your Grace's name (too well counterfeited) and the great deference I make to it, superseded all further consideration. And although I communicated it to the dean and chapter (who are not unacquainted with your Grace's hand) yet none of them saw through it. It is much to be feared, that the cheat is still carried on, and too successfully: for he must be more sagacious than I am, whom such a letter coming by the post, (then followed within two or three days by the woman herself,) would not impose upon. After all, I am much more concerned for the abuse that is put upon your Grace, than for that little which I suffered by it; and heartily wish the cheat detected and discovered, that your Grace's name may be no longer prostituted to so vile a purpose, whilst so great a veneration is paid to it by all good men. I am, my Lord,

Your Grace's, &c.

To my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Grace.

JOHN CICESTR.

May it please your Grace,

Norwich, Sept. 29, 87.

IN pursuance of the inclosed recommendation, I applied myself to Mr. Dean, and the prebends of this church, for their charity, towards the relief of Mr. John Smith, rector of Ashford in your Grace's diocese, as the letter sets forth. Mr. Dean, and the prebends, allotted five pounds to Mr. Smith; which sum, with my own mite, would have made up ten pounds, and this sum was to be paid by Mr. Dean at his arrival in London; and of this I gave a hint to Dr. Paman in my letter to him. But since we learn from the Gazette, that the whole contrivance was a cheat and a forgery; and, for the further discovery of it, I have sent the inclosed to your Grace. I am

To my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury
his Grace.

Your Grace's, &c.

WILLIAM NORWICH.

May it please your Grace,

Sept. 6, 87.

I HAVE received your Grace's letter of the 3d instant by this post; the effect of it is, to bespeak the charity of this church for one Mr. Robert Jones, rector of Ashford, who is a prisoner on the account of suretiship. The cause for which he suffers, does not at all commend his suit; but that which follows does very much: that he is known to your Grace; and that you judge him to be one that deserves our assistance. On that account he shall have it from me in such proportion, as your Grace shall think fit; and of that your Grace shall judge at my coming up to London, which will be about six weeks hence, if God permit; or, if you will not judge, I will tax myself as I would do any other man in my condition; and so much beyond, as I ought to be stricter to myself than any other. I am, my good Lord,

To my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury
his Grace.

Your Grace's, &c.

WILL. ASAPH.

My most honoured Lord,

Sept. 13, 87.

I SEND your Grace, here inclosed, that piece of forgery which came this day se'nnight, as a letter from your Grace. I saw your name to it so well counterfeited, that I did not examine the hand in the rest of the letter; nor took notice of the false spelling in the word *acquent*, and twice *diocesse*; which I should have boggled at otherwise. But your name (which I doubted not to be of your Grace's own hand) was enough to assure me the whole letter was yours. And whether you writ it in haste, or had an amanuensis to write it, I was not curious to examine; or whether it was forged, which I now understand was the case. The woman-rogue, by whom, or for whom it was forged, having thus made ready the bait, and hanged me upon it, came and drew up her line the next day: there she had five pounds upon her hook; and with it she got a subscription into her paper, which she carried forward to Bangor; and there, I doubt not, (having baited the water with a letter from your Grace, and having a subscription to second it,) she hooked as much more between the bishop and the dean. I am, my good Lord,

To my Lord archbishop of Canterbury
his Grace.

Your Grace's, &c.

WILL. ASAPH.

Having now followed Robert Young, and his pretended wife, to the end of the first great turn of their affairs in England, it is but reasonable, that I should use the same exactness as I have done in that part of their story which was acted in Ireland; that I should declare by what means I have had the certain information, which inabled me to trace them so narrowly also in this part of their adventures.

It was soon after my deliverance from them, on June the 13th, that I desired Mr. Needham, chaplain to archbishop Sancroft, to let him know what danger he had escaped, together with myself and others. Immediately thereupon, his Grace gave him notice of

his own former rencounters with the same Robert Young ; and withal ordered him to let me have a sight of most of the foregoing papers.

Having perused them, and perceiving they would effectually contribute to the farther confusion of the wretch ; I intreated his Grace to resign them to my disposal, and to recollect what he could farther remember on this subject.

To which request, I received these following answers from that excellent prelate ; whose name alone would be sufficient authority in matters of far greater concernment than this : there being no good man, that I know of, who has him not in the highest esteem for his integrity and piety.

A Letter from Archbishop Sancroft to me ; dated July 13, 1692.

My good Lord and Brother,

Fresingfield, July 13.

I HAVE just received your's of July the 5th, and having read it over, immediately take up my pen to tell you, that in compliance with your earnest desires, I give up, and consign into your lordship's hands, all the papers concerning Young the Falsary, which I sent to Mr. Needham, to be made use of, and disposed, as your lordship, in your discretion, shall think fit : with this caution, notwithstanding, that, whereas there are amongst them some letters of my old dear friends, bishop Lloyd of Norwich, and bishop Lloyd of St. Asaph (who are both at present, in or about London) no use be made of them, without their privity, nor any further than they shall allow.

As for the narrative you desire, you shall certainly have it, as well as my old leaking memory will enable me to form it. But, though I must take the longer time for that ; yet, because you tell me you long (with some impatience) for my answer to the rest ; I have hastened to give it (and my kindest respects) with that readiness and heartiness, which becomes, my Lord,

For the Lord Bishop of Rochester.

Your Lordship's, &c.

A Second Letter from Archbishop Sancroft to me, dated August 24, 1692.

My Lord,

I REMEMBER well what I wrote to you in a former letter, concerning the narrative you desired, of what passed heretofore between me and Robert Young. But, when I sat down to make it, I found two things lying directly in my way. First, I was credibly informed, that you had wholly laid by your design ; and, secondly, many years having passed since those things happened, and I having lately cursorily read over the papers I sent you ; my memory did not serve me, without them, to judge where they were defective, or how any incoherence in them might be supplied.

But now that I am assured, that you are, in good earnest, going on with what you intended ; and understand what are the particulars that remain still obscure to you in those papers ; I will not only endeavour to clear those, but the rest of the story, as far as I can remember it.

He was twice with me at Lambeth : the first time, within a month after he was degraded at Dublin, to desire some employment in the church ; in order to which, he produced letters of orders, which I very much suspected. For besides, that they were not, as I remember, in form, and in the usual style ; there was fixed to them, with a label, a great episcopal seal, such as we put to our leases ; which, upon my objecting it, he affirmed to be the custom of the bishops in Ireland. And when I told him I had no employment void in my gift, he was very earnest with me to recommend him to the bishop of London, (with a design, I suppose, that he might have a copy to write by in his intended forgeries ;) but I refused.

Some time after, he came again, (since when I never saw him,) to desire me to recom-

mend him to be a chaplain to a ship, or in some of the plantations; which I again refused, (for, in truth, I never liked him from the beginning) telling him, that it was a part of the bishop of London's province.

In the mean time, having acquaintance with Dr. Foley, the archbishop of Dublin's chaplain, who was then in England; I sent to him for some better information concerning this importunate bold man; which produced those letters which are in your hands.

About this time he sent his woman to Windsor, with a petition to the king, pretending, that her husband, going to be minister at one of the foreign plantations, was taken by the Turkish pirates; and begging a share in the money collected for the redemption of captives. His Majesty referred the petition to me and my Lord of London: which yet I never saw, nor heard of, till a good while after. In the mean while, they had forged a report upon the reference, under both our hands and seals, to bring them into a share of the redemption-money.

By this time, or before, he had gotten, I know not how, one of those instruments by which we grant places in our hospitals of Croydon and Canterbury: they are written in an expanded sheet of paper, with a margin broad enough to receive the seal which we use on those occasions, and which was usually placed about the middle of the instrument. This margin he tore off, with my subscription under it, finding room enough above it to crowd in a licence to beg in three dioceses, which I wonder any man should take to be mine; both because I had upon all occasions refused to give, even worthy persons, licence to beg; and because I could not (mean as I am) be reasonably thought so silly as to bespeak three dioceses in so wretched a style, and in such a wretched scroll of paper.

However, this gross sham, improbable as it was, prevailed with many of my friends, and he drained a great deal of money from them; till some one (I have forgot who) seized that miserable, pitiful slip of torn paper (the most contemptible that ever had the impudence to set up for a metropolitanical rescript, since the order came first into the world) and sent it to me, which was the first notice I ever had of his practices.

After this, for several years I heard not one word of Robert Young, nor knew what was become of him; till at length enter Mrs. Jones (in truth, as it proved Young's wife, or worse) pretending to be the wife of a clergyman in my diocese, then a prisoner for a vast debt, carrying in her hand a letter of mine, wholly forged, to desire the contributions of the bishops and clergy for his enlargement. I knew I had no such clerk in Kent; and though she changed the name to Smith, (I think, of Ashford in Kent,) yet still about she went with forged letters, applying herself to my particular friends, who, with their clergy, were very bountiful to her. When I had notice of it, I disavowed the letters, as I had reason, there being manifest characters of forgery upon them; and sent to the bishop of St. Asaph to lay hold of her, and send her up to London, but she escaped us.

Whilst she was at work so far off, Young himself was playing the like pranks in my native country, where he got a great deal of money; but, coming to Bury St. Edmonds. Dr. Battely's brother, a magistrate there, observing his impudence, sent for a constable, and brought him and his quean, (who by this time was come to him,) before the recorder, &c. by whom, upon examination, they were imprisoned there. You have the copies of the examinations, and his original letters and confessions to me; and also copies of the informations against him, that he swore in prison he would have my blood; but how he got out of prison (unless it were because no body prosecuted him) Dr. Battely can better inform you than I, to whom therefore I refer you.

My lord, thus far I have gone, out of my desire to serve you; and shall be ready in any particular to give satisfaction, as my old weak memory will enable me; for I confess I most earnestly long to see this foul impostor detected, and right done to so many innocent persons, whose ruin he hath sought in the basest manner. I am, my Lord,

Fresingfield, Aug. 24, 1692.

Your Lordship's, &c.

To the Lord Bishop of Rochester.

As far as my intelligence goes, the only punishment which the authors of all these last gross cheats sustained, after they had found them so long a time successful, was, that they were pursued through England by these two advertisements in the printed Gazettes of the year 1687.

Advertisement in the Gazette, Sept. 22, 1687.

WHEREAS a woman, pretending to be the wife of R. Jones, rector of Ashford in Kent, hath gone about England and Wales, begging the charity of several persons, for the relief of her said husband, whom she pretended to be in prison for debt; and hath both forged several letters, as from his Grace the lord archbishop of Canterbury to several bishops, and received several sums of money. These are to give notice, that there is no such person as R. Jones, rector of Ashford, and that his Grace never wrote any such letters. It is therefore desired, that if the said woman can be met with, she be apprehended, and dealt with according to law.

Advertisement in the Gazette, Oct. 6, 1687.

WHEREAS a woman, pretending to be the wife of R. Jones, vicar of Ashford in Kent, and now in prison for debt; and one who calls himself Smith, and pretends also to be vicar of Ashford; have forged several letters as from the archbishop of Canterbury, and begging up and down in several parts of England and Wales, have received several sums of money. These are to give notice, that neither of these men is vicar of Ashford, and that the archbishop never wrote any such letters. It is therefore desired, that if the said persons can be met with, they be apprehended, and be dealt with according to law.

But how they got clear of this ill affair, whether they suffered any corporal punishment for their going under the names of Jones and Smith, as they had done for those of Green, I am not yet certainly informed. For the present I am rather inclined to believe, that they escaped unpunished; because the meek archbishop Sancroft would not permit them to be prosecuted in his name; for which they have since well rewarded him.

But this I only speak upon conjecture; and the truth is, it is impossible that the world should ever have an exact account of Mr. Robert Young's whole life, unless he himself would be pleased to write the counter-part of his story.

But it was not long after this, that Robert Young and Mary took the short turn they had at Bromley; which was indeed so short, that they were vanished thence before I knew of their being there. Only as to the man's ill character, during that time, and his frequent boasting of his abilities in forgery, I am furnished by a worthy gentleman, my neighbour, with the ensuing certificate:

THESE are to certify, that, during the short time of Mr. Robert Young's officiating at Bromley-college, which, as I remember, was about six weeks, he went under an ill character of his wicked living; particularly I have heard him brag, before Mr. Roman and others, that he could counterfeit any man's hand in England.

Witness my hand, the 1st of Sept. 1692.

WALSINGHAM KING.

Now, because this is the proper place, I have here ready for my reader, as I promised him, the intire letter which Robert Young wrote out of Newgate, to the widows of the college at Bromley; whereof I cited before some honest truths, and quaint expressions:

Madam ;

BEGGING your pardon for this my rude attempt, I humbly crave leave thus to set forth my present miserable condition unto you, and all the rest of the worthy gentlewomen belonging to that college; to whom, I hope, you will communicate this. I have been almost twelve months a prisoner, confined, destitute of friends, money, &c. so that it hath been purely the providence of God that hath hitherto supported me. I thank God, my confinement was not occasioned either by murder or felony, or any ill thing; but an Irishman (whom I pray God forgive) swore against me, that, by vertue of bills, I raised money for the use of king James. Now, to make you sensible that I never acted any such thing, and that those things, which were laid to my charge, were as false as hell; you may remember, that, during my abode among you, and amidst the worst of times, I was one who stood up for the vindication of the church of England, and altogether against the Roman Catholics: whereas, if I had not a member of the church of England been, then was the time (when authority was on my side) to lift up my head; yet, at the same time, as you can all bear me witness, I stood in the gap against their doctrine and clandestine actions. All which, methinks, is sufficiently demonstrable, that they have laid to my charge things that I know not of; yet, for the same, a fine was laid upon me, under which I now labour, to the great disquiet of my soul, and the starving of my natural body; which, if not supported, will suddenly (being not able to subsist any longer) be transformed into its first matter. May it therefore please you, and all the vertuous gentlewomen of that college, so far to cast a compassionate eye on my most miserable and despicable condition, as to extend your charitable benevolence toward my enlargement here hence, and send it me this week by a trusty hand. The reason why I begg it this week, is because I have employed one to remove me to the King's-bench; where I expect my freedom; and, in the mean time, some employ, whereby to keep soul and body together; but, if continued here, I shall perish out of pure want. Therefore, I hope you will putt on bowels which are human, and lend your helping hand to a fallen brother. I pray God incline your hearts to do things for God's glory and the good of the church; and I beg leave to remain

Your most humble Servant, and affectionate Brother in the Lord,

ROBERT YOUNG.

My most humble service to you all in general, whom I pray God keep and support now and for ever.

I have lately given me 30*s.* toward my removal to the King's-bench, but it will cost 4*l.* Direct for me at the Master's-side Debtors, in Newgate, London.

For Mrs. Young, or Mrs. Craige, widows, or any other widows of the college in Bromley in Kent.

I am now attending Robert Young in his next stages to St. Albans and Litchfield, where he managed his business for a time without Mary Hutt, and some time in concert with her, and both times like himself.

The season, indeed, of his coming to, and acting in these places was, of all others, most proper to conceal the impudent knaveries he practised there, and in the parts thereabout; it being towards the latter end of the year 1688, and the beginning of 1689 (the very time when all men's minds were amused with greater matters, and intent upon the revolution of the government, which happened during that interval) for, as it is usually found, that the little mean thieves and pickpurses are wont to have the greatest harvest in places where there is the greatest bustle and crowd, and where they find most quarrels and frays; so this great rogue could not wish for a fitter occasion to escape unperceived in his cheats, than when there was such an universal combustion in all parts of the nation, and when men were generally more solicitous to save their lives, than their pockets. And, accordingly, he made use of this opportunity, both at St. Albans and Litchfield,

to the best advantage for his designs; so that I find a world of new matter rising up before me; both that city, and that town, and all those countries, resounding to this day, with the noise of his and his pretended wife's forgeries, and other their lewd pranks.

But out of mere compassion to my reader, and, indeed, weariness to myself, I will reduce, into as narrow a compass as I can, that part of their history, which else, perhaps, would have proved more copious, than any of the rest.

It may therefore suffice, that I only give some few undoubted proofs, to justify what I have already affirmed of his behaviour at St. Albans, and at Litchfield. First, here are two letters to give an account of his general conversation at Litchfield; and then several other letters and informations concerning the notorious forgeries, which he practised on Mr. Clark of Northampton, Mr. Mathew of Daventry, and Mr. Olds of Coventry; and also the depositions of Robert Young's own servant, and Mary Young herself at Litchfield; and, lastly, the forged bills and letters of advice, by which they accomplished all these cheats.

First, A letter to me, concerning Robert Young's life, during his stay at Litchfield, from a reverend clergyman of that cathedral.

My Lord,

Litchfield, July 23, 1692.

I RECEIVED this morning your lordship's of the twentieth instant, and have here inclosed as much, as the shortness of time would permit, of Young's carriage in this place. I shall be glad, if this may help to clear the innocent, and detect the fraud of villains.

Robert Young, who pretended to be an Irish clergyman, and to have good church-preferment in Ireland, and a considerable temporal estate; lived for some time in Litchfield, and lodged with one Moreton, who kept a publick house.

During his being here, he was observed to have store of gold and silver, and some plate.

He kept his man and two horses, and rode often abroad; but as many observed, more like a highwayman, than a divine. Before he left this place, he went to lodge at a private house, where the gentlewoman's maid was debauched; and some say, by him.

He made love to a gentleman's daughter in Tamworth, and, in all likelihood, had married her, if a woman had not come hither, whom he owned to be his wife.

It is said, he would have given his man money to have killed this woman, whom he owned to be his wife; which when the man refused to do, he attempted to kill him.

He was arrested here first for debt, and afterwards for taking bills of exchange out of the mail, and, from this prison, was removed to Newgate. There is one Mr. Mathew at Daventry, who, as I hear, can give more account of Young's rogueries. I am

Your Lordship's, &c. L. A.

Secondly, The substance of a letter to sir R. R. from a person of worth and credit at Litchfield, to the same purpose as the former:

SIR,

I HAVE made the utmost inquiry I can into Young's behaviour, while he was at Litchfield, which was not above a quarter of a year, or thereabouts. When he came first hither, he was very full of money and plate; pretended to be a dean in Ireland, and to have a plentiful estate there, and to have brought the money and plate thence. So soon as he became a little acquainted, he began to inquire out for a fit person to make him a wife, and presently fell in league with a woman at Tamworth (who was to have a thousand pounds to her portion) and had prevailed on her to marry him, as he himself boasted: but, while it was *in fieri*, there came a woman hither, who said she was his wife, and who, doubtless, was so; and the villain, as his man reported, would have hired him to have killed her; and, upon his refusal, endeavoured to kill him. Before he came to Litchfield, it seems, he had been for some time at St. Albans, where, by courting the post-master's daughter, he obtained the privilege of looking into the packets, and by that means got divers letters into his custody, which had bills for return of money

inclosed in them; with which he posted his wife to London, who there received a good part of the money. This we know by the relation of Mr. Olds, a mercer in Coventry, and of another mercer in Daventry; the former of which, coming hither and surprising him, while he had money and plate left, got as much in value, as satisfied his bill; and the latter, being sent hither by him, in two or three days after, seized his person, and got him committed to the town-gaol, and thence removed him to London, where he was tried, and convicted of these and some other such roguish practices, and pilloried for them.

Sir, I am, &c.

Thirdly, A letter to me from Mr. Allestree, minister of Daventry, touching Robert Young's demeanor at Litchfield, and particularly his forging bills of exchange, under the names of Mr. Olds and Mr. Mathew.

My Lord,

Daventry, Sept. 20, 1692.

I HAVE, in obedience to your lordship's desires, inquired concerning the villanies that Robert Young has perpetrated here, and made this place the stage thereof, and I am furnished with such unquestionable intelligence, and such abundance of matter of this kind, that does sufficiently discover the disposition of the man, and the pravity of his mind, that he is prepared by nature, custom, or indigence, for any sort of wickedness. So that knowing certainly the many cheats he has acted here, and in our neighbourhood, without compunction or remorse, it is no wonder to me, that, by degrees, he is risen at last to attempt the life of others, by the trade of forgery; and swearing men into treasonable acts and associations.

About the latter end of the year 1688, we were alarmed with the news of a notorious cheat that had been practised upon Mr. Shipton in Friday-street, by a villain who had forged the hand of Mr. Justice Mathew, of this town, and copied his letters so exactly, that he himself could not discover the difference by the strokes of the pen, or disown the writing upon view, but only by being conscious to himself that he had never written, or set his hand to any paper of that moment and importance; so that Mr. Shipton, who was his correspondent in London, was easily imposed upon by the similitude of hands, and paid two-hundred pounds upon a pretended bill drawn upon him from Mr. Mathew. When the following post gave notice of the payment of the money, and also of the order that was followed therein, all endeavours were speedily used to apprehend and discover the imposter, and many journies were undertaken into several countries, in pursuit of him; but all inquiry and search for the detection of the theft, and of the author, were fruitless and unsuccessful, till it happened, after some considerable distance of time, that the news of this cheat spreading far and wide, one Mr. Olds of Coventry sent word to Mr. Mathew, that he had been formerly cheated of fourteen pounds; that he had discovered the rogue that had forged his hand, and that he had given him satisfaction for his money. He did not know but this might be the man that had put the like trick upon him in a greater sum, and referred it to his consideration, whether it would be worth his while to go so far as Litchfield for enquiry and satisfaction.

It will not be improper in this place, my lord, to trace things from the beginning, and examine how Mr. Olds came by this intelligence, that helped him to the recovery of his money: the cheat that was put upon him was of an ancient standing, and he had been a long time under the sense of the loss of his money, without any expectation ever to retrieve it. Now this Young, who had practised these rogueries upon him, and divers others, and by these frauds had lined his pockets with a competent sum, both of gold and silver, repairs to Litchfield in a decent habit; pretends himself an Irish protestant and refugee, one that was persecuted for righteousness, and had lost all for the sake of the Gospel. The dean and prebendaries believe him, and receive him with a great deal of civility, charity, and humanity, permitting him to preach in their several courses; that so their benevolence to him might be greater, and seem like an act of justice, and the discharging of a debt. In this pomp, with all manner of accommodation, he resides a long time

among them at Litchfield, and follows the sports that were suitable to the season; whilst his wife, by his instructions, is carrying on her usual cheats at London. Now having represented him a batchelor, he made his court to a young woman, and had advanced far in her esteem; but the detection of his rogueries broke off the intrigue. For, his wife sending him word that she was coming down to him, he went forth one morning with his servant (who carried his gun after him) a shooting, and there proposed to him the killing of her, offering him a great reward for his pains. But, the motion being rejected with abhorrence, he threatened to be revenged of him, and cut his throat. The man, believing his master was very serious in his threatenings, and that he would accomplish his malice, when privacy and night favoured him, run away from his service; and knowing the cheat that had been acted upon Mr. Olds, repaired as fast as he was able to Coventry, to give him notice of it; and he accordingly went down to Litchfield, charged Mr. Young with the forgery, who rather than he would hazard the losing of his credit and his station with the prebends, gave him satisfaction immediately.

And now, my lord, I am arrived at the point of time, which made way for the discovery of Mr. Mathew's cheat; the account of which I will choose to give you in his own words, and insert in the body of this letter:

' About the latter end of February, 1688, one Mary Young had a bill of nine pounds on Mr. Shipton, which said sum she received the fourth of March following, of him, at the Seven-Stars in Friday-street. On the nineteenth, and on the twenty-first of the said March, both my letters of cash-concerns were opened, transcribed, and counterfeited; and advice given of a two-hundred pounds bill, which was also counterfeited: upon which, Mr. Shipton paid to the said Mary Young two-hundred pounds, the twenty-second of March following. Robert Young lay at St. Albans, as was supposed, and by corrupting the post-master there, had opportunity of counterfeiting my letters. Some time after, the said Mary Young was taken at the Maiden-head and Three Kings in Cheapside, with a counterfeit bill on Mr. Billers, pretended to be drawn by Mr. Joseph Olds of Coventry. She was then charged with the cheat she had put upon Mr. Shipton, and was committed to Wood-street Compter, from whence she removed herself to the King's-bench, in Southwark; and, when the fire broke out there, made her escape.

' About the tenth of December following, I heard of their being at Litchfield, and immediately went down post; came thither about twelve at night, and in the morning beset the house where Robert Young lodged; and, after above an hour's search, found him in the cellar hidden under a stack of furze. At his first apprehension he owned the cheat, and offered his globes and books for satisfaction; but, they being refused, he denied all. His wife also said, before the magistrate, that was the first time ever he had seen her; though his servant swore that they had lived years together, and that she had borne him several children. From Litchfield they were brought to London, and tried the fifteenth of January, 1689; where, upon full evidence, they were found guilty of cheating and forgery; and were sentenced to stand in the pillory in Cheapside, and at the Royal-exchange, and fined one-hundred marks; the first day of the term following to stand in the pillory in Westminster, and fined one-hundred marks more. His wife the same punishment, but her fine was but twenty marks.'

My lord, I should be very glad, &c. as being

Your Lordship's, &c. CHARLES ALLESTREE.

Fourthly, A letter from Mr. Mathew, a justice of the peace, confirming the former relation as to his part in it:

Mr. Allestree,

I HAVE given my lord bishop of Rochester as full an account of that rascal Young, as time will permit; but, if required, can get more particulars against him from Northampton and Coventry. I shall be very glad if I can be instrumental to clear my lord from the

imputation this villain has laid him under. Knowing how ready a great part of the world is to speak evil (especially of their sort) of dignities. Pray when you write to his lordship, assure him that I am

Daventry, Sept. 12, 1692.

His Lordship's, &c. BENJ. MATHEW

Fifthly, The information of Joseph Olds of Coventry, mercer :

THE said informant maketh oath, that Mr. Robert Young, the person now present, having cheated and defrauded him of a considerable sum of money (*viz.* in May or June, 1683, by receipt of ten pounds, part of a forged bill of exchange of one-hundred pounds, pretended to be drawn by this deponent upon Mr. John Billers of London ; and in August last, by receipt of thirty-four pounds, ten shillings, surreptitiously received by the said Mr. Young, or order, by intercepting two bills of exchange ; one drawn upon Mr. Wootton in the Strand, for twenty pounds, and the other upon Joseph Toovey, cheese-monger, for fourteen pounds, ten shillings) the said Mr. Olds did take out a *capias* out of the court of record in the City of Litchfield, and the said Mr. Young, being privy to it, owned the fraud, and made him satisfaction thereof ; and drew out a letter or note, importing an order, directed, as this deponent remembers, to his wife, and thereby required her to pay a certain number of pieces of gold, to the value of about seven pounds ; and that the woman now present, Mary Young, did, pursuant thereto, bring the number of pieces of gold, and delivered them to the said Mr. Young, and that the said Mr. Young delivered them to this deponent. This deponent further saith, that Mr. Billers (this deponent's correspondent at London) in his letter to him, informed this deponent, that he had received his letter, or rather a copy of it, with the advice of drawing a bill upon him for payment of two-hundred pounds, at sight, to Sarah Harris ; which money he had not paid, hut that the person that brought it was secured, and proved to be the same that cheated Mr. Shipton of two-hundred pounds, under the name of Mary Young, or words to that effect.

JOSEPH OLDS.

*Capt. apud Civit. Litchfield super sacram. præd' Josephi
Olds, 9^o die Decembr. 1689, coram Thomas Marshall ;
Will. Marshall.*

Sixthly, The examination and confession of Mary, the wife of Robert Young, clerk, late of Wapping, near the Hermitage-stairs, at the sign of the Tobacco-press. Taken the ninth day of December, 1689 :

City of Litchfield, ss.

THE said examinee upon oath saith, that she was married by dean Dixy in Ireland, at county Cavan, to the said Robert Young about nine years in July last ; and that the said Mr. Young then kept a grammar-school there ; and saith, that he was beneficed under the bishop of Kilmore's chaplain, Mr. Crew, in Ireland, and had thereby thirty pounds *per annum* : that she hath had five children by him, and that they are all dead : that she did go, by order from her husband, the said Robert Young, with a bill upon Mr. Richard Shipton, a linen-draper, at the Seven-stars in Friday-street, London, and drawn, in the name of Mr. Mathew of Daventry, for two-hundred pounds ; and did thereupon demand, and receive the said two-hundred pounds, from the said Mr. Shipton, about February, March, or April last ; which bill was delivered her by her said husband, and the money to him delivered by her. That her husband told her, he gave the post-master of St. Albans ten or fifteen guineas to open the packet, and to take out some letters ; but the truth of this she knows not, otherwise than by the information of the said Robert Young, her husband. That her husband and she came out of Ireland in May was twelve months ;

but whether he was, or is in holy orders, she knows not, but believes he is; and says, that her maiden name was Mary Hutt, of county Cavan aforesaid.

Capt. apud Civit. Litchfield, 3 die Decembr.

MARY YOUNG.

1689, coram Thomas Marshall; Will. Marshall.

THESE are true copies of the informations taken upon oath, at the city of Litchfield, before the justices of the peace of the said city, against Robert Young, the day and year abovesaid; which original informations remain in the custody of me

5 Octob. 1692.

R. WAKEFIELD,

Town-clerk of the said City.

THE aforementioned Robert Young and his wife, being in the custody of the sheriff of the city and county of Litchfield, were delivered to a messenger especially sent for them, in obedience to a warrant under the hand and seal of the right honourable Charles earl of Shrewsbury, Waterford, and Wexford, then principal secretary of state; bearing date the sixteenth day of December, 1689, by the then sheriff of the said city, about the twentieth of the said month.

Witness my hand, the 5th of October, 1692.

R. WAKEFIELD,

Town-clerk of Litchfield.

Seventhly; The information of James Young, of the city of Litchfield, vintner:

THE said informant maketh oath, that he knows Mr. Robert Young, clerk, now present, and Mary Young now present; and that he believes her to be the said Mr. Robert Young's wife, and hath known them live at Wapping a quarter of a year together, and dine together, and lie together; and that they formerly lived together in Dublin; and that she had two children by him there, and he owned her for his wife, and the children to be his; and that, since he came over into England, this deponent lived with them, in Wapping, a quarter of a year; and that the said Mr. Robert Young frequented the post-house in St. Albans, and that he courted the post-master's daughter; and that he hath heard him say, the ostler at the post-house (called John) brought him up the bags out of the packet, and he opened and took what letters he pleased; and hath sent this deponent (being then his servant) to receive monies upon bills of exchange, that he had fetched from St. Albans; namely, 14*l.* 5*s.* from a cheesemonger, near the Cock in Aldersgate-street, London, and allowed 5*s.* for the speedy payment of it; and 20*l.* from a man at the Sword and Helmet in the Strand, by another bill, intercepted by Mr. Young as aforesaid; which bill this deponent received by the said Mr. Young's order, and delivered the sum of 20*l.* thereof to him. But, this deponent having not delivered the 14*l.* 5*s.* to the said Mr. Young, he searched this deponent, and the said deponent hid nine guineas, but never could find it since; and for that this deponent would not go to London upon a message to the said Mrs. Young, to bring her down into the country, and hang, or drown her coming down (for which he offered this deponent 6*l.*) the said Mr. Young, near Cannost-Wood, or Weeford-Park, charged a gun, and attempted to shoot this deponent; but the gun not going off upon twice cocking, and his own horse starting at the snapping of the gun, this deponent wrested it from his hand, and rode away with it, till he came to Litchfield, and then discharged it, and carried it home to the Talbot in Litchfield.

Capt. & jurat. apud Civit. Litchfield, 9^o Decembr.

JAMES YOUNG.

1689, coram Thom. Marshall; Will. Marshall.

Eighthly, The further examination and information of James Young ; taken at Litchfield aforesaid, the 14th Day of December, 1689 :

THE said James Young confesseth, that he hath heard the aforementioned Mr. Robert Young (during the time that he lived with the said Robert Young) confess, that the aforementioned Mary Young had received above 500*l.* for him in London within a twelve-month, by bills of exchange, forged, and surreptitiously obtained by him ; namely, 200*l.* from Mr. Shipton, and 150*l.* from some other persons, whose names this examine hath now forgot ; and that he received 30*l.* himself from a shopkeeper, and several other sums of money, which this informant hath now forgot ; and that he blamed this examine for not receiving two other bills, which the said Robert Young would have had this informant to have gone with, and demanded, and to have received. And then boasted, that he had himself received the 30*l.* abovementioned, and that he had given the post-mistress's son of St. Albans 50*l.* by several times, to let him be privy to the post-bags and packet ; and that he had made use of them, on these like occasions, all this last summer ; and that he went by the name of Robert Kendall in St. Albans, and used to be there sometimes a week, sometimes a fortnight together, though his habitation was at Wapping. And says, that when this informant refused to go with the bills, as abovementioned, the said Robert Young called him fool ; and told him, if he were apprehended, it was but standing in the pillory an hour or two, and that it was nothing : he had stood in the pillory himself, and had been imprisoned and laid in bolts at Suffolk for a considerable time.

JAMES YOUNG.

Taken at Lichfield, the 14th day of December, 1689, before Thom. Marshall

THESE are true copies of the informations taken at the city of Litchfield, before the justices of peace of the said city, against Robert Young, the day and year abovesaid ; which original informations remain in the custody of

5 Octob. 1692.

R. WAKEFIELD, Town-Clerk of the said City.

Ninthly, the true and the false bills of exchange, and false letters of advice, by which the several forgeries upon Mr. Clarke, Mr. Mathew, and Mr. Olds were transacted.

First, The forged bill to Mr. Kendall, to pay Robert Young twenty pounds, under the name of Robert Smith :

Northampton, 10 July, 1688.

MR. Kendall, pray pay one Thirsday next the sume of twenty pounds }
to Mr. John Philips, or order, for the use of Mr. Robert Smith, for like } 20*l.*--00*s.*--00*d.*
valeur hear receivd ; and please to accounte of your reall friend }

JOHN CLARKE.

This to Mr. Jonathan Kendall, at the 3 Pigen in Milke-street, London.

The Indorsement.

RECEIVED, the 16th of July, 1688, the full contents of this bill, being }
twenty pounds ; I say received } 20*l.*--00*s.*--00*d.*

Per ROB. SMITH.

Secondly, The true bill of Mr. Clarke to Mr. Kendall for the same sum, upon which the first was forged :

Northampton, July 10th, 1688.

MR. KENDALL, pray pay one Thirsday next the sume of twenty pounds to Mr. John Philips, or order, for the use of Mr. Robert Smith, for like vallew hear receivd; and plase to accounte of your reall friend } 20l.--00s.--00d.

JOHN CLARKE.

This for Mr. Jonathan Kendall, at the 3 Pigen in Milke-street, London.

The Indorsement.

July 17, 1688.

PAID Mr. Robert Smith the twenty pounds back again at Northampton, JOHN CLARKE.

Thirdly, The forged bill from Mr. Clarke to Mr. Kendall, for one-hundred fifty pounds, which Mary Young received under the name of Mary Clarke:

Northampton, the 5th of Octob. 1688.

MR. KENDALL, I pray you pay one Tuesday next to Mrs. Mary Clarke the sume of one-hundred and fifty pounds, for like vallew hear receiv'd; and place to the account of your reall freind, } 150l.--00s.--00d.

JOHN CLARKE.

To Mr. Jonathan Kendall, at the 3 Pigen in Milke-street, London.

The Indorsement.

RECEIVED, the 9th of Octob. 1688, the full contents of this bill, being one-hundred and fifty pounds; I say received } 150l.--00s.--00d

The Mark of
Mary | | | Clarke.

Fourthly, The forged letter of advice from Mr. Clarke to Mr. Kendall, where notice of the one-hundred fifty pounds bill is inserted:

Mr. Kendall,

I AM not a littel trubled to hear Mr. Ridly has not paid you as yet any moneys: pray, if you have not yet herd from him, send by the said post; and, if that will not doe, pray let sume person attend the concern, and what it costs, charg to account. Pray also pres for the bill of 5l. lent Sr Symon — also the bill last sent of Mr. Willames for 4l. 8s. I hope all will suddenly be paid; the bill of 20l. dew to Will. Oldam, as I sent last Munday, is promised to be broyt to your shop in a littel time. I pray you send 3 or 4 lines under ritt to Marchant Porter, if the bill is not accepted; but my freind gives me all assurance it will be paid at the time. My lord is a very swet youth to take up 40l. of me in such sort, and now to deall so by me: he owes me at lest 150l. and promised I should have part of that suddenly; and now to serve me thus I take it ill from him; but I will right to him, and I pray you send me down that note he gave me: if my old lord should know he should deal so by me, he would be very angry. I have given a bill to Mrs. Clarke for 150l. to be paid at sight; I intreat you to pay when she comes for it. Also I have given a bill to Mr. Bateman for 40l. to be paid Alderman Maussion in 6 days after sight; also a bill for 25l. to one Mr. Ray, in a day or two after, or at sight. I am your reall freind,

This for Mr. Jonathan Kendall, at the Three Pigen in
Milke-street, London.

JOHN CLARKE.

Northampton, 7th of Octob. 1688.

SIR, this is to desire you to send a letter next post to Mr. Swan at Hatson in Essecks, 5 miles from Braintery, of whom I had the bill of 100l. payable the 14th instant to Mr. Kendall, for use of Mr. John Whittorne; for, if you should fail my freind Mr. Kendall of the moneyes about that time, it might be a great prejudish to me. Sir, I am your freind and sarvant,

This for Marchant Porter.

JOHN CLARKE.

Next follows the cheat upon Mr. Mathew and Mr. Shipton, in the same order.

First, A true bill from Mr. Mathew to Mr. Shipton, to pay Mary Young nine pounds:

Mr. Shipton,

Februar. 21. 88.

PAYE at sight of this my bill to Mrs. Marey Young, or to her assines, nine pounds, for the same summ receivd at the Wheat Sheaf at Dentry, bey

Your freind and Sarvant,

At the 7 Stares in Fryday-street: This.

JONATHAN MATHEW.

The Indorsement.

RECEIVED, the 4th of March, 1688, nine pounds in full of this bill. 09l.--00s.--00d.
per Mary Young.

Secondly, The forged bill for two-hundred pounds, payable to Mary Young:

Mr. Shipton,

March 18, 1688.

PAYE at sight of this my bill to Mrs. Marey Young, or to her assines, 200l. for the same summ receivd of her at the Wheat Sheafe at Dentry, by

Your Freind and Sarvant,

At the 7 Stares in Friday-street, This.

JONATHAN MATHEW.

The Indorsement.

RECEIV'D, the 21th of March, 1688, two-hundred pound in full of } 200l.--00s.--00d.
this bill, per Mary Young.

Thirdly, The forged letter of advice, in which, notice of the two-hundred pounds is inserted:

SIR,

I HAVE drawne a bill on you to pay Mr. Sam. Bird, or order, 30l. and a bill likewise on you to pay Mrs. Mary Young 200l. which pray pay her on demand. Mr. Woodward will pay you 200l. at least this week or the next following. Mr. Compion for Dev Wall 100 and od pounds for

Your humble Sarvant,

Daintry, 9 March 1688.

BENJ. MATHEW.

To Mr. Richard Shipton at the 7 Stares in Friday-street, London.

Fourthly, A true letter of Mr. Mathew, in the postscript whereof forged notice is given of the two-hundred pounds bill:

SIR,

BE pleased to pay to William Peytue Esq. or order, 66*l.* and place 7*l.* 10*s.* to accompt of Thomas Lucas that I have received of him for your use; who am

I hope you have paid Mrs. Mary Young 200*l.*
and Mr. Sam. Bird 30*l.*

Your humble Servant,
BENJ. MATHEW.

Daintry, March 21, 1688.

Fifthly, Mr. Mathew's letter to Mr. Shipton, upon notice of the cheat:

Mr. Shipton,

I HAVE just now received a letter from you, wherein you say you have paid 200*l.* to Mary Young. I never receiv'd any such summ, nor drew any such bill, therefore have sent Tom away post to let you know it, that if possible you might retrieve it;

Your Servant,
BENJ. MATHEW.

My father saith he never drew any such bill, and Tom will satisfy you he hath not.
Daintrey, 8 of the clock Friday night.

Sixthly, Mary Young's letter to Mr. Mathew, after she had cheated him of two-hundred pounds:

SIR,

THIS is to give you notice, that I have borrowed on your credit from Mr. Shipton 200 ponds, and when I am able I will pay you again. The way I got your letter out of the post-office in London, was by feeing one of the men that carried the letters about: and by that letter of advice I procured another to be write, so that you need not trouble yourself any more; I rest,

M. Young *aliàs* Brown, *aliàs* Stewart, *aliàs* Forbus, *aliàs* Boner, &c.
For Mr. Jonathan Mathew at Daintrey, near Coventary.
These at the Wheat Sheafe.

Lastly, Here are the cheats upon Mr. Olds and Mr. Billers, all but the bill of 20*l.* which I have not seen.

First, The forged bill of 100*l.* from Mr. Olds to Mr. Billers, June 12, 1683, whereof Robert Young only got 10*l.*

Brother Billers,

Coventry, June 12, 1683.

AT sight of my bill, bearing date June 12, be pleased to pay unto Mr. Robert Young the sume of a hundred pounds, which I have received from him. I have nothing els at present, but this letter of advice from him, who is

Your loving Brother and Servant,
To Mr. Billers, at the Three Kings in Cheapside, London. JOSEPH OLDS.

June 13th, 1683.

RECEIVED from Mr. John Billers the sume of ten pounds. Sir, I say received by me.
ROB. YOUNG.

Secondly, A true bill of Samuel Croxal, upon Joseph Young to John Billers, for use of Mr. Olds for 14*l.* 10*s.* Aug. 5, 1689. But received by Robert Young's man, upon account of a forged indorsement:

270 *Sprat's Relation of the Contrivance of Blackhead and Young, &c.*

Friend Joseph Young,

The 5th of Aug. 1689.

AT site of this my bill, or ten days after, I pray pay to John Billers, or order, the sume of fourteen pounds, ten shillings, for the use of Joseph Olds. Make good payment, and plase it to the accompt of thy friend,

At Long-lane End, in Aldersgate Streate, London.

SAM. CROXALL.

Indorsed thus,

PRAY pay to my man, James Moorten, the within bill. As witness my hand, Aug. 14, 1689.

JOHN BILLERS.

RECEIVED, the 14th August 89, fourteen pounds ten shillings, being the full contents of this bill for my Mr. John Billers.

14---10---00

Per JAMES MORTON.

Thirdly, A true bill of Mr. Olds, for 10*l.* to Mr. Billers, Feb. 21, 88, for Sarah Harris :

For 10--00--00.

Coventry, 21 Feb. 1688.

AT sight pray pay unto Mrs. Sarah Harris the summe of ten pounds, value received of her, as *per* advice from

To Mr. John and Benj. Billers, at the 3 Kings
in Cheapside, Lond.

Your loving Brother and Servant,

JOSEPH OLDS.

The Indorsement.

RECEIVED February 28th, 1688-9, ten pounds in full of this bill,

Per Sarah S H Harris.
Her mark.

Fourthly, A false bill for 200*l.* from Mr. Olds, Aug. 10, 1689, by which Sarah Harris, *aliàs* Mary Young, was discovered :

For 200*l.*---00*s.*---00*d.*

Coventry, 10th Aug. 1689.

AT sight, pray pay unto Mrs. Sarah Harris the summe of two-hundred pounds, value received of her, as *per* advice from

Your loving Brother and Servant,

JOSEPH OLDS.

Fifthly, A false letter from Mr. Olds, wherein advice of the 200*l.* bill is inserted. Aug. 11, 89.

Loving Brother,

YOURS of the 6th instant received—and mind the contents—my dear wife is but poorly—and much as was when at Coventry—she does continue using the means went for—the Lord sanctify them for her good—pray accept and pay my 200*l.* bill at sight to Mrs. Sarah Harris, or order, No. 78. value of herself. Mr. Watson does not as yet accept the 15*l.* bill—says must first write to London, where has money lays; and if can get it paid there, shall know next week. With kind respects and service to you and my sister, rest, in some hast,

Coventry, Aug. 11, 1680.

Yours, JOSEPH OLDS.

For Mr. Benj. Billers, at the 3 Kings in Cheapside.

Perhaps, my reader may wonder why I have been so accurate in setting down at large all these true and forged bills of exchange, and letters of advice. But the reason is; I have had, for some time, and have now at this present all the originals of them in my keeping: I have shewn them to very many persons of great sagacity, both of the nobility and clergy, both of scholars and merchants: and, after an exact view and comparison of them distinctly, line by line, word by word, letter by letter, I must say, all that have seen them were strangely astonished at the surprising similitude between the false writings and the true. And they have done Robert Young this justice, as to pronounce them all to be great master-pieces of forgery.

For my part I will only add, that since he could perform all this only with two hands, how many names soever he had, most certainly woe would have been to all the citizens and traders of England by false bills of exchange; woe to all the noblemen, bishops, and gentlemen, by false plots and associations, if once Robert Young could have had his wish, and been another Briareus with an hundred hands; which I assure my reader is no flight of mine, but his own in his letter from Bury to archbishop Sancroft. (Page 248.)

My reader having, by this time, found that Robert Young has so often deserved Newgate, will now, I suppose, be glad to see him brought thither to his own home.

But first (according to the course of my method) I must shew that he was sent for up from Litchfield for treasonable practices against the government, which was done by this following warrant from the earl of Shrewsbury:

Charles Earl of Shrewsbury, Waterford, and Wexford, &c. One of the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-council, and Principal Secretary of State.

THESE are, in his Majesty's name, to authorise and require you (taking a constable to your assistance) to search for, seize, and apprehend, the persons of Robert Young, Mary Young, and James Young, for dangerous and treasonable practices against the government; and them to bring before me, to answer to such matters as shall on his Majesty's behalf be objected against them: and, for so doing, this shall be your warrant. And herein, all mayors, justices of the peace, constables, and other his Majesty's officers civil and military, are to be assisting to you. Given at the court at Whitehall, the 16th day of December, 1689.

To Henry Legat, one of the messengers of his Majesty's chamber in ordinary.

SHREWSBURY.

Robert Young, and }
James Young, } Left in custody, the 30th of December, 89, by Mr. Legat.

By virtue of this warrant we find Mr. Legat, the messenger, brought Robert from the gaol at Litchfield, to the Gate-house in Westminster; whither, as soon as he came to town, he procured his prisoner to be removed. For, being more cautious than some other messengers since, he would not charge himself with the safe keeping of so dangerous a guest, as he soon perceived him to be.

By the way, Mr. Legat himself has told me of one passage, in their journey up, which, I believe, my reader will thank him for. It is, that Robert Young desired him to stop and call at a little alehouse upon the road, where they found a very old mean fellow, who (as Robert declared) was his father; and, which is yet more strange, the old fellow owned him to be his son. And, since that time, Mr. Legat, being in Ireland, met by chance the same old man in the streets of Limerick, after it was delivered up to the English. Whereupon, taking acquaintance again with him, by inquiry, he found that he went about in that country, getting a poor livelihood by professing himself to be a fortune-teller and a conjurer. So that thus far we have a pretty account of Robert Young's genealogy, down from the duke of Lenox to the Irish conjurer.

From the Gate-house (as I have already said) he was removed by the lord-chief-justice's

order to Newgate: where, if my reader, and I myself, were not quite tired with him, I have plenty of instances to prove that he was always the same. One I will give:

During his being prisoner there, whilst none questioned but he was in holy orders, he clandestinely married a fellow gaol-bird of his to a young heiress. For which vile fact (so esteemed even in Newgate) being more severely treated than before, he wrote captain Richardson a letter under his own hand, which I have seen; wherein he tries to excuse himself for so great a crime, by an argument that is somewhat singular, and may be reckoned as one of his most ingenious shifts. It is to this sense, 'Do not you (says he) noble captain, allow any artificer and handicrafts-man, that you have here in prison, to work at his own trade, to keep himself from starving? And why then should I be denied to get bread for me, and my wife, by making use of my function?'

But, to return to that which is more pertinent to my purpose, in Newgate Robert and Mary were kept, till they were tried, and condemned, for the forgeries abovementioned; as the records here ensuing will shew, though I produce but one a-piece for each of them, for brevity's sake.

London. ss.—Deliber. gaol. domin. regis & regin. de Newgate tent. pro civitat. Lond. apud Justice-Hall in Le Old Bayly, London. die Mercur. (scilt.) 5^o decimo die Januarii an. regni dom. nost. Will. & Mar. nunc regis & regin. Angliæ, &c. primo.

ROBERT YOUNG¹, *aliàs Smith, fin. cent. & committitur, &c. & ponatur stare, in & sup. pillor. uno die Cornhill prope Excambium London. & al. die in Cheapside, London. ab horâ undecimâ ante merid. usq; hor. prim. post merid. in utroq; eorund. separat. dier. cum papir. script. supra caput su. ostens. offens. ejus, & tunc reducatur ad Newgate in ea salv. custod. quosq; fin. su. prædict. solverit.*

MARY YOUNG², *fin. xx & committitur, &c. & ponatur stare sup. sedile ante & prope pillor. uno die in Cornhill prope Excambium London. & al. die in Cheapside, London. ab hor. undecimâ ante merid. usq; hor. prim. post merid. in utroq; eorund. separat. dier. cum papir. script. supra caput su. ostens. offens. ejus, & tunc reducatur ad Newgate in ea salv. custod. quousq; fin. su. solverit.*

Thus Robert Young and his wife again passed their well-known road of the pillory. But being brought back to Newgate for want of paying their fines; to enable them thereunto, he fell at last upon this damnable contrivance of an association, as the consummation of all his villainies.

I have already told by what means he came to be so skilful in archbishop Sancroft's hand, and mine: how he got a pattern whereby to forge my lord Cornbury's, his lordship cannot remember. But my lord Salisbury's, and my lord Marlborough's, he obtained partly by the same craft as he did mine: that is, by writing to my lord Marlborough under his true name of Robert Young; to my lord Salisbury under the name of Robert Yates, to inquire of the character of some servants they never had. To which false letters they also unawares returned true answers, under their own hands; which he thereupon falsified.

In the same manner he procured sir Basil Firebrace's hand, by sending him a civil letter, under the feigned name of Robert Yarnier, a justice of peace at Marlow in Buckinghamshire, and earnestly recommending to him a wild son of his for an apprentice; professing he would not stick at any money, if sir Basil would take him under his care: withal

¹ For cheating Mr. Kendal of twenty pounds, by a counterfeit bill of exchange, by him forged in the name of Mr. Clark.

² For cheating Mr. Shipton of two-hundred pounds, by a counterfeit bill of exchange, in the name of Mr. Mathew.

desiring an answer from him under his hand by the bearer, his man;’ which he had: and thereupon sir Basil was entered into the association.

But, lest my reader should think that the single framing of one association was employment enough in matters of state, for so fertile a brain, and so artificial a hand as Robert Young’s, during the whole two years and four months that he lay prisoner in Newgate, I have one story more to tell of him, and then I shall have done. As indeed I well may; for, after this association, and this other story of the like nature I am going to relate, I think it may justly be concluded, that scarce ever any mortal man has reached to a deeper pitch of infernal wickedness.

The story is this: Shortly after my being cleared at Whitehall, I went to Lambeth, to visit my ancient most honoured friend, my lord archbishop of Canterbury, and to thank him for the very kind offices he had done me at court during my affliction. That being over, I told him, I was going to my lord Nottingham, to request that my two false witnesses might be brought to trial, and undergo the justice of the government. His Grace encouraged me to do so, and withal bid me tell my lord Nottingham, as from himself, this story, which I will set down, as near as I can remember, in his own words. Near six months ago, about Christmas last, (says my lord archbishop,) I received a letter from this Robert Young out of Newgate, to let me know there was a pernicious plot going on against their Majesties, which was laid as deep as hell; and he had had the good luck to discover it: desiring me speedily to acquaint the king with it. At first, the information coming from such a place, I took little notice of it. But he shortly wrote me other letters to the same purpose; and at last sent me letters full of treason, pretended to be written by some of the greatest men in England. The hands I did not know; but then I thought it concerned me, as a privy-counsellor, to acquaint his Majesty with the whole matter. I did so. The king read over Young’s letters to me, and those treasonable ones that he had sent me; and then his Majesty very generously said, “Really, my lord, these papers may resemble some of these persons hands, but I do not in the least distrust them; I am confident they are innocent, and this is a villainy; and therefore I will not have them disturbed upon this account.” And so (said my lord archbishop) I carried home my bundle of intelligence again, and, sealing the papers, laid them up in my closet, where they still remain: and I pray tell my lord Nottingham, that, when their Majesties shall command, I am ready to produce them, with the very inscription I put upon them at that same time: ‘Letters and papers from Robert Young, who is a very rogue.’

And here indeed I had resolved to give the rogue over. But when I was just concluding, there happened a new discovery, relating still to my share in this business, so very remarkable, that I cannot, without manifest injury to myself and my reader, deprive him of the knowledge of it. I mean Robert Young’s fresh attempt to suborn one Holland, in order to revive the fallen credit of his forged association.

I should be very loth, by what I am going to say, to forestal or misreport the king’s evidence against him. But the reality of this gross subornation having been sworn to at Hicks’s-hall, where I myself was an ear witness, (as well as many worthy gentlemen, and great numbers of other persons,) I know not how it were possible for me to make a secret of it, if I would. And the story so much conducing to shew the extreme madness and implacable rage of the villain, when he was brought to his last shifts, I think I have great obligation upon me to make it public.

Now the evidence, in this matter; consisting partly in the discourse Young himself had with Holland, to draw him in to be a perjured witness in this profligate cause; and partly in the instructions Young sent him in writing to swear by; I will set down, as near as I can, a very brief, but faithful abstract of the substance of both: it being to both that Holland publickly took his oath. And to the truth of the instructions, being written in Young’s own hand, Mr. Aaron Smith also swore at the same time, and unquestionably proved it, by comparing that paper with a whole handful of letters he had received from Young himself out of Newgate.

It seems, then, that, during the long time of Young's being in Newgate, he became acquainted with one Holland, a prisoner likewise there; Young for forgery, Holland for debt. Some time after Blackhead had confessed before the lords of the council, Young sent for this Holland to the messenger's house, where he lay confined: and knowing him to be very poor, and thence judging, by himself, that he was the more likely to embrace any wicked design, broke the business to him in this manner: "Mr. Holland, (says he,) it is most certain there is a hellish plot against the government. The story you may have heard, of the association, is true to a tittle. I should have clearly made it out, had not the cowardly rogue Blackhead forsaken me; being bribed by the bishop of Rochester, and frighted by some great men at court, who are also themselves as deeply engaged in the design. Now, if you will come in to assist me in the proof of it, we shall be made for ever; I shall have a thousand pounds, (so the lying knave boasted,) and you shall have half of it. And I think, Mr. Holland, 500*l.* will do no hurt to a man in your circumstances." "By my faith you say true, Mr. Young, (replied Holland;) such a sum would come very seasonably to me at this time. But what work am I to do for it?" "It shall be only your part (answered Young) to swear, that you saw the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Marlborough, and the bishop of Rochester, sign the association." "But (said Holland) how can I make a probable story of it? Seeing I never saw the association; I know none of the three lords you speak of; nor can I imagine where to fix the place or time of signing it, or any of the other necessary circumstances." "As for all that (said Young) I will send you instructions by my wife, of the particulars you are to swear to. For, Mr. Holland, I would not have you come hither yourself often to me. I have here divers spies upon me: and besides, this damned Blackhead, who has deserted me, lies just over head, in this same messenger's house. But, as for the association itself, I will now describe you the exact shape of it." Then, calling for a sheet of paper, he folded it into the same fashion: "Only (says he) you must remember that the association is written in great thick paper."

Next, he repeated to him the heads and principal matter of it: then shewed him in what order the names were subscribed. "Here (says he) is the late archbishop of Canterbury's hand uppermost, towards the right side: next under that, the bishop of Rochester's: under his the lord Cornbury's: over-against the bishop of Rochester's to the left, is first the earl Salisbury's; then still to the left the earl of Marlborough's, and so of the rest:" pointing to the place of every particular name very expertly.

I also well remember, that, in the instructions, there was a list of several other names, that were not in the original forged association; which, no doubt, were put in, towards the framing of more new false associations; as, before I intimated, most certainly was his intention, if this had gained credit.

"But, for the persons, (added Young) you must get a view of them as soon as you can." And as far as I can recollect, all that follows was in his paper of written instructions. 'The earl of Salisbury, when in town, is at his house in the Strand; when in the country, at Hatfield in Hertfordshire, beyond Barnet. The earl of Marlborough is so well known about Whitehall and St. James's, that you will easily find where he dwells. The bishop of Rochester is to be seen either at his house at Bromley in Kent, or at Westminster, where he is dean. And as for the place, and time, and company; you must swear, that you saw these three lords, on such a day (mentioning a particular day, which I have forgot) come to the Lobster ale-house in Southwark: that they came in white camblet clokes, with cravats about their necks: that the sign was, their enquiring for the number *three*: that then they were conducted up stairs into a back room; and there, in the presence of you, and me, and captain Lawe, (I think also he named one or two more,) they signed the association. Then delivering it to captain Lawe, they said, "Captain, we pray, make haste about to get this paper speedily subscribed by the rest, who, you know, are concerned;" and that then these three lords threw down their twelve-pence a-piece, and so went their ways.'

I know my reader, upon sight of all this strange stuff, cannot forbear smiling: which,

perhaps, it is not decent for me to make him do, so near the end of this tragedy. But it is none of my fault: I only, as near as I am able, relate the simple truth. Most certainly it was sworn, that Holland communicated all this to the secretary of state: and, being examined by some lords of the council, affirmed it all upon oath. And I am sure, that upon oath also, he repeated it all, before the justices of the sessions, and the grand jury of Middlesex, on the day that the bill of forgery and subornation of perjury was found against Blackhead and Young.

And besides, that, which to me confirms the truth of Holland's testimony beyond contradiction, is, that every word of the instructions was undeniably written by Young's own hand; which, by this time, I hope my reader will take me to be a competent judge of. For since I begun my knowledge of him, on the 13th of June last, I have seen so very many papers of his own hand-writing, (I mean his true hand, not his false,) that, now I may presume to say, I think myself as well skilled in knowing his hand, as he is in counterfeiting mine.

I cannot, therefore, see how he can possibly be excused from ridiculous folly, as well as shameless subornation, in this last so very subtle an intrigue. I must therefore, upon this occasion, crave his leave to apply one certain general observation to Robert Young in particular, that there was never yet a very great knave, but he proved, some time or other, as great a fool.

I have now, in good earnest, done with Robert Young. But, when I reflect on what I have been doing all this while, I am almost out of countenance at it. It vexes me, that whilst my happy deliverance might have suggested to me so many better and more useful thoughts, (both in regard to the publick, and my own private part in it,) I should be so long diverted another way, to follow this impious wretch, through one kingdom to another, from gaol to gaol, from pillory to pillory. Nor could I have submitted to so mean a task, had not some good and great men thought it necessary, not so much for my own vindication, much less for my own revenge, the thoughts of which are far below me as a christian, and a bishop; as for the security of other innocent persons: and that this might be some warning to my country, in time to come, against the like wicked forgeries, subornations, and false plots.

It is indeed somewhat strange, that when the laws of England are so watchful, and jealous (perhaps more than the laws of any other kingdom) in defending the liberties and properties of the subject, from all injustice, fraud and oppression; yet they may seem not to have been equally careful, not so much as the laws of most of our neighbouring nations, in providing severely enough against that worst sort of perjury, which reaches to the taking away of men's lives.

For my part, I can assign no other reason of this defect, but the same for which the Romans had for some ages no laws against parricides; that is, that the ancient simplicity and generosity of the English nation did never imagine any English men could possibly be guilty of such diabolical wickedness, as to turn accusers for the sake of accusing, and in cold blood, by perjury, to destroy innocent men, to whom they were utter strangers, and who had never in the least provoked them.

I am inclined to believe, that this was the cause why our country has been hitherto deficient in laws of this kind, at least since the conquest.

But if we consider the different degrees of the offences themselves, how can it possibly be thought a crime of the same magnitude, to swear a man falsely out of a part (a small part perhaps) of his goods and estate, as to swear him falsely out of his life, his honour, his very name, as well as his whole estate; as in the case of high treason? Yet, by all our laws now in being, if I am not misinformed, the penalties of these greatest of perjuries are not much heavier than those which are inflicted for the least. And what temptation must this be to forswearers, in matters of state especially, when the reward is like to be considerable, if they carry their point so far as to have their false plots believed to be real; and on the other hand, the penalties cannot by law be very grievous, should they be detected of swearing to plots most impudently false? Especially considering, that such

infamous persons, knowing they are safe from extraordinary punishment, particularly from punishment by death, have usually no great dread of the shame, or pain of the ordinary ones, such as pilloring and the like; as having, perhaps, been often inured to them before.

To prove what I say, I need alledge no other example but this of Robert Young. My reader finds he has stood in the pillory more than once for several petty forgeries: petty I call them, only in comparison to this. And what a mighty business were it now, if (for contriving the final ruin of so many guiltless persons, and their posterity, by the basest means,) Robert Young should be adjudged once more to stand in the pillory? Or what would it have availed me, or my family, in this world at least, should I have died, as guilty of treason, by this villain's false testimony, if afterwards, upon the detection of his perjury, (as I am persuaded God would not have suffered so horrid a villainy to prosper, or remain long undiscovered;) I say, what great comfort or compensation had it been to my family, and my friends, if (after my unjust execution) they had heard that the wicked author of it had stood once more in the pillory, and, perhaps, lost the tip of his ear?

Wherefore, may it not well become the prudence of our lawgivers, upon occasion of so notorious an instance, together with some others within our memories, to review, once for all, the laws now in force against forgery and perjury? And then to adjust the distinct punishments a little more proportionably to the different guilt, and the several degrees of these crimes: for the future, I mean. God forbid I should propose, that any such law should have a retrospect, even upon Blackhead or Young. But I presume to urge this the rather, at this time, because of the common saying, 'that ill manners make good laws;' that is, as I understand the proverb, they render the making of them to be necessary. And, if this be true, perhaps, there was never yet any one age, since the English were a nation, when the ill manners of false witnesses, their frequent subornations, perjuries, and forgeries, have more deserved to be restrained by some good new laws, than this very age, wherein we live.

I could heartily wish so great a benefit might accrue to the publick, by the happy discovery of this inhuman design, so as to deter ill men from attempting any more such: then I should think my own troubles more than enough recompensed; I should even rejoice in the extreme peril, to which I myself was thereby exposed. But, however that shall happen, I am sure there is another use of this signal providence, which, by God's grace, it is in my own power to make; and, if I do not, I ought to be esteemed as the most ungrateful of men to the heavenly goodness; that is, if I do not render it the chief business of my whole life to return some suitable thanks to heaven for it.

I hope I may say, without vanity, that, perhaps, it is hard to meet, in some whole ages, with many examples, wherein the divine favour has snatched any private person out of such imminent danger, with a more visible hand, than it has done me out of this.

Why may I not be allowed, in all humility, to say thus much? Since it is so manifest, that the destruction, or preservation of me and mine, did depend upon the clerk of the council's turning to the right-hand, or to the left, when he entered to search my house at Bromley. By God's mercy and direction, he turned to the left; there examined all places so curiously, as to pass by no corner unobserved; yet he found nothing on that side worthy the observation of one that came on such an errand. Whereas, had he chanced to turn; *chanced* do I say? I cannot believe, that any thing fell out *by chance*, in this whole business: but, had God permitted him to turn on the right-hand, the first room he had entered was that very parlour, wherein was deposited the fatal instrument of my death: nor could he have missed it, but must have immediately lighted upon it, considering the punctual instructions he had received, to search all the chimneys, and the flower-pots in them. And, had he once found it, the writing itself, so nearly resembling my own hand, and taken in my dwelling-house, had soon overwhelmed me with supposed guilt, without any farther need of Blackhead's or Young's assistance.

For, in so great a surprise, and consciousness of my own innocency, whom had I to

accuse, or suspect, but only Mr. Dyve and Mr. Knight themselves, for having put the association into the same flower-pot, whence I had seen them take it out? And this, indeed, had been another aggravation of my misfortune, that I should have been forced to impute so vile a treachery to persons as innocent in this, as I myself was in the association.

Moreover let my reader but recollect the particular time, when all this happened; and I need mention no other proof, or circumstance of the marvellous greatness of my danger, and escape.

It was in the beginning of May last, a time when, perhaps, there was as great a consternation, both in town and country, as was ever known in England; the English fleet was scarce yet out of the river; the Dutch, for the most part, at home; the French in the mouth of the channel, and only kept back by contrary winds; a terrible invasion hourly expected from France; the army beyond sea, that should have defended us; a real plot and confederacy by many whispered about, by the common people believed; many persons of great quality imprisoned upon that suspicion; all men's minds prepared to hear of some sudden rising, or discovery. In such a critical time of public terror and distraction, how very little evidence would have sufficed to ruin any man, that had been accused with the least probability of truth? And how, then, had it been possible for me to have stood the torrent of common fame and passion against so great a notoriety of fact, had that paper of a pretended association been really found in my house?

What tumult and rage had been on all sides of me, upon such a discovery! How fitly had such a story served to inflame the generality of men against me! How long a time must it have been, before the still voice of innocency could be heard!

Would it not have been said, 'Can he deny it to be his own hand? Are not the hands of the rest well known? Was it not found in his house? In so secret a place there? Who could have laid it there, but himself?' This, certainly, had been the universal clamour. But, above all, what a mischievous advantage had this given, to the enemies of the Church of England, to insult and triumph over it, on my account! And that, in truth, had more sensibly and deeply wounded me, than any thing else, which could have befallen myself.

But God prevented all this, by covering, if I may so say, the 'Hand-writing' against me in my chimney, as long as the finding of it there might have been to my destruction; and then, by suffering my accusers to fetch it thence, and produce it in such a time, and in such a way, as could only tend to their own confusion. To God, therefore, my only deliverer, be the praise! And, as I doubt not, but all good and innocent men, for the common sake of innocency vindicated, will receive this account of my deliverance with kindness and good-will, so I do most solemnly oblige myself, and all mine, to keep the grateful remembrance of it perpetual and sacred.³

³ [The bishop, after his deliverance from the imminent danger with which he was threatened, spent the remainder of his life in privacy, except when he judged the situation of affairs peculiarly demanded his attention. He ever after commemorated his deliverance by a yearly day of thanksgiving.]

The Bishop's Potion: Or, a Dialogue between the Bishop of Canterbury and his Physician; wherein he desireth the Doctor to have a Care of his Body, and to preserve him from being let Blood in the Neck, when the sign is in Taurus¹.

Printed in the Year 1641.

[Quarto; containing six pages.]

Canterbury. WELCOME, good Mr. Doctor.

Doctor. I understand, by one of your gentlemen, your Grace was pleased to send for me.

Cant. Not without cause, good Mr. Doctor; for I find myself diseased in all parts, insomuch that, without some speedy remedy, I cannot long continue: I have a great desire to take physick, in case the time of the year be seasonable.

Doct. Yes, the time of the year may be seasonable, but we must have a care of the constitution of your lordship's body, the nature of the disease, and the quality of the medicine. Our cordials, potions, electuaries, syrups, plaisters, unguents, clysters, vomits, baths, suppositories, and the like, must be duly regarded, with a due care what planet is predominant.

Cant. I approve your learned skill, good Mr. Doctor, in having respect to the constellations; for I am of opinion, (which the brethren, forsooth, call superstition,) if I be let blood in the neck, when the sign is in Taurus, I shall certainly bleed to death.

Doct. That may very well be, unless your surgeon have a more saving skill than my lord deputy's had. But I pray, my lord, let me see your Grace's water, for by it I shall easily perceive the state of your body.

Cant. Reach that urinal there. Look you, Mr. Doctor, this water I made last night, after my first sleep: what do you think by it?

Doct. My lord, your water is a most thick, dense, solid, heavy, almost ragged, putrid, stinking, and rotten urine: your Grace hath kept a very bad diet; there are certain raw crudities, that lie heavy and undigested upon your stomach, which will, without remedy, and that speedily, ascend so high, until it stifle and suffocate your Grace.

Cant. I pray, good Mr. Doctor, use your skill in removing them; I must confess I owe a death, which I would be loth to pay, before it be due: wherefore, if it be within your power to prolong my life, spare no cost for the effecting it.

Doct. My lord, it is within the power of my art to prolong your life, in case it be not cut off untimely. I have here prepared a vomit for your Grace, which, I doubt not, but will have a speedy operation; down with it, my lord, fear not, it will bring something up by and by:—and see, it begins to work already.

Cant. Hold my head, good Mr. Doctor, Oh, Oh!

Doct. Well done, up with it, my lord. What is here? a great piece of parchment, with a yellow seal to it; the writing is obscure, I cannot read it. But what is this that comes next? a root of tobacco: I protest it is pure Spanish. How comes this to pass; had your Grace any hand in the tobacco-patent?

Cant. Yes, it hath stuck on my stomach these four years at least, and I could never digest it before. Hold the bason.

¹ [A pasquinade against Archbishop Laud.]

Doct. What is this? a book, 'Whosoever hath been at Church, may exercise lawful recreations on the Sunday;' what is the meaning of this?

Cant. It is the book for pastimes on the Sunday, which I caused to be made. But hold, here comes something, what is it?

Doct. It is another book, the title is, 'Sunday no Sabbath;' did you cause this to be made also?

Cant. No; Dr. Pocklington made it, but I licenced it.

Doct. What, he that looks so like a necromancer? He that was, for his pains, preferred besides his benefices? But what is this? A paper. It is, if I be not mistaken, a Star-chamber order made against Mr. Prynne, Mr. Burton, and Dr. Bastwicke: Had you any hand in that.

Cant. I had, I had; all England knoweth it. But, Oh! here comes something that makes my very back ach; Oh! that it were up once: now it is up, I thank heaven! What is it?

Doct. It is a great bundle of papers, of presentations, and suspensions: these were the instruments, my lord, wherewith you created the tongue-tied doctors, and gave them great benefices in the country, to preach some twice a year at the least; and, in their place, to hire some journeyman curate, who will only read a sermon in the forenoon, and in the afternoon be drunk with his parishioners for company; and, with others, you silenced the long-winded ministers.

Cant. I must confess, it is true. But here is something that pains me extremely: Oh! that it were up; this troubles me more than all the rest:—see what it is, good doctor, for it is up.

Doct. Why, my lord, the book of canons, charged with the horrible monster.

Cant. Now I am pretty well at ease. But I pray, Mr. Doctor, what was this made of?

Doct. Why, my lord, three ounces of tobacco, three scruples of pillory-powder, one scruple of his brains that looked over London-bridge, and three handfuls of the herbs gathered by the apprentices; wrapped up in a high commission-roll, and boiled in a pottle of holy-water, to the third part, and strained through a pair of lawn sleeves.

Cant. Nay, if this be your physick, I will take no more of it. Oh! there comes something else:—I protest, the mitre. Alas! I had almost broke my lungs.

Doct. Nay, if the mitre be come, the devil is not far off. Farewell, good my lord.

A Speech spoken in the House of Commons, by the Reverend Father in God, Robert, Lord Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield: being brought to the Bar to answer for himself¹.

London; Printed by R. B. for Richard Lownds, and are to be sold at his Shop without Ludgate. 1641.

[Quarto; containing six pages.]

MR. SPEAKER,

AS it hath been ever my fashion (and, in truth, it is my disposition) to endeavour, at the least, to give satisfaction to every man, even to the meanest, that hath had any sinister conceptions of me, be it *scandalum datum*, or *acceptum*; so hath it been my ambition, and I have sought it with affection (as to all men) so much more to this honourable assembly, especially concerning the late petition and protestation exhibited unto his sacred Majesty, and the lords and peers in parliament. But, in the first place, Mr. Speaker, I am, as it becomes me, to give most hearty and condign thanks to the noble knights, citizens, and burgesses, of this honourable house of commons; for that they have been pleased, by a general vote, (and I hope, unanimous,) to give me leave to speak for myself, and to lay open the truth of my cause, concerning the said petition and protestation² before them.

And now, Mr. Speaker, to address myself to the business; whereof I shall not speak as a lawyer, for I have no head for law, neither shall I need to touch upon any point thereof; nor as a flourishing orator, as desirous to hear himself speak: I have long since laid aside my books of rhetoric. My desire is, Mr. Speaker, to tread in the steps of an old divine, (of whom Sozomen writes in his Ecclesiastical History,) who, groaning under the like heavy burthen and accusation as I do, chose rather to vent his own sense, and express the truth of his cause in plain language, than to colour or cloak falsehood, and to extenuate his offence, by forced, trapped, and new varnished eloquence: and to that purpose, my conceptions and narration shall stand only upon two feet, negation and affirmation. There are some things that I must deny, and yet, justly; somewhat I must affirm, and that I shall do ingenuously and fully.

First, for the negative: I never framed, made, nor contrived, compiled or preferred, any such petition or protestation; I never was at any meeting, consultation, or confer-

¹ [The petition and protestation of the bishops hereafter mentioned having been communicated by the King to the House of Peers, was looked upon by them as a dangerous and improper infringement of the privileges and constitution of Parliament; and at a conference of both houses, presented to the Commons 'as a thing of great and general concernment.' The Commons, having received the report of this conference, immediately resolved to accuse the twelve bishops of high-treason, and sent one of their members to the upper house to make the accusation in form. On this occasion, Dr. Wright, bishop of Litchfield, made the above speech, in justification of his conduct.]

² [This protestation will be found in Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. iv. p. 466. Nalson's ditto, ii. p. 794. Rapin's Hist. of England, &c. Lord Clarendon says, the bishops' friends took so great offence at this indiscreet protestation, that though they desired to preserve their functions, they had no compassion or regard of their persons, or what became of them; insomuch as, in the whole debate, there was only one gentleman who spoke in their behalf, and said, "He did not believe they were guilty of high-treason; but that they were stark mad, and therefore desired they might be sent to Bedlam." Rapin remarks, that the protestation manifestly tended to dissolve the Parliament without the King's interposing: and at a conference between the two houses, the Lord-keeper declared, in the name of the peers, 'that it contained matters of dangerous consequence, extending to the deep intrenching upon the fundamental privileges and being of Parliament.']

ence, about any such business; nay, I never heard of any intention, much less execution of any such thing, until it was the Wednesday in Christmas, being the 29th of December, at which time it was brought unto my house in Covent-Garden, being betwixt six or seven at night, (subscribed by eleven of my brethren,) with a request, that I would subscribe suddenly also. And for the affirmation; presuming that so many learned, grave, and wise men, well versed in matters of that nature, would not have attempted any such thing, without good counsel, to the endangering of themselves, and their brethren, and to the distaste of the lords; and that all the rest of the bishops, in or about the cities of London or Westminster, should subscribe thereunto, and that it should not be preferred, without the approbation, and mature deliberation of good counsel, and of us all; I made the twelfth, and set to my hand, which I do now acknowledge, and never denied: nay, the first time that I came to the bar in the lords' house, I acknowledged that my hand was to it, and divers of this honourable presence heard it so read unto them, out of the journal of the lords' house.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if these my deceived and deceiving thoughts (to use St. Bernard's phrase) have led me into an error, the error is either *ex ignorantia juris*, an unskilfulness in the law; or *debilitate judicii*, a weakness of my apprehension; or else *ex nimia credulitate*, out of the too much confidence in others; not of any prepensed malice, or out of a spirit of contradiction, as the Lord knoweth! The schoolmen tell me, that *duo sunt in omni peccato*, there is *actio*, & *malitia actionis*: I own the action, the subscription is mine; but, that there was any malice in the action (to cross any vote, at which I was not present, nor never heard of) I utterly disavow. And therefore, Mr. Speaker, I shall become an humble suitor, that I may recommend three most humble requests, or motions, to this honourable house.

The first motion is, That you would be pleased to tread in the steps of Constantine, the christian emperor, who had ever this resolution, that, if he should see *sacerdotam peccantem*, an offending divine, he would rather cast his purple garment upon him, than reveal the offence, for the Gospel's sake of Christ.

My second motion is, That, if my subscription shall make me a delinquent and worthy of any censure; then the censure may not exceed, but, at the highest, be proportionable to the offence.

The third and last motion is, That that of Plautus (after my fifty-eight years painful, constant, and successful preaching of the Gospel of Christ in the kingdom of England, and in foreign parts) may not be verified of me: *Si quid bene feceris, levior plumâ gratia est; si quid mali feceris, plumbeas iras gerunt*. And now, Mr. Speaker, I might here tender divers motions to the consideration of this honourable house, for favourable construction of my rash subscription; I may say commiseration, but all without ostentation; that is far from me: but rather for the consolation of my perplexed soul, for the great affliction, restraint, and disgrace, which I have long sustained, (which is far greater than ever I endured before, and transcends the dangers and jeopardies of the seas, and the miseries of the wars, whereof I have had my share,) and partly for the vindication of my former reputation, calling, and profession; which is now clouded, eclipsed, and blacked in the eyes of the world, and scandalised in the mouths of the vulgar multitude, that without reparation, and restoration to my former esteem, I shall never have heart to shew my face in a pulpit any more, wherein I have wished to end my days. But I wave them all, because I will not detain you from other occasions of greater importance, and desire my ways may be made known unto you rather by inquisition, than my own relation. Only I shall appeal to the noble knights, citizens, and burgesses of the diocese where I now live, and of the other, wherein formerly I did live, as, namely, the honourable city of Bristol; which I can never name without that title, not only in respect of their piety, unity, and conformity, but also in respect of their love, kindness, and extraordinary bounty unto me. I appeal to them for their testimonies, and knowledge of my courses amongst them; nay, I appeal to the records of the honourable house, where, I am confident, after sixteen months sitting, there is nothing found, that can trench upon me: neither, I hope, will, or may be.

And therefore my humble suit is for expedition, if you intend accusation; or rather for your mediation, that I may speedily return to my own home and cure, 'to redeem the time, because the days are evil,' as the Apostle speaks; and to regain the esteem and reputation, which I was long in getting, and long enjoyed, but lost in a moment: for, if I should out-live (I say not my bishoprick, but) my credit, my grey hairs and many years would soon be brought 'with sorrow to the grave.'

I have done, Mr. Speaker; and there remains nothing now, but that I become a petitioner unto Almighty God, that he will be pleased to bestow upon you all the patriarch's blessing, even 'the dew of heaven, and fatness of the earth;' and I end with that of St. Jude, 'Mercy, peace, and love, be multiplied unto you:' I say again, with a religious and affectionate heart, 'Mercy, peace, and love, be multiplied unto you.'

The Examination and Trial of Margaret Fell and George Fox,
(at the several Assizes held at Lancaster, the fourteenth and
sixteenth Days of the first Month, 1663-4; and the Twenty-
ninth of the sixth Month 1664,) for their Obedience to
Christ's Command, who saith, 'Swear not at all.' Also some-
thing in answer to Bishop Lancelot Andrew's Sermon con-
cerning Swearing.

'Thus have you made the Commandment of God of none Effect by your
'Tradition.' Matt. xv. 6.

Printed in the Year 1664².

[Quarto; containing thirty-four Pages.]

I. **S**HE was called to the bar, and when she was at the bar, order was given to the gaoler, by the judge, to set a stool and a cushion for her to sit upon; and she had four of her daughters with her at the bar; and the judge said, "Let not Mrs. Fell's daughters stand at the bar, but let them come up hither; they shall not stand at the bar." So they plucked them up, and set them near where the judge sat. Then, after a while, the *mittimus* was read, and the judge spoke to her, and she stood up to the bar, and he began to speak to her as followeth:

Judge. He said, "Mrs. Fell, you are committed by the justices of peace for refusing to take the oath of obedience; and I am commanded, or sent by the king, to tender it to any that shall refuse it."

Margaret Fell. "I was sent for from my own house and family; but for what cause or transgression I do not know."

Judge. "I am informed by the justices of peace in this county, that you keep multitudes of people at your house, in a pretence of worshiping God: and, it may be, you worship him in part, but we are not to dispute that."

Marg. Fell. "I have the king's word from his own mouth, that he would not hinder

¹ [The founder of the sect of Quakers.]

² [See Oldy's catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 489.]

me of my religion. 'God forbid, (said he) that I should hinder you of your religion; you may keep it in your own house.' And I appeal to all the country, whether those people that met at my house be not a peaceable, a quiet, and a godly, honest people? And whether there hath been any just occasion of offence given by the meeting that was kept in my house?"

Judge. "If you will give security that you will have no more meetings, I will not tender the oath to you. You think if there be no fighting nor quarrelling amongst you, that you keep the peace, and break no law: but I tell you, that you are a breaker of the law, by keeping of unlawful meetings; and again, you break the law, in that you will not take the oath of allegiance."

Marg. Fell. "I desire that I may have the liberty to answer to those two things that are charged against me. And first, for that which is looked upon to be matter of fact, which is concerning our meetings; there are several of my neighbours that are of the same faith, principle, and spirit, and judgment that I am of; and these are they that meet at my house, and I cannot shut my door against them."

Judge. "Mistress, you begin at the wrong end, for the first is the oath."

Marg. Fell. "I suppose, that the first occasion of tendering to me the oath, was, because of meeting; but, as for that, if I have begun at the wrong end, I shall begin at the other. And first, then, as to the oath, the substance of which is allegiance to the king: and this I shall say, as for my allegiance, I love, own, and honour the king, and desire his peace and welfare, and that we may live a peaceable, a quiet, and godly life under his government according to the Scriptures, and this is my allegiance to the king: and as for the oath itself, Christ Jesus, the King of kings, hath commanded me not to swear at all, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath."

Judge. He called for the Statute-book, and the grand-jury to be present. Then one of the justices, that committed her, said, "Mrs. Fell, you know, that, before the oath was tendered to you, we offered, that if you would put in security to have no more meetings at your house, we would not tender the oath to you."

Marg. Fell. "I shall not deny that."

Judge. "If you will yet put in security that you will have no more meetings, I will not tender it to you."

Marg. Fell. Spoke to the judge, and the court, and the rest of the people: "You all profess here to be Christians, and likewise you profess the Scriptures; so, in answer to those things that are laid against me:

"First (John iv.) Christ Jesus hath left upon record in the Scriptures, that God is a Spirit, and that his worship is in the spirit and truth; and that he is seeking of such worshippers to worship him; in which spirit, I, and those that meet in my house, meet and worship God, in obedience to his doctrine and command.

"Secondly, (Matt. iv.) The same Christ Jesus hath commanded, in plain words, that I shall not swear at all; and, for obedience to Christ's doctrine and command, am I here arraigned this day; and so, you being Christians, and professing the same things in words, judge of those things according to that of God in your consciences, and I appeal to all the country, whether ever any prejudice, or hurt, those meetings did?"

So, after she had spoken of the worship of God in spirit, and obedience to Christ's doctrine, and command, &c.

Judge. "You are not here for obedience to Christ's commands, but for keeping of unlawful meetings; and you think that if you do not fight, or quarrel, or break the peace, that you break no law; but there is a law against unlawful meetings."

Marg. Fell. "What law have I broken, for worshiping God in my own house?"

Judge. "What law?"

Marg. Fell. "Aye, what law have I broken, for worshiping God in my own house?"

Judge. "The common law."

Marg. Fell. "I thought you had proceeded by a statute." Then the sheriff whispered to him, and mentioned the statute of the 35th of Eliz.

Judge. "I could tell you of a law, but it is too penal for you; for it might cost you your life."

Marg. Fell. "I must offer and tender my life and all for my testimony, if it be required of me." Then the latter part of the statute was read to the jury for the oath of obedience; and the judge informed the jury and the prisoner concerning the penalty of the statute upon refusal; for it would be to the forfeiture of all her estate, real and personal, and imprisonment during life.

Marg. Fell. "I am a widow, and my estate is a dowry, and I have five children unpreferred; and if the king's pleasure be to take my estate from me, upon the account of my conscience, and not for any evil or wrong done, let him do as he pleases: and further, I desire that I may speak to the jury of the occasion of my being here."

Judge. "The jury is to hear nothing, but me to tender you the oath, and you to refuse it or take it."

Marg. Fell. "You will let me have the liberty that other prisoners have;" and then she turned to the jury, and said—"Friends, I am here this day upon the account of my conscience, and not for any evil or wrong done to any man, but for obeying Christ's doctrine and command, who hath said in the Scripture, 'That God is a Spirit, and that his worship is in the spirit and truth;' and for keeping meetings in the unity of his spirit, and for obeying Christ's command and doctrine, who hath said, 'Swear not at all,' am I here arraigned this day. Now you profess yourselves to be Christians, and you own the Scriptures to be true, and, for the obedience of the plain words of Scripture, and for the testimony of my conscience, am I here; so I now appeal to the witness of God in all your consciences to judge of me according to that."

"Secondly, You are to consider this statute what it was made for, and for whom it was made, for Papists; and the oath was allegiance to the king. Now, let your consciences judge, whether we be the people it was made for, who cannot swear any oath at all, only for conscience sake, because Christ commands not to swear at all."

Judge. Then the judge seemed to be angry, and said, "She was not there upon the account of her conscience;" and said, "She had an everlasting tongue; you draw the whole court after you:" and she continued speaking on, and he still crying, "Will you take the oath or no?"

Marg. Fell. "It is upon the account of my conscience; for, if I could have sworn, I had not been here."

"Secondly, If I would not have meetings in my house, I need not to have the oath tendered to me; and so I desire the jury to take notice, that it is only for those two things that I am here arraigned; which are only upon the account of my conscience, and not for any evil done against any man." Then the judge was angry again, and bid them tender her the oath, and hold her the book.

Judge. "Will you take the oath of allegiance?"

Marg. Fell. "I have said already, that I own allegiance and obedience to the king at his just and lawful commands; and I do also owe allegiance and obedience to the King of kings, Christ Jesus, who hath commanded me not to swear at all."

Judge. "That is no answer: Will you take the oath, or will you not take it?"

Marg. Fell. "I say, I owe allegiance and obedience unto Christ Jesus, who commands me not to swear."

Judge. "I say unto you, that is no answer. Will you take it, or will you not take it?"

Marg. Fell. "If you should ask me never so often, I must answer to you: The reason why I cannot take it, is, because Christ Jesus hath commanded me not to swear at all. I owe my allegiance and obedience unto him."

Then one of the justices, that committed her, said: "Mrs. Fell, you may with a good conscience, if you cannot take the oath, put in security, that you may not have any more meetings at your house."

Marg. Fell. "Wilt thou make that good, that I may, with a safe conscience, make an engagement to forbear meetings, for fear of losing my liberty and estate? Wilt not thou,

and you all here, judge of me, that it was for saving my estate and liberty that I did it? And do I not in this deny my testimony? And would not this defile my conscience?"

Judge. "This is no answer: Will you take the oath? We must not spend time."

Marg. Fell. "I never took an oath in my life; I have spent my days thus far, and I never took an oath: I own allegiance to the king, as he is king of England, but Christ Jesus is king of my conscience."—Then the clerk held out the book, and bid her pull off her glove, and lay her hand on the book.

Marg. Fell. "I never laid my hand on the book to swear, in all my life, and I never was at this assize before; I was bred and born in this county, and have led my life in it, and I was never at an assize before this time; and I bless the Lord, that I am here this day upon this account, to bear testimony to the truth."—Then they asked her if she would have the oath read. She answered: "I do not care, if I never hear an oath read; for the land mourns, because of oaths."

Judge. Then the judge cried, "Take her away."—Then they took her civilly away; and asked her, "If she would give security, that she would have no more meetings?"

Marg. Fell. "Nay, I can give no such security; I have spoken enough for that."

Then George Fox was called before judge Twisden: being a prisoner, the gaoler brought him in.

Judge. "What, do you come into the court with your hat on?" And then the gaoler took it off.

George Fox. "Peace be amongst you all."—And said, "The hat was not the honour that came down from God."

Judge. "Will you take the oath of allegiance, George Fox?"

Geo. Fox. "I never took oath in my life."

Judge. "Will you swear, or no?"

Geo. Fox. "Christ commands we must not swear at all; and the Apostle. And, whether must I obey God, or man, judge thee; I put it to thee?"

Judge. "I will not dispute with thee, George Fox. Come, read the oath to him." And so the oath was read, and, when it was read, "Give him the book," said they; and so a man, that stood by him, held up the book, and said, "Lay your hand on the book."

Geo. Fox. "Give me the book in my hand." Which set them all a gazing, and as in hope he would have sworn. Then, when he got the book in his hand, he held up the book, and said: "This book commands me not to swear; if it be a Bible, I will prove it:" and he saw it was a Bible, and he held it up; and then they plucked it forth of his hand again, and cried, "Will you swear? Will you take the oath of allegiance, yea, or nay?"

Geo. Fox. "My allegiance lies not in oaths, but in truth and faithfulness; for I honour all men, much more the king; but Christ saith I must not swear, the great Prophet, the Saviour of the world, and the Judge of the world; and thou sayest I must swear. Whether must I obey Christ, or thee? For it is in tenderness of conscience that I do not swear, in obedience to the command of Christ and the Apostle; and for his sake I suffer, and in obedience to his command do I stand this day; and we have the word of a king for tender consciences, besides his speeches and declarations at Breda. And dost thou own the king?"

Judge. "Yes, I own the king."

Geo. Fox. "Then why dost not thou own his speeches and declarations concerning tender consciences?" To the which he replied nothing; but George said, "It is in obedience to Christ, the Saviour of the world, the Judge of the world, before whose judgment-seat all men must be brought, that I do not swear, and am a man of a tender conscience."—And then the judge stood up.

Judge. "I will not be afraid of thee: thou speaks so loud, thy voice drowns mine and the court's: I must call for three or four cryers to drown thy voice; thou hast good lungs."

Geo. Fox. "I am a prisoner here, this day, for the Lord Jesus, that made heaven and earth; and for his sake do we suffer, and for him do I stand this day; and, if my voice

was five times louder, yet should I sound it out, and lift it up for Christ's sake, for whose cause I stand this day before your judgment-seat, in obedience to Christ's commands, who commands not to swear; before whose judgment-seat you must all be brought, and give an account."

Judge. "Sirrah, will you take the oath?"

Geo. Fox. "I am none of thy sirrah; I am no sirrah, I am a Christian. Art thou a judge, and sits there to give names to prisoners? Thou ought not to give names to prisoners."

Judge. "I am a Christian too."

Geo. Fox. "Then, do Christian works."

Judge. "Sirrah, thou thinkest to frighten me with thy words;" and looked aside, "I am saying so again."

Geo. Fox. "I speak in love to thee; that doth not become a judge: thou oughtest to instruct a prisoner of the law and Scriptures, if he be ignorant and out of the way."

Judge. "George Fox, I speak in love to thee."

George Fox. "Love gives no names."

Judge. "Wilt thou swear; wilt thou take the oath; yea, or nay?"

Geo. Fox. "As I said before; whether must I obey God or man, judge ye? Christ commands not to swear; and if thou, or ye, or any minister, or priest here, will prove that ever Christ, or his apostles, after they had forbidden swearing, commanded men should swear; I will swear:"—and, several priests being there, yet not one did appear.

Judge. "George Fox, will you swear or no?"

Geo. Fox. "It is in obedience to Christ's commands I do not swear; and for his sake we suffer, and you are sensible enough of swearers, how they first swear one way, then another; and if I could swear any oath at all, upon any occasion, I should take that; but it is not denying oaths upon some occasion, but all oaths, according to Christ's doctrine."

Judge. "I am a servant to the king, and the king sent me not to dispute, but he sent me to put his laws in execution; wilt thou swear? Tender the oath of allegiance to him."

Geo. Fox. "If thou love the king, why dost thou break his word, and not own his declarations and speeches to tender consciences, from Breda: for I am a man of a tender conscience; for in obedience to Christ's command I am not to swear."

Judge. "Then you will not swear; take him, gaoler."

Geo. Fox. "It is for Christ's sake, I cannot swear: in obedience to his commands I suffer, and so the Lord forgive you all."

And so the mighty power of the Lord God was over all.

The appearance of Margaret Fell the second time, being the sixteenth day of the aforementioned month, 1663-4.

Judge. "Mrs. Fell, you stand here indicted by the statute, because you will not take the oath of allegiance; and I am here to inform you, what the law provides for you in such a case, viz.

"First, If you confess to the indictment, the judgment of a premunire is to pass upon you.

"Secondly, If you plead, you have liberty to traverse.

"Thirdly, If you stand mute and say nothing at all, judgment will be passed against you: see what you will chuse of those three ways."

Marg. Fell. "I am altogether ignorant of these things, for I had never the like occasion; so I desire to be informed by thee which of them is the best for me, for I do not know?" and so several about the court cried, "Traverse, traverse."

Judge. "If you will be advised by me, put in your traverse; and so you have liberty, until the next assizes, to answer your indictment."

Marg. Fell. "I had rather according to thy own proposal have a process, that I might have liberty until the next assizes, and then to put in a traverse."

Judge. "Your traverse is a process."

Marg. Fell. "May not I have a process, and put in my traverse the next assizes? I am informed, that was the thing that thou intended that I should have."

Judge. "You shall have it."

Marg. Fell. "That is all I desire."—Then, a clerk of the Crown-office stood up and whispered to the judge, and said it was contrary to law; and said, I must put in my traverse now.

Judge. "I would do you all the favour I can; but you must enter your traverse now."

Marg. Fell. "I acknowledge thy favour and mercy, for thou hast shewn more mercy than my neighbours have done; and I see what thou hast done for me, and what my neighbours have done against me; and I know very well how to make a distinction, for they who have done this against me, they have no reason for it."

Judge. "I have done you no wrong, I found you here."

Marg. Fell. "I had not been here, but by my neighbours."

Judge. "What say you, are you willing to traverse?"

Marg. Fell. "If I may not be permitted to have that which I desire, that is, longer time, I must be willing to traverse, till the next assizes; and that upon this account, that I have something to inform thee of, which I did not speak on the last time, when I was brought before thee. The justices which committed me, they told me they had express order from above; but they did not shew me the order, neither indeed did I ask them for it, but I heard since, that they have given it out in the country, that they had an order from the council; others said, they had an order from the king.—The sheriff said, there was express order; and also Justice Fleming said, there was an order from the king and the council: so the country is incensed, that I am some great enemy to the king; so I desire that I may have this order read, that I may know what my offence is, that I may clear myself."

Judge. "I will tell you what that order is; we have express order from the king, to put all statutes and laws in execution, not only against you, but all other people, and against Papists, if they be complained of."

Marg. Fell. "Will that order give the justices of peace power to fetch me from my own house, to tender me the oath?"

Judge. "Mistress, we are all in love, if they had an order, believe they had one."

Marg. Fell. "If they have one, let them shew it, and then I can believe it."

Judge. "Come, come, enter the traverse."

Marg. Fell. "I had rather have had more time, that I might have informed the king concerning these things."

Judge. "You may inform the king in half a year's time; so now let us have your friend called up."

Then, after she was gone down, the judge called her back again, and said, "If you will put in bail, you may go home, and have your liberty till the next assizes; but you must not have such frequent meetings."

Marg. Fell. "I will rather lie where I am; for, as I told you before, I must keep my conscience clear, for that I suffer."

The sixteenth day of the same month, George Fox was brought before the judge, the second time, where he was a little offended at his hat; being the last morning before he was to depart away, and not many people.

Judge. The judge he read a paper to him, which was, 'Whether he would submit, stand mute, or traverse, and so have judgment past?' He spake these and many more words so very softly, and in haste, that George Fox could not tell what he said.

Geo. Fox. Desired it might be traversed and tried.

Judge. "Take him away, then I will have no more with him, take him away."

Geo. Fox. "Well, live in the fear of God, and do justice."

Judge. "Why, have I not done you justice?"

Geo. Fox. "That which thou hast done hath been against the command of Christ."
This with much more was spoken, which could not be collected.

And then George Fox was called up, the twenty-ninth day of the sixth month in the year 1664.

At the assizes holden at Lancaster, Margaret Fell brought to the bar, the indictment read to the judge; "Come, will you take the oath?"

Marg. Fell. "There is a clause in the indictment, that the church-wardens informed of something which seemeth that that should be the ground or first occasion of this indictment; I desire to know what that information was, and what the transgression was, by which I come under this law."

Judge. "Mistress, we are not to dispute that: you are here indicted, and you are here to answer, and to plead to your indictment."

Marg. Fell. "I am first to seek out the ground and the cause wherefore I am indicted: you have no law against me, except I be a transgressor; the law is made for the lawless and transgressors; and except I be a transgressor, ye have no law against me; neither ought you to have indicted me, for being that the church-wardens did inform, my question is, what matter of fact they did inform of; for I was sent for from my own house, from amongst my children and family, when I was about my outward occasions, when I was in no meeting, neither was it a meeting-day; therefore, I desire to know what this first foundation or matter of fact was; for there is no law against the innocent and righteous, and, if I be a transgressor, let me know wherein."

Judge. "You say well, the law is made for transgressors; but, mistress, do you go to church?"

Marg. Fell. "I do go to church."

Judge. "What church?"

Marg. Fell. "To the church of Christ."

Judge. "But do you go to church amongst other people? ye know what I mean."

Marg. Fell. "What dost thou call a church, the house or the people? The house, ye all know, is wood and stone; but if thou call the people a church, to that I shall answer. As for the church of England that now is, I was gathered unto the Lord's truth, unto which I now stand a witness, before this church was a church. I was separated from the general worship of the nation, when there was another set up than that which is now, and was persecuted by that power that then was, and suffered much hardship; and would you have us now to deny our faith and our principles, which we have suffered for so many years; and would you now have us to turn from that which we have borne witness of so many years, and turn to your church contrary to our conscience?"

Judge. "We spend time about those things: come to the matter in hand, what say you to the oath and to the indictment?"

Marg. Fell. "I say this to the oath, as I have said in this place before now, Christ Jesus hath commanded me not to swear at all, and that is the only cause, and no other: the righteous Judge of heaven and earth knoweth, (before whose throne and justice ye must all appear one day,) and his eyes sees us all and beholds us all at this present, and he hears and sees all our words and actions; and therefore every one ought to be serious, for the place of judgment is weighty; and this I do testify unto you here, where the Lord's eye beholds us all, that for the matter or substance of the oath, and the end for which it was intended, I do own one part, and deny the other: that is to say, I do own truth and faithfulness and obedience to the king, and all his just and lawful demands and commands; I do also deny all plotting, contrivings against the king, and all Popish supremacy and conspiracy; and I can no more transgress against King Charles in these things, than I can disobey Christ Jesus his commands: and by the same power and vertue of the same word, which hath commanded me not to swear at all, the same doth bind me in my conscience, that I can neither plot nor contrive against the king, nor do him nor no man upon the

earth any wrong ; and I do not deny this oath, only because it is the oath of allegiance, but I deny it because it is an oath ! because Christ Jesus hath said I shall not swear at all ; neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor any other oath : and if I might gain the whole world for swearing an oath, I could not ; and what ever I have to lose this day, for not swearing of an oath, I am willing to offer it up."

Judge. "What say you to the indictment?"

Marg. Fell. "What should I say? I am clear and innocent of the wronging any man upon the earth, as my little child that stands by me here; and if any here have any thing to lay to my charge, let them come down and testify it here before you all; and if I be clear and innocent, you have no law against me." Then Colonel Kirby and the sheriff whispered to the judge, and I looked up and spoke to Colonel Kirby, and said, "Let us have no whispering; I will not have so many judges one of one side, and another of another; here is one judge that is to be judge:" and the judge said, "No, no, I will not hear them;" and then I called to Colonel Kirby, and said "If thou have any thing to lay to my charge, or to speak against me, come, come down here, and testify against me;" and I said, "The judge represents the king's person and his power, and I own that."

Judge. "Jury, take notice she doth not take the oath."

Marg. Fell. "This matter is weighty to me, whatsoever it is to you, upon many accounts; and I would have the jury to take notice of it, and to consider seriously what they are going to do; for I stand here before you upon the account of the loss of my liberty and my estate."

"Secondly, I stand in obeying Christ's commands, and so keeping my conscience clear; which if I obey this law and king Charles's commands, I defile my conscience and transgress against Christ Jesus, who is the king of my conscience; and the cause and controversy in this matter, that you all are here to judge of this day, is betwixt Christ Jesus and king Charles: and I am his servant and witness this day; and this is his cause, and whatsoever I suffer it is for him, and so let him plead my cause when he pleaseth."

And the judge said to the jury, "Are ye all agreed, have ye found it?" And they said, "For the king."

Margaret Fell then spoke to the judge, and said, "I have council to plead to my indictment:" and he said he would hear them afterwards in arrest of judgment. So the court broke up for that time: and, after dinner when they came again, they intended to have called us at the first; and they had called George Fox out, and was calling me; and I stepped up to the bar, and "desired the judge that he would give us time till the next morning to bring in our arrest of judgment:" and the judge said at the first we should, and I was stepping down to go my way; and the judge called me back again, and said, "Mistress Fell, you wrote to me concerning your prisons, that they are bad, and rains in, and are not fit for people to lie in:" and I answered, "The sheriff doth know and hath been told of it several times; and now it is raining, if you will send to see, at this present, you may see whether they be fit for people to lie in or no:" and Colonel Kirby stood up, and spoke to the judge to excuse the sheriff, and the badness of the room; and I spoke to him, and said, "If you were to lie in it yourselves, you would think it hard; but your minds is only in cruelty to commit others, as William Kirby here hath done, who hath committed ten of our friends, and put them into a cold room, where there was nothing but bare boards to lie on; where they have laid several nights, some of them old ancient men above threescore years of age, and known to be honest men in their country where they live; and when William Kirby was asked, "Why they might not have liberty to shift for themselves for beds?" He answered and said, "They were to commit them to prison, but not to provide prisons for them." And we asked him "who should do it then?" And he said, "The king." And then the judge spoke to him and said, "They should not do so, they should let them have prisons fit for men;" with several more such like words: and then at that time we were returned to our chambers again. The next day we were called about the tenth hour, and I stood up to the bar, and said, "I had council there;" and named them, that the judge might assign them to speak; and I said, "I had two or three words to

speak before them;" and I said, "I did see all sorts of prisoners, that did appear before the judge, received mercy, what the law would afford them; but we desired only to receive justice and law:" and the judge said, "What are we here for else?" So I stepped down, and the lawyers spoke and shewed the judge several errors, and defects, and places of contradiction, and confusion in the indictment; at which the judge seemed to give ear to some of them, others he seemed to wave: but he made a pause and a stop, and seemed dissatisfied, and then called George Fox; and so then when he came to plead, and bring in that by which his indictment was quite quenched; then they put the oath to George Fox. Again the judge spoke to the lawyers, and said, "He would consider of those particulars they had spoken to, and he would speak to his brother Twisden before he passed judgment upon me; but, if I do pass judgment, you may have a writ of error:" and the lawyers answered him again, "Will you pass an erroneous judgment, my lord?" So after they had called the grand jury, and tendered George Fox the oath again, they returned us to our chambers: and when they had drawn another indictment of George Fox, and found it, they called us again in the afternoon; and George Fox pleaded to his indictment and entered his traverse. When he had done, the judge spoke to me, and said, "If such a word had been in, which was not in mine, but was in George Fox's, (and yet it was neither of those words, by which his indictment was quashed,) but, if that had been in mine, he said he would not have passed sentence; but, being that it was not there, he passed sentence of Premunire." Then I stood up and told him that he had said to my council, "That I might have a writ of error to reverse it." He said, "I should have what the law would afford me:" so I said, "The lord forgive thee for what thou hast done; and this law was made for Popish recusants, but ye pass sentence but on few of them."

MARGARET FELL.

The last Assizes holden at Lancaster, the Twenty-ninth of the sixth Month, 1664.

I GEORGE FOX, being called before the judge, was put amongst the felons and murderers, and there stood amongst them above two hours; the people and the justices, and the judge gazing upon me; and they tried many things before the judge, and they called me to the bar; and then the judge caused me to be brought, and he then caused the jury to be called, and then he asked the justices whether they had tendered me the oath at the sessions? and they said they had: and the judge caused the book to be given to the justices for them to swear, they tendered me the oath according to the indictment: and some of them would have refused, and the judge said he would do it to take away occasion, that there might be no occasion; and when the justices and jury was sworn, the judge asked me "Whether I had not refused to take the oath the last assize?" And I said, "I never took an oath in my life; and Christ the Saviour and Judge of the world saith, 'Swear not at all:'" and the judge asked me "Whether or no I had not refused to take the oath the last assizes?" And I answered, "The words that I said to them was, that if they could prove either priest, or teacher, or justices, after Christ and the Apostles had forbidden swearing, that afterwards they commanded that men should swear, I would swear."

The judge said, "He was not at that time to dispute whether it was lawful to swear, but to enquire whether or no I did refuse to take the oath?"

George. "Those things as concerning plotting, and the pope's foreign powers, &c. contained in that oath, I utterly deny."

The judge said, "I said well in that."

George. I said to them again as before, "That if they could prove, that after Christ and the Apostle forbad swearing, that again they commanded to swear, I would swear: but Christ and the Apostle commanded not to swear; therefore I should shew forth christianity, for I am a christian."

The judge asked me again, "Whether I denied the oath; what did I say?"

George. "What would thou have me to say? I have told thee before what I have said."

The judge asked me "If I would have those men to swear that I had taken the oath?"

George. "Would thou have those men to swear that I have refused to take the oath?"

At which the court burst out into laughter. I asked them "If this court was a play-house? Where is gravity and sobriety, for that did not become them?" And so the indictment being read, I told the judge I had something to speak to it; and I asked him "Whether all the oath was not to be put into the indictment?" and he said "Yes." "Why, then, (said I,) here is 'pretended to be derived,' and 'his heirs and successors' left out;" and I asked him "Whether the oath was to be put to the king's subjects?" and he said "Yes."

I answered, "Why am I not put in as a subject?" But the word (subject) is left out of the indictment, which is in the oath; and so makes it not the same oath. Jury, take notice of it." But the judge said, "I must speak to the jury:" at which words the judge read the oath, and found it was as I had said. So he stood up, and said "He could put the oath to me, or any man in the court:" and so they began to be disturbed in themselves; also the justices. And there began to be a murmuring against the clerks; and the judge he got up, and began to cover the error: so I asked "Whether the last eleventh day of January the sessions were kept at Lancaster, (which they call Monday,) and whether or no the sessions was not on that they call Tuesday, the twelfth of January. All people take your almanacks, and see whether any oath was tendered G. F. the eleventh of January; whether the sessions was not upon the twelfth:" and the clerks and people looked their almanacks, and saw it was the twelfth; and the judge asked "Whether the eleventh was not the first of the sessions?" and they answered, "There was but one day, and it was the twelfth:" and the judge said "Then it was a great mistake;" and then all the justices was struck, and some of them could have found in their hearts to have gone off, and said "They had done it on purpose;" and said, "What clerk did it?" And a great stir was amongst them; and then I spoke to the jury, "How that they could not bring me in guilty according to that indictment:" and the judge said, "I must not speak to the jury, but he would speak to them;" and said, "They might bring me in guilty, I denying the oath;" then I said, "What should you do with a form then, and do not go according to it? Then you may throw the form away:" and then I told the jury, "That may lay upon their consciences, as they would answer the Lord God before his judgment-seat, before whom all must be brought:" and so the judge spoke to me, and said, "He would hear me afterwards any reasons I could alledge, wherefore he should not give judgment against me; and so he spoke to the jury: and I bid him "do me justice, and do justice," and so the jury brought in for the king "Guilty."

And I told them then, "that the justices had forsworn themselves and the jury both; and so they had small cause to laugh, as they did a little before, and to say I was mad:" and, before I had brought forth my reasons, I stood a little while, and the judge said, "He cannot dispute;" but then the people said, "He is too cunning for them all."

After I had brought forth my reasons; how contrary to their own indictment they had done and sworn, and brought me in guilty; Oh! the envy, and rage, and malice, that was among them against me, and lightness; but the Lord confounded it all, that abundance of it was slain: and so I told them "I was no lawyer;" and the judge said "He would hear me what I could alledge before he did give judgment;" and so I cried, "All people might see how they had forsworn themselves, and gone contrary to their own indictment:" and so their envy and malice was wonderfully stopt; and so presently Margaret Fell was called, who had a great deal of good service amongst them; and so the court broke up near the second hour. Many more words was spoken concerning the truth.

And so in the afternoon we were brought up to have sentence passed upon us; and so Margaret Fell desired "that judgment and sentence might be deferred till the next morning; and we desired nothing but law and justice at his hands, for thieves had mercy:"

and I desired the judge "to send some to see my prison; being so bad, they would put no creature they had in it, it was so windy and rainy;" and I told him that colonel Kirby, who was then on the bench, said "I should be locked up, and no flesh alive should come at me:" and most of the gentry of the country being gathered together, expecting to hear the sentence, but they were crost that time. So I was had away to my prison; and some justices, with colonel Kirby, went up to see it; and when they came up, they durst scarcely go in it, it was so bad, rainy, and windy, and the badness of the floor; and others that came up said it was a jakes' house, (I being removed out of the prison which I was in formerly,) and so colonel Kirby said I should be removed from that place 'ere long, that I should be sent unto some securer place; for he spoke to the judge in the court, saying, "That he knew that the justices would join with him." But the judge said, "After I have past sentence I will leave him to the jailor; and how I was not a fit man to be conversed with, none should converse with me:" and all the noise among the people was, that I should be transported.

And so the next day, towards the eleventh hour, we was called forth again to hear the sentence and judgment: but Margaret Fell was called first before me to the bar, and there was some counsellors pleaded, and found many errors in her indictment, and so she was taken by, after the judge had acknowledged them; and then the judge asked what they could say to mine? and I was willing to let no man plead for me, but to speak to it myself; and, though Margaret Fell had some that pleaded for her, yet she spoke as much herself as she would; and though they had the most envy against me, yet the most gross errors was found in mine; and before I came to the bar I was moved to pray, 'that the Lord would confound their wickedness and envy, and set his truth over all, and exalt his seed.' The thundering voice answered, 'I have glorified thee, and will glorify thee again:' and I was so filled full of glory, that my head and ears was filled full of it; and when the trumpets sounded, and the judges came up again, they all appeared as dead men under me: and so when I was to answer to the errors of the indictment, (seeing that all the oath, as he said himself, was to be in,) I told him there was many words of the oath left out, which was 'pretended to be derived,' and 'his heirs and successors?' and I bid them look the oath, and look the indictment, and they might see it; and they did, and found it according to my words: and I asked them "Whether the last assizes holden at Lancaster was in the fifteenth year of the king, which was the tenth day of March?" and they said, "Nay, it was the sixteenth year." "Then, (said I,) look your indictment, and see whether or no it is not the fifteenth year:" and then they were all of a fret, both judge and justices, for it was the fifteenth in the indictment. Then the judge bid them look, whether Margaret Fell's was so or no; and it was not so. I told them I had something else to speak concerning the indictment, but they said "Nay, I had spoken enough;" so the indictment was thrown out. So I told them, that they had small cause to laugh as they had done a little before, for they might see how the justices and the jury were forsworn men; and so I bid him do me justice; and he said, "I should have law;" and the judge said, "I was clear from all the former;" and he started up in a rage and said, "But he would proffer the oath to me again:" I told him "they had example enough for swearers and false swearers, both justices and jury, yesterday, before their faces; for I saw before mine eyes both justices and jury had forsworn themselves, who heard the indictment;" and so he asked me, "Whether I would take the oath?" I bid him "do me justice for my false imprisonment, all this while; for what had I been prisoner all this while for, for I ought to be at liberty?" Then he said, "I was at liberty; but I will put the oath to you again." Then I turned me about, and cried, "All people, take notice this is a snare;" and all was mighty quiet, and all people was struck and astonished: and he caused the grand jury to be called, (for he had called them before, when I was there, when he saw they would be overthrown,) and the jury would fain have been dismissed; but he told them "he could not dismiss them, for he had business for them, and they might be ready, when he called them;" and I felt his intent, that if I was freed he would come on again: so I looked him in the face, and he was judged in himself, for

he saw that I saw him; so he caused the oath to be read to me again, and caused the jury to be called, and then when the oath was read, he asked me "Whether I would take the oath, or no?" And, the jury standing by, I told him, I never took oath in my life, and he bid them give me the book, and I bid them give it me in my hand, and I opened it; and he bid me swear, and I told him the book bid swear not at all: again he bid me swear, and I told him, "the book said I should not swear," and held it open to them, and said, "By the book I would prove that men should not swear." And if they would prove, after Christ and the Apostle had forbidden swearing, that afterwards they commanded to swear, then I would swear, for I was a man of a tender conscience; and, if they had any sense of a tender conscience, they would consider this:" and the judge asked me, "Whether I would take the oath?" And bid them give me the book again. I told them, "Ye give me the book to swear, and the book saith I should not swear at all; and so you may prison the book." The judge said, "He would imprison George Fox." I answered, "Nay you may prison the book, which saith swear not at all:" and the sheriff and the judge said, "The angel swore in the Revelations." I answered, "I bring forth my first begotten son into the world, (saith God;) let all the angels in heaven worship him, who saith "Swear not at all:" and the judge said often, "he would not dispute;" and so then I spoke much to the jury, how that it was for Christ's sake, that which I did; and therefore none of them to act contrary to that of God in their consciences, for before his judgment-seat they must all be brought; and for all those things contained in the oath, as plots, and persecuting about religion, and the pope's power, &c. I denied them in my heart; and I am a christian, and shall shew forth christianity this day, and it is for Christ's sake that I stand, for it is *Lotish shabim de Col dabor*:" and they all gazed, and there was a great calm, and they took me away; but there were many more words, both to the jury and to them.

Then, in the afternoon, we was called again, where I stood among the thieves a pretty while, with my hat on: at the last the gaoler took it off; and when I was called to the bar, the jury brought in 'Guilty for the king;' and the judge asked me, "What I could say for myself?" I bid them "read the indictment;" I would not answer to that I did not hear; and, as they read, the judge bid them take heed it was not false again; and they read it so amazedly, that, when they spoke to me, I did scarcely understand what they said, and the judge asked me, "What I would plead?" I told them, "I desired to have a copy of that indictment, and to have some time to answer to it; for the last I had but lately, and never heard it read but once, and then in the court;" and so the judge asked me, "What time I would have?" And I said, "till the next assizes;" and the judge said I should. Then he asked again, "What I would plead?" I told him "I was not guilty at all of denying swearing, swearing obstinately and wilfully, and those things contained in the oath, as jesuitical plots, and foreign powers, &c. I utterly denied them:" and he said, "The king was sworn, the parliament was sworn, and the justices and he was sworn, and the law was upheld by oaths." I told them, "They had sufficient experience of men's swearing; had not the justices and jury forsworn themselves? And had they not read the Book of Martyrs, how many of the Martyrs suffered, because they could not swear, both in the ten persecutions, and in Bonner's days?" And the judge said, "I would the laws were otherwise." Then I said, "Our yea is yea, and our nay nay, all along; and if we transgress our yea and nay, let us suffer as they do that break an oath, and so to deny swearing is not a new thing in obedience to Christ's command; and I said this we had sent to the king, who said it was reasonable." And so, after several more words, I was had away to my chamber; being, as I was before, to answer to the indictment; and so the truth and power of the Lord God was glorious over all, and many spirits was crost grievously in their envy and malice.

There was many things spoken both to judge, jury, and people, which were too large to mention.

And so the judge told Margaret Fell her sentence; and I lie upon a new indictment.

G. F.

Something in Answer to Bishop Lancelot Andrew's Sermon concerning Swearing, being one of his Sermons upon the Third Commandment; the Place that he treats upon is in Jer. the ivth, the Words are these: 'And thou shalt swear, The Lord liveth, in Truth, in Judgment, and in Righteousness.'

AND further, to prove the lawfulness of swearing, he brings Deut. vi. 13. Isa. xlv. 23. —Psal. lxiii. and last ver. and how Abraham sware, Gen. xxi. 24. and Isaac sware, Gen. xxvi. 31. and Jacob sware, xxxi. 33. and Abraham's servant sware, Gen. xxi. 24. and Gen. xxiv. 3. and Numb. xxx. 3. which, saith he, an oath is to the lifting up of a burthen, as to the entering of a bond.

First, He saith, an oath is to be used in solemn matters, and he brings these scriptures following out of the Old Testament to prove it; Psal. cxliv. 8; Numb. xxx. 3; Psal. cxix. 106; Psal. xv. 4; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13; Ezek. xvii. 12; Psal. cx. 4; Psal. lxxxix. 35; 1 Kings xxii. 16; Lev. v. 1; 1 Chron. xv. 15; Gen. xxiv. 3. and xlvii. 29.

Secondly, For the nature of an oath, he quotes cxix. Psal. 9. ver. and Numb. x. and last ver.

Thirdly, He speaks of the manner of an oath, and produceth for confirmation these scriptures following; Deut. xii. 8; Numb. v. 18; Dan. xii. 7; Rev. x. 5; 1 Kings viii. 31; Exod. xxii. 8.—Neh. v. 12; Numb. v. 19; Prov. xxix. 24; Judg. xvii. 2; Lev. v. 1; 1 Sam. iii. 27; 1 Kings xxii. 16; Gen. xxv. 33; 1 Kings i. 13; Jer. xviii. 8.

First, As for all the above-mentioned Scriptures which he hath quoted in the time of the law, and before the law, and the angels swearing in the Revelations, do not prove that christians may swear; and we do grant ye the time before the law men did swear, and also the angel swore, 'But Christ is come, the first begotten, whom God hath brought forth into the world,' and saith, 'Let all the angels worship him: and this is my beloved son, hear ye him, saith God.' And Christ saith, how that, 'in the old time, men was to perform their oaths to the Lord:' these were their true oaths, which they were to perform, and they were not to swear falsely, but to perform their oath to the Lord; so here Christ, in his doctrines, lets them see the false oaths and the true oaths in the old time; and that was the true oath to swear by the Lord, and to swear, 'The Lord liveth;' and every tongue should swear; and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Joseph, and the prophets sware; but Christ is the end of the prophets and doth fulfil the law, and reigns over the house of Jacob and Joseph; and, 'Before Abraham was, I am;' saith Christ. And so, though they sware before the law, and under the law; and the angel in the Revelations sware, and the angel that sware by the Lord, as the oath was in the time of the law, and before the law; and this was the oath that Christ minds them on in his doctrine here, that they were to perform to the Lord; yet now mark his doctrine, which he himself lays down and commands: 'But I say unto you now, swear not at all,' &c. Matth. v. 34. In the Hebrew language it is, *לא תשבע בכל דבר*, 'But let your communication be yea, yea; nay, nay; whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil.' In the Hebrew it is, *והיה דברכם כן כן אין וכל אשר יתר מאלה מרע הוא*. And, for further proof, see how James lived in the same doctrine and practice, and held it forth to the twelve tribes, which was the Jews, who had the oath of God, and was to swear in the time of the law: see his general epistle, in the fifth chapter, and also speaking, in the second chapter, of such as drove them before the judgment-seat; but, in the fifth chapter, this is his command: 'Above all things, my brethren, swear not at all, neither by heaven, nor by the earth.' In the Greek it is, *Πρὸ πάντων δὲ, ἀδελφοί μου, μὴ ὀμνύετε, μήτε τὸν οὐρανὸν, μήτε τὴν γῆν.* This you may call 'Creatures, or made things;' but mark, James goes further, and saith, *μήτε ἄλλον τινὰ ὄρκιον*, nor by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay be nay, lest you fall into condemnation; *ἢ τω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ, ναὶ, καὶ τὸ οὐκ, οὐκ ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ κρίσιν πέσητε.*

Mark the danger now, and whether we have not ground enough, in the fear of the Lord God, to obey Christ's commands, and the Apostle's doctrine, 'lest we fall into condemnation and evil.' We have set some words done in the Greek tongue, that those, it most concerns, may see the original; but the spirit is our's, and the commands of Christ, and the Apostle's doctrine, to be obeyed, in what tongue soever it be written in. But we would query the thing with any, whether the Apostle James, who wrote to Jews, and not to Gentiles, did not write in the Hebrew tongue, and not in Greek? And, if so, then his words to them, in this particular, are, *ועל-כל-דברים אהי אלתשבע לא בשמים ולא בארץ ולא באלה אחרת ויהי דברכם כן כו ואין אין פן תפלו במשפט* The pricks, points, and accents, and the plain and naked interpretation of the Hebrew words we have left for them, it most concerns, to add.

Secondly, As for all the Scriptures he brings against rash swearing and false swearing, it would rejoice our hearts to have the priests do that, and the magistrates punish it; for a couple of railing priests came the other day, and swore before our faces lightly and vainly, and justified it, when they had done. It would become magistrates, and them, better, if they did not suffer an oath to be heard in the towns, or markets, or alehouses, or streets, you that have power not to suffer those things; for you would have work enough to restrain such things, and such persons, and not to fall upon the innocent; which, in obedience to Christ's commands, and the Apostle's doctrine, cannot swear, for conscience sake. For imprisoning such, emboldens people to swear; and would it not be better for people, and would ye not shew forth more christianity, to keep to yea and to nay, in all their communications, according to Christ's commands, and the Apostle's doctrine?

Thirdly, There was bond, in the old time, by oath; but Christ, he looses from the bonds, and brings to peace and liberty, and make free, and saith, 'Swear not at all;' and so, though we be in outward bonds, it is for Christ Jesus' sake, and the word of God is not bound.

Fourthly, And though Moses swore in the time of the law, and Abraham's servants swore; yet Christ, the Son, saith, 'Swear not at all;' and we are to hear him in all things, the great Prophet.

Fifthly, And as for the ceremonies of the oaths, Christ is the substance of all ceremonies, that saith, 'Swear not at all.'

Sixthly, And, though David swore, he, that David called lord, saith, 'Swear not at all;' and he is upon his throne.

Seventhly, And where he saith, 'Thou shalt swear by the Lord,' and swear, 'The Lord liveth;' they were not to swear by them that were no gods, nor creatures, nor by the earth, nor by heaven, or by the hand, or by Jerusalem. Now, what are the oaths that all Christendom swears, both Papists and Protestants? Whether it be the oath that was amongst the Jews, and whether or no they practise the oath that they do now, and whether or no is that ceremony now used? If not, when did God alter it? Where about in Scripture, and in what place of Scripture is it, that he sets this way and ceremony of swearing in Christendom, both amongst Papists and Protestants; which is, to swear by the book, and by the evangelists? Is this beyond the Jews swearing, by the city, or by the head, or by the temple, which Christ forbid; and not only those oaths, but the oath of God, which the Jews was to swear by? Answer these things.

Eighthly, And as for Zedekiah's oath to Nebuchadnezzar, and Joseph's oath to Pharaoh, this was in the time that oaths were to be performed amongst the Jews and Patriarchs; and what is this to Christ's doctrine which forbids oaths, which oaths were before Christ came?

Ninthly, And as for the oath of supremacy and the other, it is to acknowledge the king of England, and allegiance to him; which things hath been manifest and practised by us, but not by such as swore allegiance to the king's father, and swore the one way and the other way. And hast not thou, and many of you, taken the oath against him? And such as have sworn one while for him, and another while against him. How are they in allegiance to him that swears one way and another way? And cannot there be, in truth and

faithfulness, allegiance to the king without swearing? For now, how should we stand in allegiance to Christ, if we did not obey his commands, the king of kings מלך מלכים? For he commands us not to swear, but keep to yea and nay; and one of his great ambassadors to nations, that went with his message to the twelve tribes, saith, 'Above all things, my brethren, swear not at all, lest you fall into condemnation.'

Tenthly, There were two states of oaths; the one was, that people was to perform to the Lord, and swear; and the other was, that God swore by himself concerning his Son Christ Jesus; which, when he came who fulfilled God's oath, he ended the other oath, and saith, 'Swear not at all;' and calls the first oath the old time: he fulfilled the truth, and let them see how, in the time of the law, false oaths were forbidden in the old time, and heathenish oaths were forbidden in the time of the law; for they were not to swear by Baal, but they were to perform their oaths to the Lord; which Christ saith unto them, 'Swear not at all,' and so he ended that oath: so there are no oaths before the fall, and there are no oaths in the restoration again by Christ Jesus, but yea and nay, according to his doctrine; but amongst Moses and the Prophets, and in the old time before Moses and the Prophets, men did swear, as Abraham and Isaac, &c. But he, the great Prophet, is come, that is to be heard in all things, and he, the oath of God, Christ Jesus, stands and remains.

Eleventhly, The Apostles speaking to the Hebrews, swearing by a greater, (which was an end of controversy and strife amongst them,) he brought this as a similitude, not that the Hebrews should swear; for, if he had, he had contradicted James, which wrote to the twelve tribes his doctrine to them, which were Hebrews; but he brought it as a similitude, that the oath, which men swore by the greater, ended strife; but God, not finding a greater than himself, he swore concerning his Son, which is Christ, who ends the strife, who destroys the devil and his works, the author of strife: for the oath, in the time of the law, ended the strife; but we see oaths, now-a-days, begins it; and why? The matter is, because in Christ Jesus men do not live, who is the peace and God's oath.

Twelfthly, Whereas the bishop saith, that they hold in divinity, that to swear, of and by itself considered, is an act forbidden no less than to kill, &c.

Answer, In the time of the law they killed and swore; but Christ saith, 'Swear not at all;' and also, he saith, 'Love enemies;' and how do these agree to kill and to love enemies, and love one another: 'And if one strike thee on the one cheek, turn the other to him.'

And this paralleling the magistrates executing justice upon malefactors; as, 'He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed again;' is not a paralleling with Christ's doctrine, who saith 'Swear not at all;' for that may be done by witnesses without oath, as thou mayest read the Scriptures in the old time, when oaths were denied in the primitive time amongst the primitive christians, who were in Christ's doctrine, thou mayest read how they did things by witnesses; as the Apostle speaks, 'in the mouth of two or three witnesses,' &c. Which place he instances of what was done in the time of the law, which was a statute of judgment amongst the Jews, 'Whosoever killeth any person, the murderer shall be put to death by the mouth of witnesses,' &c. But no oaths are mentioned here, Numb. xxxv. 30, with Heb. x. 28, read that throughout; and also Deut. xix. 15, and 1 Kings xxi. 10, &c. And many more Scriptures might be alledged, which you, that have read Scriptures, are not ignorant of.

Now for the practice amongst the Saints, see Matt. xviii. 16. Christ, who bids them keep to yea and nay, in that place lays down a practice to be used amongst them, in matter of fault and transgression, how it should be ended by two or three witnesses: read the words, 'That in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established.' And what, dost thou think that he would order them to swear, who had once forbidden it? And read the viiith chap. of John and 17th ver. and we do not find, that the witnesses against Christ that he should speak blasphemy, Matt. xxvi. 65, that they did swear; and also you may see in Acts vi. 11, 12, 13, how they, that were hired against Stephen, no mention is made of their swearing. Moreover, you may see in 2 Cor. xiii. 1, the speech

of the Apostle amongst the Saints, how he tells them of his coming unto them in the mouth of two or three witnesses; he doth not tell, that he is coming to them with oaths in their mouths. Mark, the Apostle, was an elder, and had care of the churches.—And again, the Apostle that writes to Timothy, a bishop, and overseer of the churches, saith he, ‘Against an elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses.’—Now he doth not say, before two or three men that swears, for, if he had, he would have contradicted Christ’s doctrine and James; 1 Tim. v. 19, and 2 Tim. ii. saith the Apostle to Timothy, the bishop, ‘The things that thou hast heard of me amongst many witnesses, the same commit to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also.’ Now he received this by witnesses, not by oath; and he was to commit it, and not by oaths. And were not these the things that the whole church came to be ordered by? And this was amongst the christians in the primitive times when oaths were ended: and many more things might be alledged, which were too tedious for you to read.

Thirteenthly, And whereas he brings that objection of the Anabaptists, which is, that it standeth not with Christian profession, but was tolerated as an imperfect thing under the law.

Answer. Which objection of theirs we do not own, as we do not own the bishop for swearing; for it was the way of the Lord, and the way of the Lord was perfect, and the commandment for swearing was good in itself, until the time of Christ, who is perfect, that ends the law, and people must live in him, Christ Jesus, and walk in him that saith, ‘Swear not at all;’ that ends the oath, and is the oath of God. Dost thou not read of a people in the Galatians and Romans, that was turned back into the law, from the law of the Spirit; and the Apostle told them, ‘He that broke one point was guilty of all;’ and he brought them to the law of love which fulfilled the law.

Fourteenthly, And as for all the Scriptures, the bishop brings to prove that the Christians sware in the primitive time, they are nothing to the purpose; though the bishop say, that Christ admits of some swearing; which both his own words, and the Apostle’s, contradicts. Christ’s words are, ‘Swear not at all;’ and the Apostle’s are, ‘Above all things,’ &c.—And so he goes on, and lets them see what was in the law. Committing adultery was forbid under the law, but in the time of Christ, looking upon a woman, and lusting after her, was committing adultery.—And he sets forth, in the justice of the law, ‘an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth;’ and shews how that, in the time of the law, ‘Thou shalt not kill, and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of judgment;’ but I say unto you, that whosoever shall be angry with his brother without cause, shall be in danger of judgment;’ and so he tells, both swearing and killing to be in the old time, and said, ‘Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, you shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven.’

Fifteenthly, And as to that of the Apostle speaking in the 1 Thes. ii. God was his witness that he did not make covetousness his cloak.

Answ. It were well if the priests could say so now; but this doth not prove that he swore, and there are many men that takes man to be his witness; and that is not an oath, surely, is it? Thou understands that. And if this were an oath, why do you cast friends into prison?

Sixteenthly, And that of the Galatians, chapter i. 2. There is nothing in that place like unto an oath which he brings.

Seventeenthly, And as for the 2 Cor. iv. 23d verse, there are not so many verses in that chapter. And as for Ephesians the ivth and the 15th, which he brings for Christians to swear, wherein he says we are bound at all times to speak truth to our neighbours.

Answ. He doth not say we are to swear truth at all times, but to speak it at all times.

Eighteenthly, And that which he brings in Acts xxiii. 3. How the Apostle reproved the High Priest, that caused him to be smitten contrary to law.

Answ. Here the Apostle was preaching the Gospel and Christ’s doctrine to them, to the priests that had the law and outward things: this was nothing to the purpose, that

the Apostle should swear, or that Christians should swear.—And in the 14th verse which he quotes. Answ. Those were the bad people that bound themselves with a curse, that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul that preached the Gospel: this is nothing at all that Christians should swear.

Nineteenthly, We say there were Heathens oaths, and Jews oaths, which were to swear by the Lord, which Christ calls the old time, which they were to perform, which oath Christ ends; and saith, ‘Swear not at all:’ for in the time of the law the Jews were to deny all false oaths, and heathenish oaths, and they were not to swear by Paul, but the true oath which Christ ends. And did not the Christians suffer in the primitive times, because they could not swear by the prosperity of Cæsar; and was not that oath then imposed upon them? And by the good fortune of the emperor, was not that another oath? And did not many Christians then suffer, because they could not swear? Read the ten persecutions which was a long time before the pope got up; and then did not the pope, when he had got up over the churches, give forth both oath and curse, with bell, book, and candle? And was not the ceremony of his oath, to lay three fingers a-top of the book, to signify the Trinity; and two fingers under the book, to signify damnation of body and soul, if they sware falsely?—And was not there a great number of people that would not swear, and suffered great persecution, as read the ‘Book of Martyrs’ but to Bonner’s days? And it is little above an hundred years since the Protestants got up; and they gave forth the oath of allegiance, and the oath of supremacy: the one was to deny the pope’s supremacy, and the other to acknowledge the kings of England; so we need not tell to you of their form, and shew you the ceremony of the oath; it saith, ‘Kiss the book,’ and the book saith, ‘Kiss the Son,’ which saith, ‘Swear not at all;’ and so cannot allegiance be to the king in truth and faithfulness, (as was said before without an oath,) yea, and more than many that swears.

So you may see to deny swearing is no new thing, for it was the practice of the Christians in former times to deny it, both in Heathens and the times of popery before Protestants, and so it is in obedience to the command of Christ, that we do not swear in our loves to him: and if we say he is Lord and master, and do not the thing that he commands, that is but deceit and hypocrisy.—And so rash and bad swearing, that was forbidden in the time of the law, it was not that which Christ came to fulfil, but true oaths, and the true types, figures, and shadows; and he saith, ‘Swear not at all.’

Twentiethly, And, for Acts the xiiith, there is nothing spoken of swearing there, as all people may read.

Twenty-firstly, And whereas the Apostle often speaks of taking to witness a record upon his own soul by his rejoicing in Christ Jesus, what is all this to swearing, and taking an oath; or where did ever the Apostle take a solemn oath, or command the brethren and churches to do the same? For often he speaks of the witness out of ‘the mouth of two or three witnesses, shall every word be established.’ And the bishop often brings the 1 Cor. xv. 31. ‘By our rejoicing which I have in Christ Jesus, I die daily.’ This place cannot be brought for a proof, that the Apostle sware; if so, when thou sayest by the meat thou art refreshed, and by the fire thou art warmed, and people tells thee thou must go by such a lane to such a town, they all swear then, do they not?

Twenty-secondly, As for the particle *N̄*, the bishop says it is never used, but in an oath only.

Answ. And what is *N̄*, is it not (truly) as, also the primitive word *vai*, which signifies yea? And is not that word *vai*, in the afore-mentioned fifth of Matthew, and the fifth of James, where swearing is denied; for is not *vai* in Greek, *yea* in English; and is not *N̄* in Greek, *truly* in English? And if every man that says *yea* and *truly* sweareth, then the bishop proves his assertion. And is not there a difference between כן and נשבע? So in meekness and love, read this over in that from which it was sent.

POSTSCRIPT.

Christ Jesus, who is the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, the Beginning and Ending, First and Last, him by whom God will judge the World in Righteousnes.

WE quæry of you whether he or any of his Apostles, after they had given forth a command that none should swear, but keep to yea and nay, in all their communications, can any minister or teacher prove this in express words out of the New Testament that they ever commanded to swear, or did swear? That will satisfy, that will end all. But that we should be cast into prison for our obedience to Christ's command, by you, that profess yourselves to be Christians, and own Christ Jesus as you say, is not right. And he commands you to love enemies, if you did obey his commands, and love one another; for they that are Christians, and own Christ Jesus, they should love one another. For this was a mark by which they were known to be disciples, learners of him. And so they, that are lovers of him, own him and obey him and his doctrine; so, though we do suffer here by you all the sessions or assizes, we do commit our cause, and you that do persecute us, to the general assizes and terrible day wherein God will judge the world in righteousness, whose commands we obey in tenderness; and there we know we shall have true judgment without respect of persons; there our hats will not be looked at before the Almighty, but the action and transgression; and who hath served God, and who hath not served him. For Christ hath told you before-hand, what he will say to them, that visits him not in prison, where he is made manifest in his brethren: then what will become of them that casts them into prison for tenderness towards God, for obeying his doctrine, and keeps to yea or nay in their communications according to his words?—And so these things we leave to the general day, though we can say, the Lord forgive you that doth thus persecute us, if it be his will, freely from our hearts; for we do you, nor no man harm, but seek the good and peace of all men; and for this cause, for obeying the truth we do suffer.

G. F.³

³ [*i. e.* George Fox.]

Certain select Observations on the several Offices, and Officers, in the Militia of England; with the Power of the Parliament to raise the same, as they shall judge expedient; &c. Collected and found among the Papers of the late Mr. John Pymm, a Member of the House of Commons.

Writ in the Year 1641. [MS].¹

WHEN kings were first ordained in this realm, the kingdom was divided into forty portions, and every one of those portions or counties was committed to some earl, to govern and defend it against the enemies of the realm. 'Mirror of Justice,' p. 8.

Those earls, after they received their government in each county, divided them into centurians or hundreds; and in every hundred was appointed a centurian or constable, who had his portion and limits assigned him to keep and defend with the power of the hundred; and were to be ready, upon all alarms, with their arms, against the common enemy. These, in some places, are called wapentakes, which, in French, doth signify taking of arms. 'Mirror,' p. 10, 12. Hen. VIII. fol. 16, 17.

King Alfred first ordained two parliaments to be kept every year, for the government of the people; where they were to receive laws and justice. 'Mirror,' p. 10, 11.

The peers, in parliament, were to judge of all wrongs done by the king to any of his subjects. 'Mirror,' p. 9.

The ancient manner of choosing and appointing of officers, was by those over whom their jurisdiction extended.

Instances.

1. Tythingman. This man was, and at this day is, chosen by the men of his own tything, and by them presented to the leet, to be sworn for the true execution of his office.

2. Constable. This officer is chosen by the inhabitants who are to be governed by him, and those of the place where his jurisdiction lieth, and presented unto the leet to be sworn.

3. Coroner. This officer hath jurisdiction within the whole county, and therefore was chosen by the freeholders of the county, in the county-court. 'Cook's Magna Charta,' p. 174, 175, 559.

4. Such as had charge to punish such as were violators of *Magna Charta*; these were chosen in the county-court, as appeareth by stat. 28 Edw. I. c. 1. 17.

5. Sheriffs: were, in time past, and by the common law, to be chosen likewise in the county-court. 'Lamb. Saxon Laws,' fol. 136. stat. 28 Edw. I. c. 8. 13. 'Cook's Magna Charta,' 175. 559. 'Mirror,' p. 8.

6. Lieutenants of counties (anciently known by the name of Heretoch) were chosen in the county-court (which Cook upon Magna Charta, p. 69. calls the Folkmote.) 'Lamb. Saxon Laws,' fol. 136. 'Mirror,' p. 8. 11, 12.

7. Majors and bayliffs, in boroughs and towns corporate, are chosen by the commonalty of the same corporation within their jurisdiction.

¹. [The MS. from which these observations are printed has not been found in the Harleian Collection, in the British Museum; but appears, by some means or other, to have fallen into the hands of Osborne, the bookseller, who purchased the immense mass of printed books formed by the Earl of Oxford. It does not however occur in the sale catalogue of Bibl. Harl. nor can the editor even guess at the present possessor. Our Oxford historian, was, as might be expected, ignorant of its existence. Vide Ath. Oxon. II. 36.]

8. Conservators of the peace, were anciently chosen by the freeholders in the county-court. 'Cook's Magna Charta,' 558, &c.

9. Knights for the Parliament, are to be chosen in the county-court, stat. 7 Hen. IV. cap. 15. 1 Hen. V. 1. 8 Hen. VI. cap. 7. 10 Hen. VI. cap. 2.

10. Verderers of the forest, are chosen within their jurisdiction, by the inhabitants. 'Cook's Magna Charta,' 559.

11. Admirals, being the sheriffs of the counties, (as Selden in his '*Mare Clausum*,' p. 169, 188, affirms,) must be chosen as the sheriffs were; viz. in the county-court. But the parliament of Ric. II. fol. 29. saith, they are chosen in the parliament, the representative body of the realm; because they had the defence of the realm by sea committed unto them.

12. The captain of Calais, viz. Richard Earl of Warwick, in the time of Hen. VI. refused to give up his captainship of Calais unto the king, because he received it in parliament. 'Cowel's Interpreter in the word *Parliament*.'

13. The lord-chancellor: to whom is committed the great seal of England, being the public faith of the kingdom, was in former times chosen in parliament. 'Lamb. Archeion,' p. 48. 'Dan. Chronicle,' p. 139, 148, 195.

14. Lord Treasurer. An officer to whom is of trust committed the treasure of the kingdom, was, in like manner, chosen in parliament.

15. Chief-justice. An officer unto whom is committed the administration of the justice of the realm, was chosen in parliament. 'Lamb. Archeion,' p. 48, *ut supra*.

Anno 15. Edw. III. the king was petitioned in parliament, that the high officers of the kingdom might, as in former times, be chosen in parliament. To which the king yielded, that they should be sworn in parliament. 'Dan. Chronicle,' p. 195. Quære the parliament roll and petitions.'

And it appeareth, by a printed statute, Anno 15. Edw. III. cap. 3, that the great officers of the kingdom were sworn to maintain *Magna Charta*.

16. The great council of the king and kingdom; namely, the parliament; is chosen by the commons: for they choose the knights and citizens, and burgesses, or barons, (for so the citizens were anciently called;) and the *Cinque-ports* retain that name to this day.

And this was, as I conceive, the ancientest constitution of the kingdom, for choosing of their officers.

In the next place, it will be requisite to inquire, which of these Officers are now altered, and by what Authority. And, first, of Sheriffs:

The choice of sheriffs was first taken from the freeholders by the statute of 9 Edw. II. and the choice of them committed to the lord-chancellor, treasurer, the barons of the Exchequer, and the justices of either bench. 'Cook's Magna Charta,' p. 559.

This election is to be made the morrow after All-Souls' day in the Exchequer, by stat. 14 Edw. III. c. 7.

Quære 1. If they choose none at that day and place, but at some other time; whether the choice be good? Or if he be chosen by any other?

Objection. The king himself doth usually make and appoint sheriffs in every county by his prerogative.

Solution. It hath been agreed by all the judges, that the king cannot appoint any other to be sheriff, than such as are named and chosen according to the statute of Lincoln. 'Cook's Magna Charta,' p. 559.

If so; then it is questionable, whether the making of Mr. Hastings sheriff of Leicestershire be warrantable by law, or not?

Quære 2. If no sheriff be legally chosen; whether the freeholders of the county shall not choose one, as they were accustomed, before the making of the stat. of 9 Edw. II. for these reasons.

1. If there be no sheriff legally chosen, there will be a failure of justice, which the law will not permit.

2. Because the statute is in the affirmative, and therefore doth not altogether take away their power of choosing; because affirmative statutes do not alter the common law.

Next, let us consider the choice of Justices of the Peace, who, as they are commissioners of the peace, are not officers by the common law; and, therefore, this case will differ in some respects from the former, it being an office created by statute.

1. I conceive that no court may be erected without the authority of parliament: for the Court of First Fruits was erected by stat. 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 45. The Court of Wards by stat. 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 46. The Court of Justice in Wales by stat. 34 Hen. VIII. c. 26. And power to erect courts given 1 Mar. sess. 2. cap. 10. And it was resolved in this parliament, at the trial of the Earl of Strafford, 'that the court at York was against law, albeit it hath had continuance these hundred years, because it was not erected by parliament.'

And justices of the peace, being judges of record, were first ordained by statute, as appeareth by 18 Edw. III. cap. 2, and 34 Edw. III. cap. 1, with such other additions of power, as later statutes have given unto them.

Justices of peace, then, having their being by virtue of the statute-law, they are to be ordained in the same manner as the statutes prescribed, and not otherwise:

1. After their first institution, the statutes did leave the choice of them indefinitely in the crown, as I conceive, until the statute of 12 Ric. II. 27, which statute doth instruct the chancellor, treasurer, keeper of the privy-seal, steward and chamberlain of the king's house, the clerk of the rolls, the justices of both benches, barons of the exchequer, and others, to name and make them.

2. Other statutes do appoint what persons shall be chosen to be justices of the peace; namely, such as reside in the same county where they are justices of peace, as stat. 12 Ric. II. c. 10. And they must be of the most sufficient knights, esquires, and gentlemen of the same county. Stat. 17 Ric. II. 10. and dwelling in the same county, 2 Hen. V. stat. ii. cap. 1. (except lords, and justices of assizes) upon this last statute, it may be doubted if choice may be made of any lords, and justices of assizes, which have no residence, or estate, in the county where they are so made justices of the peace; which, if it doth, it doth repeal all former statutes, which confines them to such persons as are of the same county; which I conceive is against their meaning. For that statute doth only dispence with the residence of lords and justices of assizes, because men of the same county, inhabiting in the county where they are justices of peace, in regard of their other employments in the commonwealth, which necessarily requireth their absence; and so it amounteth only to a dispensation for their residency.

Objection. The common practice is, that the lord-keeper doth appoint whom he pleases, and that by vertue of the statute of the 18 Hen. VI. cap. 1.

Solution. True! such is the practice; but the doubt is, how warrantable his act is? For the statute of 18 Hen. VI. doth give the lord-chancellor (alone by himself) no other power, but in case there be no men of sufficiency in the county, and where none of twenty pounds *per annum* are to be found. For, in such case, he hath power to appoint such as he conceives are men most fit. But, in case there are men of sufficient estates in the county to be found, he must join with the others mentioned in the statute, *viz.* The treasurer, privy-seal, &c. who have a joint and undivided power with him.

If this be so, then it may be doubted, whether the Lord Viscount Faulkland, being no peer of the realm, Sir Peter Miche, Sir Edward Nichols, of late put into the commission of the peace, in many counties of this kingdom; are, by the law, capable of being justices of the peace in those counties where they do not reside? *Et sic de similibus.*

Quære also, whether a justice of the peace, being once legally chosen according to the statute beforementioned, may be put out at the pleasure of the lord-keeper alone, without any just cause alledged, for being a justice of record; whether some matter of record must appear to disable him? For, being settled by law, he is to be displaced by law, and not upon displeasure or surmise.

3. A third office is, the lieutenants in every county, in former times known (for the name only is out of use) by the name of Heretoch. 'Lamb. Saxon Laws.' Fol. 136. And here will fall into debate the ordinance in parliament, about the settling of the militia of the kingdom. The choice of these (as was formerly mentioned) was by the freeholders in the county-court: but, of later times, they have exercised the same power; being appointed by the king, under the shadow of his prerogative.

First, It is to be demanded, whether the king's prerogative can take away that ancient right, which the subjects had, by law, invested in them? If so; then the king, by his prerogative, may do wrong, which is contrary to a maxim in law. '*Fortescue de Legibus*,' &c. fol. 25. If not; then, whether the power of choosing a lieutenant, or heretoch, doth not yet remain in the subject, so as they may now choose one as well, and by the same right they did in former times?

If freeholders of a county may yet choose, then I conceive the parliament, being the representative body of the whole kingdom, may appoint lieutenants; because they include them, or, at least, they are not excluded from such a power, no more than where the statute, giving power unto justices of peace to inquire of a riot, doth exclude the power of the King's Bench, which no man will affirm. And therefore the ordinance of the militia is legal.

That the parliament hath power to make an ordinance, may be proved *a minori*. For, if the inhabitants of a town, without any custom to enable them, may make an ordinance, or bye law, for the reparation of their church, highway, or bridge in decay, or any the like thing, being for their public good; and upon a pecuniary pain, in case of neglect, and if it be made by the greater part, that it shall bind all within the town, as hath been agreed for law, 44 Edw. III. fol. 19. Cook. lib. v. fol. 63, the chamberlain of London's case, Clarke's case, and Jefferyes's case, *ibid.* fol. 64, 65.

If a township be amerced, and the neighbours, by assent, shall assess a certain sum upon every inhabitant, and agree, that if it be not paid by such a day, that certain persons, thereto assigned, shall distrain; and, in this case, the distress is lawful. '*Doctor and Student*,' fol. 74. 6, cap. 9.

If a bye law, that every one that holdeth land shall pay one penny towards the reparation of a church, and, for non-payment, shall forfeit to the churchwardens twenty shillings, be good and doth bind, as the book saith, 21 Hen. VII. fol. 20, holdeth.

If a town make bye laws, and they shall bind every one of the town, if it be for the common good; as 11 Hen. VII. fol. 14, then, by the same reason, may the parliament make ordinances, and bye laws, for the common good of the kingdom, as shall bind all. For, if a town may make ordinance, much more may the knights and burgesses of the parliament; because they have their power *ad faciendum & consentiendum*; as appeareth of record under their hands, and seals in chancery, in the return of their several elections for knights and burgesses.

Lastly, As every private man is, by law, bound to preserve the peace; as in case an affray be made by two, and a third man standing by, shall not use his best endeavour to part them, and preserve the peace, he may be indicted and fined for it: why may not the parliament, being intrusted with the preservation of the peace of the realm, make an ordinance for the preservation of the peace in case of apparent danger?

Ordinance made in parliament, 8 Edw. II. for the preservation of the alienation of the king's land, and fines set upon such as presume to break them. '*Rot. Parl.*' 28 Hen. VI. art. 29.

The judges and courts at Westminster may make an ordinance, for fees to be paid unto the clerk of their courts, and for bar fees taken by sheriff and goalers, 21 Hen. VII. fol. 17.

An ordinance made in parliament, 21 Edw. III. fol. 60, for exemption of the abbot of Bury from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Norwich. '*Selden's Titles of Honour*,' pag. 702, 12 Hen. VII. fol. 25.

Heyborne and Keylond's case, Mar. 14 Edw. IV. rot. 60, in *Banco Reg.* Crook,

page 25, who had his money taken away from him by vertue of an ordinance; and was adjudged, that the ordinance did bind him.

Whether an infant may be a colonel, admiral, &c. ?

1. None, by the intention of the law, can do knight's service, before he be twenty-one years of age: and this is the reason of wardship.

2. It is an office of trust, which may not be executed by a deputy.

3. Such an office requires personal attendance; for, otherwise, the county may be overthrown unawares, in the absence of such a governor from his charge.

A Letter to a new Member of the Honourable House of Commons; touching the Rise of all the Embezzlements and Mismanagements of the Kingdom's Treasure, from the Beginning of the Revolution unto this present Parliament. With an Account, from Time to Time, of the many Oppositions the House of Commons met with, about Redressing the said Publick Grievances. And, lastly, a Proposal humbly offered to their Consideration, how to prevent the like Miscarriages for the future. To which is added, a parallel Account of the National Expences, from November 3, 1640, to November 1659; and from November 5, 1688, to Michaelmas 1700.

Amsterdam: Printed in the Year 1710.

[Quarto, containing twenty-eight Pages.]

SIR,

YOU being a new member of this honourable house, I presume, you are not so well acquainted with the transactions of several former parliaments, in relation to the miscarriages and embezzlements of the public monies of this kingdom; because I perceive you are somewhat surprised at her majesty's speech touching that paragraph, wherein she complains to your house, 'that she cannot, without great concern, mention to you, that the navy and other offices are burthened with heavy debts;' which so far affect the public service, that she most earnestly desires you to find some way to answer those demands, and to prevent the like, for the time to come; the justice of parliament, in satisfying former engagements, being the certain way for preserving and establishing credit.

I say, being a new member, you are utterly at a loss in this matter, and want thoroughly to be instructed in mismanagements of the ministry; for you are earnestly desired, by the queen, to find out now some way to answer those demands, and to prevent the like embezzlements and misapplications, for the time to come: it being but justice of the parliament, in satisfying former engagements, and it is the most certain way for preserving and establishing of credit.

Is this the way of establishing and preserving of future credit? Then it is plain, that, by her majesty's confession, the credit of the nation begins nows to flag; and, if so, the question will be, Whether it is occasioned by the funds not answering the intended end

they were raised for? Or, Whether the credit of the nation is sunk by crafty ministers, that have licked themselves into fair estates; and so have embezzled and misapplied the kingdom's public treasure? Now, if you can find out but where this shoe pinches, you have done your work; for her majesty's desire is, to prevent the like practices for the time to come.

In order to which, give me leave to inform you, that the r—— h—— the h—— of p——, in their address to her majesty, do as frankly complain of mismanagements and embezzlements in several of the queen's offices heretofore committed, as well as her majesty; which, at your leisure, you may read, in their address to the queen, printed in the year 1705. And I must beg your patience to shew also, that the honourable the house of commons have formerly made as hearty and heavy complaints, as most have done; and publicly declared, that common justice was refused to be done this honourable house, when so often desired, to redress the public grievances of the nation; especially touching the mismanagements and embezzlements of the public monies of the kingdom. *Vide* their Votes of March 24, 1701.

Since they have had every one their turn of complaining, do not you admire where the fault lies all this while; and that there is no remedy as yet found out? That is to say, from the year 1701, to this present year 1710; being full nine years. One would think, at first dash, that the queen, the lords, and the commons, were all at a loss; and willing, hearty, and ready to embrace any expedient, and listen to any proposal, that could be found out to put a stop to, and prevent the like mismanagements and embezzlements of the kingdom's money for the future; or else they would never, certainly, make their complaints so often. But, alas! Sir, there lies the mystery.

Now, Sir, to unriddle this grand secret, is to let you into our former miscarriages, and the way, that was then taken to stop and redress those grand grievances, and the many obstructions former parliaments met with, though they heartily espoused, and designed to go thorough stitch with the remedy; and then you will find where this great fault has lain all the while, and perceive who are blame-worthy, such as complained, or those very persons, that refused to punish the transgressors, when they were first caught offending. And give me leave to add, that all mismanagements and losses, that have since happened to this kingdom, are owing to such as refused to do common justice, when so often importuned thereto.

The great mismanagements of the kingdom's public treasure, and the misapplications thereof, fell out in the reign of the late King William; which was then observed, for several years together, to be a growing evil upon the government; and at last it did produce several annual commissions, by act of parliament, for taking, examining, and stating the public accounts of the kingdom. But what success these commissions had, will be worth our time to examine.

Though it has been publicly objected, that by these commissions little was done towards the adjusting the accounts of the nation, and inferences have been thence drawn, that such commissions are of little or no use: yet, certainly, it is the duty of our representatives (especially since desired from the throne) to make it their earnest endeavour to find out proper remedies for this fatal distemper, lest it end in the ruin of the monarchy, the church, and the state. For the commons have complained of these miscarriages; the lords, in their turn, have complained of them; and now at last her majesty, in her most gracious speech, is heavily complaining of these miscarriages. And, since they have all had their turns of complaint, one would think it were high time to redress this common and publick grievance, which has, in short, almost ruined the credit of the parliament and there will be no retrieving of it, till a stop be put to those growing evils. It will scarcely be pretended by any man, that such an adjustment of accounts is, in its own nature, impracticable. If, then, the former commissions had not altogether the desired success, the fault must lie either in the scheme laid down, as probably it might be for the first year or two; or in the commission, if they wanted either skill, application, or integrity sufficient for the business, they were employed about.

Now all these wants have been charged upon some of them, but whether with justice, or not, I am not yet well satisfied: but I am sure there were two other impediments, of which I may speak with more certainty, either of which was enough to hinder the execution of that commission.

The first of these was, that divers great men, that had mighty accounts to pass, and, perhaps, had little stomach to do it, had such a power and influence in the house of commons, as were able to cramp the commissioners in their power, and discountenance them in their reports; and even to banter them in the execution of their trust. That this was openly practised, is notorious to all that were then members of the house: and how much the commissioners must needs be discouraged in the execution of so difficult a task, the performance of which was to be laid before such judges so possessed, I'll leave any one to guess.

The influence of these men, perhaps, produced another difficulty, which was a flaw in the commission itself; for the commissioners were not improved sufficiently to require proof of suspected vouchers: they could not commit persons for contempt of their authority, and consequently were exposed to the hazard of being abused by false vouchers. These were difficulties almost, if not absolutely, insuperable.

Now, that never-to-be-forgotten parliament, in the year 1701, took care to remove most of these obstructions, by providing a bill with larger power, appointing commissioners of known worth and integrity, who were willing, without recompence, to take the trouble upon them; and having such an house of commons (as God be thanked we now have) disposed to her, and inquire strictly into those miscarriages; and there was great reason to expect a good issue.

But, perhaps, this very expectation (pray God it do not again) defeated the bill; because some of those very persons, who had heretofore become such a sway in the house of commons, were then grown so powerful in another place, and accounts were still as terrible as ever: it was not therefore their interest to suffer such a bill to pass for those very reasons beforementioned.

First, Because such a commission, with such powers, was as hard to be resisted, as, on the other side, some men's accounts were to be made up; and consequently, such an enquiry, as the commissioners were thereby empowered to make, might have ruined the credit, and, perhaps, the fortunes of some great men.

Secondly, That the same persons knew, that there was no bantering the commissioners named in the bill, because they knew them to be men of sense, honour, and courage, and that knew, and were resolved to execute their commission; and, as they were volunteers in that service, had given earnest of their resolution to unriddle that mystery which divers good men had before lost their labour in; and thereby, perhaps, might have made discoveries, at that time, very unseasonable to some great men. And,

Lastly, The disposition of the house of commons itself, who were resolved as fast as possible to extricate this nation from that labyrinth of debts, interest, deficiencies, and other incumbrances she was then in, and is at present in a manner lost, was a terror to those who knew by what steps and artifices she was led into, and left in it.

I say, it was not safe for them, either to let the bill pass, or to have it rejected in gross; and therefore such expedients were to be found out, as might embroil the two houses about it: a practice in which they had not long before shewn a great deal of mastery.

They knew, that the commons, as they had the sole power of granting money, so also of taking an account of the disposition of all money by them granted, and of appointing commissioners for that purpose. This was laid hold on as a proper handle, to introduce those amendments which they knew the commons could not agree to, without departing from those rights which they were sure they would never relinquish.

Divers amendments therefore were made, not, perhaps, so much to alter the bill, as to lay upon the commons a necessity of throwing it out; thereby hoping to shift the odium of such an action from their own door.

But the commons, who were aware of this drift, and saw the conclusion of the session so near at hand, appointed a committee to draw up their reasons, why they could not agree to the amendments made by the lords; and afterwards ordered them to be printed, for the satisfaction of the people whom they represented; which I shall give you in the very words of the House, as they stand in their Votes, March 24, 1701.

‘ The commons do disagree to the first amendment made by the lords :

‘ Because it is notorious, that many millions of money have been given to his majesty king William by the commons, for the service of the publick ; which remains yet unaccounted for, to the great dissatisfaction of the good people of England, who chearfully contributed to those supplies : and their lordships first amendment prevents any accounts being taken of those monies by the commissioners appointed by the commons for that purpose.

‘ The commons do disagree to the second amendment made by the lords :

‘ Because John Parkhurst and John Pascal, esqs ; have for several years been commissioners of the prizes taken during the late war, and are accountable for great sums of money arising thereby, which ought to be applied to the use of the publick.

‘ That the said John Parkhurst and John Pascal were frequently pressed to account for the same, by the said commissioners appointed by act of parliament ; but, by many artifices and evasions, delayed and avoided giving any such account as was required by the said commissioners.

‘ That the clause, to which their lordships have disagreed by their second amendment, requires them to account before the first of September next ; but, by their lordships amendment, the said John Parkhurst and John Pascal are exempted from giving any such account, which is highly unreasonable.

‘ The commons do disagree to the fourth amendment.

‘ The commons cannot agree to the clause set down by the lords, marked with X, because their lordships have therein directed the commissioners to allow and certify a pretended debt to Colonel Baldwin Leighton ; whereas the disposition, as well as granting of money by act of parliament, hath ever been in the house of commons ; and this amendment, relating to the disposal of money, does intrench upon that right.

‘ The commons do disagree to the fourth amendment :

‘ Because it is notorious, that Edward Whitacre, mentioned in ———, left out by their lordships, hath, by colour of his employment (as solicitor to the admiralty) received the sum of twenty-five thousand pounds, and upwards, of publick monies, without producing any just or reasonable vouchers for the expence thereof ; and therefore ought to be accountable for the same.

‘ And that, by reason of their lordships disagreeing to the several parts of this bill, the supplies, provided by the commons for paying the arrears due to the army, must of necessity be ineffectual till another session of parliament.’

These reasons were ordered to be inserted in the Votes of this day. And, though I have seen many attempts to answer them, yet never met with one that bore a good face, or a true reason for the occasion of them ; and, till some body shall produce others more justifiable and probable, the commons will stand clear of all imputation for the miscarriage of that bill, and the evil consequences that have attended the nation ever since the want of it.

But though King William thanked this good parliament for their quick dispatch of those necessary supplies which they had granted for the publick occasion, and for the encouragement they had given him to enter into alliances for the preservation of the liberty of Europe, and the support of the confederacy ; and made no doubt, that whatsoever he should do, during their recess, for the advantage of the common cause in this matter, would have their approbation at their meeting again in the winter. (*Vide* the speech he then made at the conclusion of that session of parliament, 1701.)

Yet so diligent were the then ministers of state, that, for fear of being called to account by the said commissioners, they got the consent of King William to dissolve that parlia-

ment; by reason they did assure him they would get him a better, and such a one as should not question the embezzlements of his ministers, being now able to carry all things before them; which was then the language of that state-ministry. And the good king assured them he would do it, when he next came from Holland; and was as good as his word: and then the ministry were safe in their affairs: and, upon the death of King William, some of the ministry being changed, we never heard a word of them more, till their lordships began to take up the cudgels.

You must know, at that time, some of the ministry, being turned out, and set up that which they now call a *Junto*, in opposition to the court-party; and who should be more forward in pushing on the said h—— of p——s into an enquiry of mismanagements and embezzlements, than certain noble persons who had run the same way the new courtiers had just entered, to lick themselves into as fair estates as other antiquated courtiers had done.

I say, these persons, having set up a *Junto* in opposition to the court interest, pressed forward an enquiry into a three years' embezzlement and misapplication of the publick treasure, under her majesty's administration. And is as follows:

First, Their lordships were pleased to observe, that in three years' time the navy had exceeded its charge allowed by parliament, the sum of 366,032*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.*

Secondly, That the officers had issued, for the use of the navy, short of the sum allowed to that service, the sum of 1,142,361*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*

Thirdly, The debt of the navy in two years has increased to the sum of 1,250,097*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.*

Fourthly, There wanted of the complement of men, which was then allowed for the sea-service, 1566 persons.

Fifthly, There were the last year ten flags in pay of the navy; and three were not in their posts; viz. the H—— Churchill, esq; Graydon, and sir James Wisheart.

Sixthly, The pensions of the navy since the year 1697 are increased; that the estimate for 1705 comes to 18,011*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

Seventhly, That sir John M——n¹ (whom her majesty was pleased to turn out for not doing his duty) has a pension of 319*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

Eighthly, The pension of admiral N——l's² widow, which is set down continued, has not been paid her these two years last past.

Ninthly, The prince of Denmark's council to him as lord-high-admiral, are allowed, *per annum*, 7,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* And yet there is paid but 1000*l.* *per annum* to each council, and in the years 1702, 1703, 1704, there were but 4*d.* 5*d.* 6*d.*

Tenthly, The H—— Churchill, esquire's, appointments for the navy, are, first council to the prince, *per annum*, 1,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* Secondly, A pension to him, *per annum*, 500*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* Thirdly, As admiral of the blue, *per annum*, 1277*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* Fourthly, For his table money, *per annum*, 365*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* Total 3142*l.* 0*l.* 0*d.*

And, lastly, Though by parliament there are allowed forty-three cruisers and convoys for our merchant-men, there have not been employed at any time twenty-two; and they have not done the duty of three ships for the protection of our trade. All which obstructions they have humbly laid before the queen, and do rest assured that her majesty, in her great wisdom, and tender concern for the happiness of her subjects, will dispose herself to apply the proper remedies. And they humbly beseech her to give commands that all possible methods may be taken for the encouragement of seamen, the guarding of the coasts, and the protection of trade.

Now you may perceive, Sir, that here is a mighty embezzlement and misapplication among the navy to a considerable sum, as you may perceive in the aforesaid articles: and would not one believe that their lordships were concerned at this matter in good earnest; and that they had nothing more at heart than the preservation of the merchants' trade; they so sensibly complain for want of due protection? But, alas! Sir, this is nothing but

¹ [Munden.]

² [Nevill.]

a mere pretence; as I shall prove to you anon. But I must beg your patience till I have let you into a commoner of England's observations thereon, by way of reply to each particular, as he then wrote from Braintree, Feb. 19, 1705, to a certain member of parliament, and printed the same year.

"First, then, (says he,) their lordships observe, that, in three years time, the navy has exceeded its charge allowed by parliament, the sum of 366,032*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* This, at first view, (he says,) was a very heavy charge on the government: but, with humble submission, it is presumed their l—ps are not all bred accomptants, and therefore not so much blameable as some are. I confess it startled me, at this time of day, to see so good, so gracious, so mild, and so gentle a government, charged with such an inconsiderable sum, not worth mentioning, considering the length of time, *viz.* three years. We cannot forget the miscarriages of a late reign so soon, when some of the l—ds of a c— were impeached for the embezzlement of the kingdom's treasure. Let them but look back, and they will find twice as much exceeded in the same service for the same time.

"When E—R—ll, esq; (now L—O—d)³ was treasurer and paymaster of the navy, there was then actually received out of the exchequer for that service, from Michaelmas 1691, to Michaelmas 1694, *viz.* three years time, the sum of 6,170,359*l.* 10*s.* 3½*d.* The estimate allowed by parliament for the navy, amounts for the same time but to 5,400,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* so that the charge of the navy did exceed, what was designed by parliament, the sum of 770,359*l.* 10*s.* 3½*d.* And then no complaint was made of it; yet our three years inconsiderable sum, *viz.* 366,032*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* is a monstrous charge now. Yet theirs exceeds this by 404,325*l.* 13*s.* 1¾*d.* What would not the saints have said! if such a sum as this had fell upon the party the l—ds are now accusing.

"Secondly, That the admiralty have issued short of the sum, allotted by parliament for that service, the sum of 1,142,361*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* But their l—ps wisely observe, that the navy accounts make the sum, received by the treasurer of the navy, between Michaelmas 1701, to Michaelmas 1704, to amount to the sum of 5,420,700*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* which, if subtracted from the provision intended by parliament *viz.* 6,193,094*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* it will come to but 772,394*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* so that their l—ps have over-charged the admiralty in this article, by the sum of 369,966*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.*

"Now, Sir, if the sum of 366,033*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* be added with the sum of provisions, 772,394*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* intended by parliament for the navy's use, then the sum will be 1,138,428*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* which is all their l—ps can pretend to charge the treasurers of the navy with: and we hope their honours think it in safe hands, so long as Sir T—L—⁴ is of ability to make it good; if not, pray let them speak. But their l—ps not speaking shewed they thought him to be of ability; but now it seems he is dead, and indebted to the navy, the nation will find whether he was of ability or not.

"Thirdly, It appears at Michaelmas 1704, the debt of the navy to be 2,266,864*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*; and the navy debt, at Michaelmas 1702, came but to 1,016,767*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* so that it has increased in two years time to 1,250,097*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* and well it may; for it appears by the treasury-books, that the sums, given by parliament, have fallen short; and, by the extraordinary expences of the war, *viz.* the taking of Gibraltar, and beating of the French fleet, must needs increase the debt considerably, as the treasury-books observe, to the sum of 1,194,249*l.* 16*s.* 5*d.* and, if any complaint ought to be made, it was on the government's side, and not on their l—ps, as if a mismanagement; but those l— of the c—, I presume, knew which way they crept into fair estates, by fingering the publick treasure of the nation; and now would make all persons as guilty, &c. that they might come off the easier.

"To the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th articles, if there be any mismanagement or embezzlement in them, they are so inconsiderable, not worth taking notice of, and especially by the h— of p—.

³ [Edward Russell, earl of Orford.]

⁴ [Thomas Lyttelton.]

" Allow the three flag-officers pay and table come to, *per ann.* 4927*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* for three years comes to 14,781*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*

" We will allow a misapplication of the navy's pensions to amount for three years (though in truth it is not so) to 3,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* and the p— council for three years have embezzled the sum of 6,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* Now what a mighty sum is this, *viz.* 23,681*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* for three years time to complain of? Says he, Sir, this is but a flea-bite to what I shall demonstrate to you.

" You cannot forget, Sir, that a Lord C—— was impeached, not long since, for a considerable sum of money he had; yet he was not contented with his place that brought him 4000*l.* *per ann.* but the late King William allowed him, besides, a pension of 4000*l.* *per ann.* more. And yet he procured to himself the grants of several manors, fee-farm-rents, quit-rents, &c. to the value of 33,600*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*: so that this person has exceeded all their embezzlements, (*viz.* 23,681*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*) by the sum of 9,918*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*

" But give me leave to sum up their l——ps whole charge, as well as the embezzlements, &c. against those persons, and you will find they appear not so great a charge as made.

" First then, as for the debt of the navy of 2,266,864*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* I will leave it as I found it, to be made good by parliament.

" Secondly, As for what the navy has exceeded its charge by act of parliament, *viz.* 366,032*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* I will make it a charge as money overpaid for the use of the navy, above the sum allowed by parliament.

" Thirdly, As for what the navy has issued short of the sum allotted by parliament, I have sufficient warrant to charge it 672,394*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.*

" Fourthly, The unnecessary pay of three flag officers I will charge; which comes to 14,781*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*

" Fifthly, A supposed misapplication of the pensions for three years, which comes to 3,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

" And, lastly, An embezzlement of three years money, for the prince's council, comes to 6,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

" So that the whole cash in hands, the misapplications and embezzlements for three years time, comes to but 1,062,211*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.*

" To which may be answered: First, as their l——ps do find, by the navy accounts, the money, exceeded, did amount, in three years time, to a considerable sum. Yet they do not say, it was not applied to that use: therefore I presume, I have good warrant to discharge the navy of that sum as paid; which is 366,032*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.*

" Secondly, The three flag officers are paid the sum of 14,701*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*

" And, lastly, The pensions are paid, *viz.* 3,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

" Total 383,734*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.*

" Therefore, all that as can be pretended to be in hands, misapplied or embezzled, for three years time is but 678,397*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* And, whether this mighty sum be not issued to the yards and victuallers, is the question; and those ministers best know whether it be so or no; for I shall not justify them in it. But what I have to offer, may mollify this great offence.

" Sir, I cannot but remind you; and give me leave to shew what considerable charges and embezzlements there were brought on the nation in so small a time as five years.

" The Lord ⁵R—— hath actually received out of the exchequer, for the army, from Michaelmas 1691, to Michaelmas 1696 (not computing the pay for the army in Ireland) the sum of 9,256,911*l.* 13*s.* 4³/₄*d.* The estimate, allowed by parliament for the army, came at the same time but to 6,500,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*; so that the army has been over-paid by 2,756,900*l.* 13*s.* 4³/₄*d.*

" E—— R——, esq; now L—— O——⁶, hath received out of the exchequer, for the pay of the navy for the same time, 9,108,833*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* The treasurer of the ord—

⁵ [Ranelagh.

⁶ [Edward Russell, earl of Orford.]

nance, for sea and land service, hath received, for the same time, the sum of 1,543,826*l.* 5*s.* 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* Total of both 10,652,659*l.* 15*s.* 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* Now, the estimate of the navy, yards, ordnance, and victuallers, for the same time, comes to but 9,000,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*; so that the navy and ordnance, &c. have been over-paid 1,652,659*l.* 15*s.* 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

“ There has been actually received out of the exchequer, for the civil list, for the same time, the sum of 3,455,302*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* The estimate of the civil list comes for the said time but to 3,000,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* So that the civil list has been over-paid by 455,302*l.* 8*s.* 0*d.*

“ Upon these heads, there has been over-paid as follows:

	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To the army - -	2,756,911	13	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
Navy and ordnance, &c. -	1,652,659	15	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
To the civil list - -	455,302	8	0
Total	4,864,873	17	4 $\frac{1}{2}$

“ And yet the debt of the army, navy, ordnances, &c. and the civil list, amounted to that time to the sum of 6,000,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*: so that in five years, there was actually embezzled or misapplied 10,864,873*l.* 17*s.* 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*

“ Now, Sir, how much was paid to the army, navy, &c. short of these proportions allowed by parliament, will also be worth the inquiry of your honourable house.

“ But to their l——ps last observation. They say, that forty-three cruisers and convoys are allowed by parliament to protect our merchants from the enemy: do they mean abroad, or at home? And that not twenty-two have been employed at any time; nor have they done the duty of three cruising ships; which they think is a great hardship on the subject, and endangers their trade: and beseech her majesty, that all possible methods may be taken for the encouragement of seamen, the guarding of the coast, and the protection of trade. Certainly, their l——ps think this nation has a very treacherous memory, to forget so soon the complaint your h—— h—— of c—— made to their l——ps upon this very subject. “ Let them remember, that one article of their impeachment against A—— R—— was this: that, when several complaints were made by the old East-India company to the lords of the admiralty (his lordship being chief c——) of divers piracies in the South Seas, to the destruction of their trade, that he rejected their request, and procured a c—— for Captain K——d, who went a p——; and that the said c—— commanded Captain S—— to deliver several able seamen out of the d—— (when the nation was threatened with an invasion from France) to Captain K——d, and they went a p——ing.

“ Secondly, That the L——ds S—— and B——nt, &c. got a grant under the g—— s—— in 1697, to have all the ships, &c. goods, treasures, &c. taken since April 30, 1696, by p——cy without account.

“ And that said L—— S—— put the great s—— unto a treaty with F——; whereby great dominions were given that king, to the prejudice of the merchants trade in general.

“ But I am very glad their l——ps begin to be so vigilant in national miscarriages; for, with humble submission, I think it is high time they were all redressed. I am sure, your honourable house has been many years labouring hard to bring it to pass, and have been as often prevented therein, by their l——ps not being at leisure, or, at least, not in a humour to do it; which refusal, your honourable house, not long since, voted to be a denial of j—— (in their lordships) to the common cause, and an hindrance to the public benefit of this kingdom in general. And, since they have publicly begun to address her majesty, that this publick grievance may be redressed, though very inconsiderable; yet, if not nipped in the blossom, who knows what an heighth it may at last come to? I think now time offers to redress them all; and once your h—— h—— desired such an opportunity; and you cannot do less, for your country's service, than vigorously, and with all diligence, to prosecute this affair, and to go hand in hand with their l——ps,

to accomplish it. For, as I am an high-church man, Sir, I am not for having the government imposed on, nor the nation's treasure embezzled, or profusely spent in needless pensions, &c. by any manner of persons, either high-church, low, or no church. And whoever is caught in the transgression, and spared by one side or the other, can be no good subject, nor an hearty lover of her majesty's government.

"It mightily rejoices me to see their l——ps' eyes begin to be opened, and that they can spy faults and mismanagements in government, as well as other persons; though I must confess, there is no government so infallible, but may err in some matters; which errors are very visible in the late reign, as well as in this: and, since it so often happens, it may be convenient to remind their l——ps of your late impeachments, that all offenders and embezzlers of the publick treasure may be brought to a strict account. This is what you always aimed at for the nation's service, and have always continued so to do by your constant addressing her majesty: and, since I have made it so visible in four heads, that upwards of ten millions of money have been embezzled in five years time; it is to be hoped their l——ps will be pleased to condescend, that the late ministers of state be brought to an account, as well as the present.

"I hope, by this time, their l——ps are thoroughly convinced in their judgments, that it is high time they were brought to an account; which, if done, I am sure, would be of great service to the nation, and would deserve the public thanks of the kingdom. This would encourage the nation and seamen chearfully to go on in the common cause; the one with their purses, and the other with their lives: but, if their l——ps will contentedly sit down, only with the accusation of the navy, of a Churchill, a Greydon, or a Munden, for so inconsiderable a sum (which all their lordships can pretend to charge, is not an embezzlement) of 678,397*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* will look only like a party-quarrel, and shew they take delight in exposing their small mismanagement, when they meekly suffer an O——, a R——, a S——, &c. to go away unpunished; with upwards of thirty millions of the kingdom's money unaccounted for. This, I hope, their l——ps will take care to avoid, like English patriots, and not suffer the government of the nation to be miserably oppressed and beggared.

"It cannot enter into my thoughts, but their l——ps will do all things for the good of the nation in general; yet I am somewhat surprised to see their address to the q—— printed by their authority. I cannot tell what to make of it, it looks so much like the observator's appealing to the people; designing to expose the smallest miscarriages in government on one side, and let the greatest embezzlements on the other go free. But their l——ps have mightily missed their ends in it, if they intend so: for the address is so seasonably come out, that it will very much open the eyes of the nation; and if the grievances be not redressed on all sides, it will look like a party-address, dissenting from the kingdom's true interest, and so they may become the odium of the nation. But let us hope for better things from their h——s.

"Another thing to me seems very odd, and looks just like the Stranger and the Satyr in the fable, that blew both hot and cold in a breath: or, what can be the meaning of settling a grateful reward on his grace the Duke of Marlborough, for his eminent service done to the publick in general; and yet, at the same time, to repine at his brother Churchill's inconsiderable *per annum* of 3142*l.* 10*s.* which their l——ps have caused to be printed at large, in their late A——ss to her majesty? One would think, that what his grace had done, might have easily swallowed so small a trifle as his staying at home, without their l——s public notice thereof. If the nation's grievances are heartily designed to be redressed, I think it would be very convenient their l——ps should join with your honourable house, to call all evil ministers of state to a speedy account.

"Secondly, In the next place, to secure the government, and the Church of England, as by law established; and not suffer them to be insulted and bullied by the whiggish enemies of state, both at home and abroad. And,

"Lastly, To secure to our merchants their trade; and this, in some measure, will enable you to secure the whole state.

“ But, if we must tumble into faction, and only accuse one party, because the least transgressors, and let the other go free, because the greatest offenders; it is just like Alexander's pirate, that was condemned to be hanged for robbing in a small vessel, whilst he himself, with his great fleets, triumphed in spoiling and ruining of the greatest of kingdoms.

“ To conclude: I must be bold to say, had the first transgressors been severely punished, when caught in the offence, it would have deterred others from doing the like mischiefs; and all mismanagements and losses, that have since happened to this kingdom, are owing to that h—— of p——, that refused, upon your complaint, to do the nation common j——, when so often importuned thereto by your honourable house.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your most devoted servant,

“ W. L.”

Braintree, Feb. 19,

1705.

And thus I have led you, step by step, through all this commoner of England's observations thereon; and I think he has handled the ministry to purpose.

But, perchance, you may desire to know what effect these observations wrought on their l——ps at that time? Even none at all; for the design, it seems, lay here: ‘as soon as this address had brought over the court-interest to their party, all matters of complaint were laid aside, and the ministry were as brisk at their old sport of embezzlements and misapplications, as ever; and so would have gone on to the end of the chapter.’ Had not some true old English heroes opened the eyes of her majesty, the whole kingdom had been sunk into an eternal ruin, without redemption; and that occasioned the queen to change the low-church ministry; and this brought to our assistance our deliverers from this slavery, our present new parliament, and occasioned that excellent speech from the throne, at the opening of this session, where her majesty (though sensibly) complains of the heavy debts of the navy and other offices.

And now, Sir, what if I should let you into some other new embezzlements and misapplications, which I may truly say were occasioned by their l——ps, for want of their seasonable and annual addressing of the queen.

For, if Fame speaks truth, it is reported, that Sir T—— L——n, t——r of the n—vy⁷, has died indebted to the sailors three years wages. If so; according to the estimate of the navy, it amounts to about 5,400,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*; which is one article, without doubt, your honourable house is to make good.

And a certain late l——d t———r, they say, has embezzled or misapplied the sum of 2,500,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*: which embezzlements are grown a new debt on the several offices complained of.

The total of both comes to 7,900,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

And for the year ensuing you are to provide no less than 6,000,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* To carry on the war against France and Spain, in all 13,000,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*; a pretty little inconsiderable sum. These you are to raise, and make good as desired. And whether with these sponges, (as De Foe says,) you will be pleased to wipe out the scores and debts of the nation the low-church ministry have contracted, I think will be very much worth your while to try the experiment of.

“ It would not be amiss to squeeze these low-church sponges heartily, till they drop again to purpose; and, who knows but you may get out of them ten years embezzlements (rather than part with the whole ill-gotten sum for twenty years last past) which comes to about 15,875,893*l.* 17*s.* 4½*d.*

So that you will clear the nation from the debt of the late l——d t———r, and Sir Th——s L——n, the t———r of the n——y, and have in their pockes clear, to begin the next year's war with, the sum of 1,975,893*l.* 17*s.* 4½*d.*

But here lies the greatest difficulty. In whose hands will your honourable house intrust

⁷ [Sir Thomas Lyttelton, treasurer of the navy.]

the remaining money, and all that you shall raise for the future; since it is so apparent how difficult it is to bring such ministers of state to account for their embezzlements and mismanagements of the kingdom's public treasure? This is a matter will require your whole thoughts. For, if that can be but effected to your liking, content, and satisfaction, it will for ever make the queen easy, the funds well looked after, the seamen and the army well paid. And this will be the means to restore the lost credit, which evil ministers of state have been long hammering at to ruin, or at least to bring it to such a low ebb on the government's side, that the said ministry might have new-modelled any scheme of government they had most inclination to; having so often all the public cash of the nation in their hands, and that they set up the bank with most feloniously, for that end and purpose.

In my humble opinion (not that I am going to direct) it were not amiss, if your honourable house would not suffer one single minister, or officer of state, to have of the publick money so raised to carry on the war against France and Spain, above fifty thousand pounds a man, and good security given, that he should no ways embezzle or misemploy the said money, but solely pay it to that public end it was raised for. But to trust one man with one, two, or three millions at a time, is a temptation to cheat the publick, at least one quarter part of it, if not of the whole sum. And, when you come to look into the man's estate, he has none; or otherwise made it away, on purpose to become a cheat to the nation.

But you may, perchance, object, and say, that you cannot find any minister that can give such security; or, if he could, he ought not to do it, for it is an infringement of her majesty's prerogative: for it is fit and convenient, that as she is intrusted with all the monies so raised, it is her sole right to appoint such ministers or officers as she can confide in with the said money.

To which I answer, it customarily has been so; but it is also too visible, for upwards of twenty years last past, that all that have been intrusted with the public treasure, have made it their business to fleece the government of the public treasure, to embezzle and misapply the same: and, how hard and difficult it has been to bring such ministers to account, the whole kingdom is very sensible of, and sure, it is but reasonable to secure the public treasure at all times; and if the house of commons do not put a stop to this great evil, the nation will be utterly beggared at last. And there can be no other expedient found out, that can preserve the credit of the kingdom, but by appointing commissioners of their own, *viz.* gentlemen of known estates; and to intrust them with fifty thousand pounds a man, and no more; they giving security not to embezzle, or misapply the same: and if they do, their estates and security to make it good. And, certainly, it is impossible, that any one of these persons should miscarry, in their discharge of the trust reposed in them by the honourable the house of commons.

But I very much wonder, at this time of day, why the low-church party should stand so tightly for the queen's prerogative, by saying, 'that such an expedient, if found out, will be an infringement of the same.' Time was, that none were more violent against the prerogative of the crown, than these very people; and now, in a trice, they are highly defending the prerogative. This, at first sight, looks mysterious, but I will unriddle this matter in a trice.

It seems, the prerogative, they stand so tightly for, is to screen themselves; and that they might not be put out of that sweet and old arbitrary way of cheating the soldiers and the navy, and fleecing the kingdom of those few trifling millions, not worth the parliament's taking notice of, which they had only gotten by cunning oversights, and negligences in accounts, by such as, perchance, at first were not able to check them. This makes them stand so violently for the prerogative of the crown, which by no means, they say, ought to be lessened; and it is what her majesty will never consent to.

Now give me leave a little. I think they talk for the queen, but would act for themselves. Their business is only to dive dexterously, and to take care that no other sharpers should come at the pocket of the nation but themselves. They have often found it full,

and have as often left it empty ; yet still they are struggling to continue in their old game, and now are cursed mad that any but themselves should be in the government, and are preparing gibbets for Mordecai. And what not do such ministers deserve, that deprive the queen of the service of the pick-pockets and sharpers of the nation? These pretended friends to the government have indeed stuck fast to it, but it was like leeches, sucking almost the very heart's blood of the nation ; but a little salt from the hands of the parliament will soon shew what it was they adhered so close to the government for.

Are we not almost driven to the very brink of destruction? Our treasures are riotously wasted ; our constitution in danger of being subverted, and the nation almost in general corrupted. And all this under a colour of a false pretended zeal for her majesty's person and government : when some men have arrived to such a height of favour in court, and such a degree of popularity in the city, that they have at last took upon them, with an audacious front, to direct the very monarchy. They have been able, for many years past, to brand all those who took any care of our constitution, or offered to require any good husbandry in the disposition of the public treasures, with odious unpopular names, and almost to stir up the mob against them : thus, had they succeeded, the old English constitution had expired. And since the majority of the nation have, by their choice, sent us up such worthy patriots ; it is to be hoped they will effectually take care of the monarchy, the church and state, and set the kingdom out of debt, and see that the army and the navy are well paid ; and keep out, for the future, such ravening and devouring wolves, that have brought the credit of the nation to so low an ebb by their misapplications and embezzlements of the kingdom's treasure.

Is it not a strange and wonderful thing, that, while the nation is almost bankrupt, wealthy men should shoot up in several offices, like mushrooms ; and, while the government was endangered to be beggared, that all its servants should riot in such wealth and plenty, that the bare handling of a brush in any office was the ready way to a plentiful fortune ; as if the public treasure had been thrown in there only for the officers to brush it into their pockets? These abuses call loudly for reformation ; and our representatives, no doubt, will do their utmost endeavour to amend the same. And, since some people, may question to what ends and purposes members of parliament are elected by the people to represent them, I shall presume to give them these following instructions.

The business, therefore, of a house of commons is, to represent the whole commonalty of England ; that is, they are to do all such things, and exercise all such powers for the welfare and safety of the publick, which the whole common people would be supposed to do and exercise, could they meet together to counsel and debate orderly and quietly, and deliberate maturely, for their own common good and safety.

They are to appoint all public disbursements, the quantity, time, and manner of their payments ; the uses to which they are to be disposed, and, if they please, the officers through whose hands it shall pass. If so ; now is the time then to appoint such officers of your own, and not suffer the nation any more to be cheated by upstarts, and such as have no visible estates to come at, when they embezzle the kingdom's treasure ; as such have done for twenty years last past, without any public remedy. This requires your public amendment ; for the war has left us very low in purse, the credit of the nation almost eclipsed by the late ministry, our funds anticipated and deficient ; and, to complete all, has left us a new debt of several millions. These considerations will oblige you certainly to prevent the like grand miscarriages for the future, by appointing (as we hope you will) such gentlemen of estates as may give sufficient security to perform that important trust ; which will be so very necessary for the kingdom's preservation, and benefit in general.

Secondly, They are to inquire how such sums have been applied ; and, if they find any misapplication, to bring the offenders to punishment : and this is a second reason why you ought to appoint officers of your own. For have not your honourable house endeavoured, for twenty years last past, to bring such evil ministers to account ; and

how often have been prevented by cunning stratagems and delays of some great persons, whose interest appeared too great for you to cope with in another place?

Thirdly, They are to advise with, and assist the other two sovereign estates in all arduous affairs, especially in making and contriving good laws for the security of our religion, liberties and properties, of which at this time we stand in great need; for our occasional conformists, if not well looked after, will swallow up our government by this cunning hypocrisy, which is a villainous artifice, on purpose to bring in ruin to the church and state.

Fourthly, They are to revive such good laws as are antiquated, and to repeal them, if the reasons be ceased, and the laws themselves of no longer use and benefit to the publick. And,

Lastly, They are to protect and preserve entire the rights and privileges of the whole people, whom they represent as a third estate of the kingdom. And this loudly calls to you for amendment. What insolencies and affronts have been offered our church and state, by those tender-conscienced people, our moderate dissenters? How often have they been for roasting, gutting, de-witting, mobbing, hanging, drawing, and quartering, one poor priest of the church of England, because he preached up passive obedience, a doctrine of the church; which it seems did a little too much grate upon the scrupulous consciences of our tender brethren, the most religious dissenters?

I say, this brought on all those affronts and insolencies which our holy church and constitution met with in a late famous trial, of ever-glorious memory, in which her majesty did not escape their vile tongues in their imperious and rebellious language. This also highly calls for your amendment; that it may never more be in the power of such persons to be so monstrously rude and uncivil as heretofore.

Now, if such offenders are not corrected according to their merits, the lord have mercy on the nation. For the government, both in church and state, are in a very dangerous condition, and will not be long before they are brought to destruction; which God of his infinite mercy prevent!

A parallel Account of the National Expences, from November 3, 1640, to November 1659; and from November 5, 1688, to Michaelmas 1700.

The Long Parliament's Account.

	£.	s.	d.
SUBSIDIES, six come to	600,000	0	0
Assessments to disband the Scotch and English armies	800,000	0	0
Tonnage and poundage, nineteen years	5,700,000	0	0
Captives, nine years	27,000	0	0
Ditto, five years	75,000	0	0
Sale of Irish lands	1,200,000	0	0
Second sale	92,500	0	0
Third sale	30,000	0	0
Contribution for Irish Protestants	100,000	0	0
Second contribution	50,000	0	0
Third contribution	30,000	0	0
Assessments through England for the British army in Ireland, for five years	1,200,000	0	0
Twentieth parts of goods, &c. to raise an army for the Earl of Essex, for the defence of England	2,745,055	0	0
Carried over	12,649,555	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	12,649,555	0	0
Twentieth parts of goods, &c. to raise an army for the Earl of Essex, } for the defence of England, second time	2,745,055	0	0
Weekly assessments towards payment of the said army, three years	5,617,583	8	0
Weekly meal to raise auxiliaries, six years	608,400	0	0
Monthly assessments towards payment of the said army, two years	488,064	0	0
Sir William Waller's army, weekly assessment, one year	84,258	5	0
The Scots army's weekly assessment, two years	168,000	0	0
Brown's army's weekly assessment, one year	38,400	0	0
Fairfax's army's monthly assessment, at 36,366 <i>l.</i> three years	1,127,726	4	0
Ditto, at 60,000 <i>l.</i> <i>per</i> month, for two years	1,620,000	0	0
Ditto, at 90,000 <i>l.</i> <i>per</i> month, for one year, &c.	1,890,000	0	0

Forces raised on particular Counties, &c.

Exon, for five years, comes to	12,000	0	0
Hertford one year, then associated	4,800	0	0
Isle of Wight, four years	1,900	0	0
Warwick, &c. associated, five years	133,650	0	0
Plymouth, four years	28,800	0	0
Yarmouth, four years	19,200	0	0
Aylsbury, five years	1,000	0	0
Buckingham, four years	76,800	0	0
Eastern association, five years	1,234,962	10	0
Dorset and Poole, two years, and then associated	24,780	0	0
Kent, &c. associated, five years	270,000	0	0
North-Wales, &c. five years	38,652	0	0
Northton, five years	119,200	0	0
Huntington, two years, and then associated	13,200	0	0
Southton, four years	115,200	0	0
Newport-Pagnel, one year, then associated	49,000	0	0
London, &c. five years	5,600	0	0
Hull, five years	46,600	0	0
Chester, county and city, one year, then associated	6,944	0	0
Gloucester, county and city, three years	163,400	0	0
Pembroke, &c. associated, three years	20,090	0	0
Salop, three years	57,000	0	0
Leicester, three years	86,400	0	0
Wilts and Malmsbury, one year, then associated	2,900	0	0
Western association, four years	509,160	0	0
Worcester, &c. three years	51,597	12	0
Middlesex, three years	108,000	0	0
London, to set up posts and chains	96,000	0	0
Lincoln, three years	117,600	0	0
Derby, three years	48,000	0	0
Northern association, three years	433,831	14	0
Rutland, three years	29,000	0	0
Surry, three years	44,000	0	0
Newark, to be reduced, cost	9,916	12	0
Lancaster, two years	72,000	0	0
Carried over	31,088,226	5	0

			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
		Brought over	31,073,822	6	0
Newport, two years	— — — — —	— — — — —	89,904	0	0
County of London to assess for horses and arms	— — — — —	— — — — —	10,000	6	0
Provision for maimed soldiers	— — — — —	— — — — —	18,180	0	0
Excise for seventeen years	— — — — —	— — — — —	10,200,000	0	0
Duty on coals, seventeen years	— — — — —	— — — — —	850,000	0	0
Duty on currants, seventeen years	— — — — —	— — — — —	51,000	0	0

Sequestrations of Delinquents Estates, viz.

Bishops lands, four years	— — — — —	— — — — —	884,089	16	7
Deans and chapters lands, four years	— — — — —	— — — — —	564,740	18	6
Inferior clergy's lands, four years	— — — — —	— — — — —	2,077,802	1	3
Temporal estates, four years	— — — — —	— — — — —	280,000	0	0
Crown lands, four years	— — — — —	— — — — —	280,000	0	0
Composition for court of wards, four years	— — — — —	— — — — —	400,000	0	0
Deans Forest, four years	— — — — —	— — — — —	16,000	0	0
Fee-Farm rents, four years	— — — — —	— — — — —	1,054,392	0	0
Tenths of the clergy, four years	— — — — —	— — — — —	400,080	0	8
Prince of Wales's income	— — — — —	— — — — —	80,000	0	0
Timber for the navy out of delinquents woods	— — — — —	— — — — —	7,760	0	0
Postage of letters, fourteen years	— — — — —	— — — — —	301,000	0	0
Wine Licence, fourteen years	— — — — —	— — — — —	312,200	0	0
Composition for court of wards, ten years	— — — — —	— — — — —	1,000,000	0	0
Income of offices for public service, fifteen years	— — — — —	— — — — —	850,000	0	0
Vintners delinquency	— — — — —	— — — — —	4,000	0	0
Compounding with delinquents for their estates	— — — — —	— — — — —	1,277,226	0	0
Disbanding the army	— — — — —	— — — — —	900,000	0	0
Militia of England kept up, thirteen years	— — — — —	— — — — —	3,120,000	0	0
Oliver's expedition to Ireland	— — — — —	— — — — —	150,000	0	0

Sale of Lands, viz.

Bishops lands, at ten years	— — — — —	— — — — —	2,420,224	11	6½
Deans and chapters lands, ten years	— — — — —	— — — — —	1,411,852	6	8
Rectory and glebe lands, twelve years	— — — — —	— — — — —	6,203,586	3	9
Crown lands, thirteen years	— — — — —	— — — — —	9,152,000	0	0
Prince of Wales's lands, thirteen years	— — — — —	— — — — —	260,000	0	0
Fee-Farm rents, eight years	— — — — —	— — — — —	1,908,784	0	0
New-River water, eight years	— — — — —	— — — — —	8,000	0	0
Tenths of the clergy, eight years	— — — — —	— — — — —	1,200,240	2	0
Lord Craven and other estates, at thirteen years	— — — — —	— — — — —	700,000	0	0
Giffard and other estates, at thirteen years	— — — — —	— — — — —	900,000	0	0
Sir John Stawell and others, five years	— — — — —	— — — — —	560,000	0	0
Forest lands, thirteen years	— — — — —	— — — — —	56,000	0	0
Houses and castles of the kings	— — — — —	— — — — —	600,000	0	0
John and William, Peter, and divers others, viz. one-hundred seventy-one persons, their estates to pay Prince Palatine of the Rhine 5,000 <i>l.</i> in arrear, and 8,000 <i>l.</i> per ann.	— — — — —	— — — — —	85,000	0	0

Carried over 81,617,288 11 11½

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over	81,617,288	11	11½
Oliver made Captain General of Fairfax's forces, and the assessment for the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 90,000 <i>l.</i> per month for two years	2,160,000	0	0
Assessments of 120,000 <i>l.</i> per month for the said army and navy, one year	1,440,000	0	0
Drums and colours 90,000 <i>l.</i> per ann. for ten years	900,000	0	0
Irish delinquents to compound for two years rent	1,000,000	0	0
Oliver voted Protector, and he assessed for the army 120,000 <i>l.</i> and 90,000 <i>l.</i> for three months	630,000	0	0
Agreed 60,000 <i>l.</i> per month be the pay of the army for six years	4,320,000	0	0
To defray the charges of justice 200,000 <i>l.</i> per ann. six years	1,200,000	0	0
Free gifts to the saints in money	679,800	0	0
In places (excluding the army and navy) per ann. seven years	306,110	0	0
In estates per ann. for eleven years	189,365	0	0
Besides, the house of commons voted each of their members 4 <i>l.</i> per week, and count but 256 members, and no more, for fourteen years	745,472	0	0
Total	95,303,095	9	11½

A General Abstract of Money raised in England by the Long Parliament, from November 3, 1640, to November 1659.

Subsidies	600,000	0	0
The armies	32,780,721	13	0
Tonnage and poundage	5,700,000	0	0
Captives	102,000	0	0
Sale of Irish lands	1,322,500	0	0
Contributions for Irish Protestants	180,000	0	0
Forces for defence of particular counties	4,141,088	8	0
Excises	10,200,000	0	0
Duty on coals	850,000	0	0
Ditto on currants	51,000	0	0
Sequestrations of estates	6,044,924	17	0
Postage of letters	301,000	0	0
Wine licences	312,200	0	0
Composition for court of wards	1,000,000	0	0
Offices to public service	850,000	0	0
Vintners delinquency	4,000	0	0
Compositions for estates	1,277,226	0	0
Sale of English lands	25,380,687	3	11½
Settled out of gentlemen's estates to pay Prince Palatine	85,000	0	0
Compound with Irish delinquents	1,000,000	0	0
Charge of justice, six years	1,200,000	0	0
To the house of commons, 14 years, comes to	745,472	0	0
Free gifts to the saints, viz. in money	679,800	0	0
in offices	306,110	0	0
in estates, per An.	189,365	0	0
Total	95,303,095	1	11½

A General Abstract of the Receipts and Issues of the Publick Revenues, Taxes, and Loans, that have been granted to the late King William, from November 5, 1688, to Michaelmas 1700.

		The Receipts.			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>q.</i>
Received on	{	Customs	—	—	10,997,955	6	3	$\frac{1}{2}$
		Excise	—	—	12,105,151	19	7	0
		Hearth and letter money, &c.	—	—	1,769,653	1	4	$\frac{2}{3}$
		Land-tax	—	—	17,520,100	14	5	0
		Poll-tax	—	—	2,527,983	12	9	0
		Promiscuous Taxes	—	—	7,170,903	17	9	$\frac{1}{2}$
		Divers Receipts	—	—	466,999	1	4	0
		State of Loans	—	—	1,334,860	5	10	$\frac{1}{4}$
Remained Nov. 5, 88, with which the treasury began					80,138	18	3	0
Total					65,987,566	17	8	0
		The Issues.						
Issued	{	To the treasurer of the navy, viz. Lord Faulkland, in } King James's time			198,068	0	1	0
		To Admiral R——ll ^s in K. W——'s time, treasurer } of the navy			16,940,497	1	10	$\frac{1}{4}$
		To Sir Tho. L——n, ⁹ treasurer of the navy			818,659	5	10	$\frac{1}{4}$
		Total of the navy			17,957,224	7	9	$\frac{1}{2}$
		To the army Lord Ranelagh			21,239,723	6	11	$\frac{1}{2}$
		To the ordnance			2,889,001	1	6	$\frac{2}{3}$
		To the civil list			7,882,391	10	2	$\frac{2}{3}$
		Divers services			15,693,555	11	0	0
Remained at Michaelmas 1700					325,671	0	2	0
Total					65,987,566	17	8	$\frac{1}{2}$

Memorandum. There was issued more than received the sum of two farthings; a very nice account I will assure you.

The total of the long-parliament 95,303,095*l.* 1*s.* 11½*d.* Of King William 659,875,66*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* Of both 161,290,661*l.* 19*s.* 7d½. An inconsiderable sum, considering our great deliverance from popery and slavery, and arbitrary government. And yet the saints want to deliver us of as much more, if we please but to be so good-natured as to let them set up a commonwealth.

^s [Russell.]

⁹ [Lyttleton.]

An Account¹ of the Manner of taking the late Duke of Monmouth, &c. By his Majesty's Command.

London, Printed by B. G. for Samuel Keeble, at the Turk's Head, over-against Fetter-lane, in Fleet-street, 1685.²

[Folio ; containing four pages.]

IMMEDIATELY after the defeat of the rebels at Bridgewater, on Monday the sixth of July instant, the late duke of Monmouth, late lord Grey, and the Brandenburg³ fled; and, coming between Gillingham and Shaftsbury, got a guide to lead them the way to the New Forest, most free from towns and watches. He led them by White-Sheet, four miles east of Shaftsbury, and thence by Cranborne-Chase; where their horses being tired, they let them loose, and hid their bridles and saddles.

In the mean time, the news of the said defeat coming to the lord Lumley, (then posted at Ringwood in Hampshire, with three troops of horse of colonel Stapley's regiment, commanded by major Bridger, captain Monk, and captain Peckham; and four companies of foot, of colonel Alford's regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Cooper, captain Bickley, captain Best, and captain Carre; all of the Sussex militia,) his lordship was pleased to send his scouts every way to take up suspected persons: and sir William Portman, for the same end, had taken care for strong watches to be set, made up of his yellow-coats and others, on the roads from Poole to the most northern parts of Dorset.

Upon the seventh instant, about five in the morning, some of the lord Lumley's said scouts (riding in the road, near Holt-Lodge in Dorset, four miles west of Ringwood) just at the turn of a cross-way, surprised and seized two suspected persons; which, when the lord Lumley came up, proved to be the late lord Grey and the said guide. This put the lord Lumley upon a strict examining of the cottages, with which that heathy country abounds, and calling in the neighbourhood, that were acquainted with the country, &c.

¹ See Oldy's Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library, No. 259.

² [After the defeat at Sedgemore ' Monmouth with his suite first directed his course towards the British Channel, and, as is related by Oldmixon, was once inclined, at the suggestion of Dr. Oliver, a faithful and honest adviser, to embark for the coast of Wales, with a view of concealing himself some time in that principality. Lord Grey, who appears to have been, in all instances, his evil genius, dissuaded him from this plan, and the small party having separated, took each several ways. Monmouth, Grey, and a gentleman of Brandenburg, went southward, with a view to gain the New Forest in Hampshire, where, by means of Grey's connections in that district, it was hoped they might be in safety till a vessel could be procured to transport them to the continent. They left their horses, and disguised themselves as peasants; but the pursuit, stimulated as well by party zeal, as by the great pecuniary rewards offered for the capture of Monmouth and Grey, was too vigilant to be eluded. Grey was taken on the 7th in the evening (Q. morning?) and the German who shared the same fate early the next morning, confessed that he had parted from Monmouth but a few hours since. The neighbouring country was immediately and thoroughly searched, and James had ere night the satisfaction of learning that his nephew was in his power. The unfortunate duke was discovered in a ditch, half concealed by ferns and nettles. His stock of provision, which consisted of some peas gathered in the fields through which he had fled, was nearly exhausted, and there is reason to think, that he had [had] little, if any other sustenance since he left Bridgewater on the evening of the fifth. To repose he had been equally a stranger; how his mind must have been harassed, it is useless to discuss. Yet that in such circumstances, he appeared dispirited and crest fallen, is, by the unrelenting malignity of party writers, imputed to him as cowardice and meanness of spirit.' Fox's History of the Early Part of James the Second's Reign. 4to. 1808.]

³ [A German count whom the duke had brought with him out of Holland.]

Notice of this being brought to sir William Portman, by some of his watches, &c. he hastened to the place, with as many horse and foot, as he could of a sudden get together.

It happened, upon the lord Lumley's inquiry amongst the cottages, that a poor woman, one Amy Farrant, directed his lordship to a hedge, where she had seen two men go over; which hedge proved to be part of the out-bounds of very many inclosed grounds, some overgrown by fern and brakes, and others sown with rye, pease, or oats, &c. Whereupon a strict guard was put very near one another, round those outbounds whilst other foot and horse did beat within. These guards kept their several posts so well, that, though the late duke and the Brandenburg attempted, at least thirty times, to make their escape out, yet they always found each guard ready; and, upon their last attempt to escape, two of the troopers, firing on them, made them immediately to retire, and hide themselves a-part from each other, in some of the adjacent ditches, where they were afterwards found.

Upon the eighth day, by five of the clock in the morning, the Brandenburg was found; who, upon examination, confessed, that he parted with the said late duke, within the same out-bounds, about one of the clock that morning. Whereupon, every individual person, being encouraged thereby, and by the hopes of having a share in the five thousand pounds (as was before agreed on in the field) did renew the pursuit of him with the strictest search and diligence imaginable; and, about seven of the clock of the same morning, one Henry Parkin, servant to Samuel Rolles, esq; happened to discover the said late duke hid in a ditch, covered with fern and brakes, and, calling to two of the Sussex troopers that were by him, all three seized him together. Sir William Portman, happening to be near that place, rid presently in; and quieted those that cried, "Shoot him! shoot him!" He laid hands on him, as his prisoner, and so preserved him from all violence and rudeness; and immediately, in the same instant, the lord Lumley came in, and agreed, that sir William Portman should search him: which was done, and as soon as they had found his George, they dispatched that, with the news, to his Majesty, by captain Bickely and Mr. Chaldecot, Sussex and Dorset gentlemen.

The prisoners, after this, were kept two nights at Ringwood. On Friday the lord Lumley discharged the foot there, and, with the said three troops of the Sussex horse, and one troop of the Dorset militia, commanded by captain Fownes, they were conveyed to Winchester, where joined them two troops of his Majesty's in pay, and two of the Northampton militia troops; all which conducted them to Farnham-castle upon Saturday the 11th, and the next day to Guilford, and upon Monday the 13th to Vaux-hall, where a regiment of the lord Dartmouth's received them, with other troops of his Majesty's in pay; and thence, by barge, they were carried to Whitehall.

The papers and books, that were found on him, are since delivered to his Majesty. One of the books was a manuscript of spells, charms, and conjurations, songs, receipts, and prayers; all written with the said late duke's own hand. Two others were manuscripts of fortification and the military art. And a fourth book, fairly written, wherein are computes of the yearly expence of his Majesty's navy and land-forces.

And, as for his gold, only twenty guineas were given to the said Parkin, and ten guineas a-piece to the two troopers that first seized him; and the rest was returned to the said late duke.

As the prisoners passed through Rumsey, Winchester, Farnham, and Guilford, one would admire to see the very great numbers of the militia, with the deputy-lieutenants, and gentlemen of those parts, that were ready to guard them, and take off the fatigue of such as were on the march.

Within doors, none but commission officers were trusted to watch by them: and besides those, the lord Lumley and sir William Portman took their turns to watch in person, night and day, from the time of the taking of the said late duke, until they had delivered him safe at Whitehall, from whence he was conveyed to the Tower.

A Treatise of Monarchy, containing Two Parts :

I. Concerning Monarchy in general.

II. Concerning this particular Monarchy.

Wherein all the main Questions, occurrent in both, are stated, disputed, and determined. Done by an earnest Desirer of his Country's Peace.

London; Printed for, and sold by, Richard Baldwin, in the Old-Bailey, 1689.¹

[Quarto; containing thirty-eight pages.]

PART I. CHAP. I.

Of Political Government, and its Distinction into several Kinds.

SECT. I.

Authority, how far from God, how far from Men.

GOVERNMENT and subjection are relatives; so that what is said of the one, may in proportion be said of the other: which being so, it will be needless to treat of both; because it would be easy to apply what is spoken of the one to the other. Government is *Potestatis exercitium*, the exercise of a moral power. One of these is the root and measure of the other; which, if it exceed, is exorbitant, is not government, but a transgression of it. This power and government is differenced with respect to the governed; to wit, a family, which is called *Æconomical*; or a publick society, which is called Political, or Magistracy. Concerning this magistracy we will treat, 1. In general. 2. Of the principal kind of it.

In general concerning magistracy, there are two things about which I find difficulty and difference, *viz.* the original, and the end.

First, for the original: there seem to be two extremes in opinion; while some amplify the divinity thereof, others speak so slightly of it, as if there were little else but humane institution in it. I will briefly lay down my apprehensions of the evident truth in this point; and it may be, things being clearly and distinctly set down, there will be no real ground for contrariety in this matter. Three things herein must necessarily be distinguished, *viz.* 1. The constitution or power of magistracy in general. 2. The limitation of it to this or that kind. 3. The determination of it to this or that individual person or line.

For the first of these; 1. It is God's express ordinance, that, in the societies of mankind, there should be a magistracy or government. At first, when there were but two, God ordained it, Gen. iii. 16. St. Paul affirms as much of the powers that be, none excepted; Rom. xiii. 1. 2. This power, wherever placed, ought to be respected as a participation of divine sovereignty, Psal. lxxxii. 1, 6.; and every soul ought to be subject to it for the Lord's sake, 1 Pet. ii. 13. that is, for conscience sake of God's ordinance, Rom. xiii. 5. and under penalty of damnation, ver. 2. These are truths, against which there is

¹ See Oldy's Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library, No. 260.

no colour of opposition. Indeed, this power may be claimed by them who have it not; and where there is a limitation of this power, subjection may be claimed in cases which are without those limits: But, to this ordinance of power where it is, and when it requires subjection, it must be given, as before.

For the second: 1. In some particular communities, the limitation of it to this or that kind, is an immediate ordinance of God. So kingly power was appointed to the Jews, on their desire; 1 Sam. viii. 9. Whether they had not a kind of monarchical government before, I will not stand on it; but it is evident, that then, on their earnest desire, God himself condescended to an establishment of regality in that state. 2. But, for a general binding ordinance, God hath given no word, either to command or commend one kind above another. Men may, according to their relations to the form they live under, to their affections and judgments in divers respects, prefer this or that form above the rest; but we have no divine limitation: and it were an absurdity to think so; for then we should uncharitably condemn all the communities which have not that form, for violation of God's ordinance; and pronounce those other powers unlawful. 3. This then must have another and lower fountain to flow from, which can be no other than human. The higher power is God's ordinance. That it resideth in one, or more, in such or such away, is from human designment: for, when God leaves a matter indifferent, the restriction of this indifferency is left to secondary causes. And I conceive this is St. Peter's meaning, when he calls magistracy *ἀνθρωπινὴ κτίσις*, human creature: St. Paul calls it, God's ordinance, because the power is God's: St. Peter calls it human ordinance, because the specification of it to this or that form, is, from the societies of mankind. I confess it may be called a human creature, in regard of its subject, which is a man, or men; or its end, which is to rule over men for the good of men; but the other seems more natural; and it induces no disparagement to authority, being so understood. But, however you take that place, yet the thing affirmed stands good; that God, by no word, binds any people to this or that form, till they, by their own act, bind themselves.

For the third: the same is to be said of it as of the second. Some particular men we find whom God was pleased, by his own immediate choice, to invest with this his ordinance of authority: Moses, Saul, David; yea, God, by his immediate ordinance, determined the government of that people to David's posterity, and made it successive; so that that people, (after his appointment and word was made known to them, and the room void by Saul's death,) was as immediately bound by divine law to have David, and his sons after him, to be magistrates, as to magistracy itself. But God hath not done so for every people: *a Scriptum est* cannot be alledged for the endowing this or that person, or stock, with sovereignty over a community. They alone had the privilege of an extraordinary word. All others have the ordinary and mediate hand of God to inthronize them. They attain this determination of authority to their persons, by the tacit and virtual, or else express and formal consent of that society of men they govern, either in their own persons, or the root of their succession; as I doubt not in the sequel it will be made appear. But let no man think that it is any lessening or weakening of God's ordinance in them, to teach that it is annexed to their persons by a human mean: for though it be not so full a title to come to it by the simple providence of God, as by the express precept of God; yet, when by the disposing hand of God's providence a right is conveyed to a person, or family, by the means of a publick fundamental oath, contract and agreement of a state, it is equivalent then to a divine word; and, within the bounds of that publick agreement, the conveyed power is as obligatory as if an immediate word had designed it. Thus it appears that they, which say there is *divinum quiddam* in sovereigns, and that they have their power from God, speak, in some sense, truth; as also they which say, that originally power is in the people, may in a sound sense be understood. And in these things we have Dr. Fern's consent, in his late discourse upon this subject. Sect. 3.

SECT. II.

Whether the End of Government be the People's Good.

FOR the end of magistracy: to set out that is no hard matter, if we consider what was looked at when God ordained it. That was, the good of the society of men over which it is set. So St. Paul, Rom. xiii. 4. *σοι εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν.* God aimed at it in the institution of government; and so do all men in the choice of it, where they may be choosers; such a government, and such persons to sway it, as may most conduce to publick weal. Also it is the measure of all the acts of the governor; and he is good or bad, according as he uses his power to the good of the state wherewith he is intrusted. That is the end, but not the sole end: the preservation of the power and honour of the governor is an end too; but I think not co-ordinate, but subordinate to the other: because, doubtless, in the constitution of government, that is first thought on, and this in congruity to that. Also the reason why the power and honour of the magistrate must be preserved, is for the publick society's sake, because its welfare depends thereon: and if it fall out that one of them must suffer, every good magistrate will descend something from his greatness, be it for the good of the community. On the other side, though every subject ought, for the honour and good of the magistrate, to give up his private; yet none ought to advance the greatness of his sovereign with the publick detriment. Whence, in my apprehension, the end of magistracy is the good of the whole body, head and members conjunctly; but, if we speak *divisim*, then the good of the society is the ultimate end; and next to that, as conducent to that, the governor's greatness and prerogative. And herein also accordeth Dr. Fern with us, Sect. 3, where he says, 'That the people are the end of the governing power.' There is another question of mainer concernment here, in our general discourse of authority, fitly to be handled, *viz.* How far subjection is due to it? But because it hath a great dependence on the kinds and states of power, and cannot be so well conceived without the precognition thereof, I will refer it to after opportunities.

SECT. III.

Division of Magistracy.

FOR the division of this power of magistracy: it cannot be well divided into several species; for it is one simple thing, an indivisible beam of divine perfection; yet, for our more distinct conceiving thereof, men have framed several distinctions of it. So, with respect of its measure, it is absolute or limited: in respect of its manner, it is (as St. Peter divides it) supreme or subordinate: in respect of its mean of acquiring, it is elective or successive; for I conceive that of conquest and prescription of usage are reducible to one of these, as will appear afterwards. In respect of its degrees, it is nomothetical or architectonical, and gubernative or executive: and in respect of the subject of its residence, there is an ancient and usual distinction of it into monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical. These either simple or mixed, of two, or all three together, of which the predominant gives the denomination. These are not accurate specificative divisions of power, for it admits none such, but partitions of it, according to divers respects. The course of my intention directs me to speak only of monarchical power, which is the chief and most usual form of government in the world; the other two being apt to resolve into this, but this not so apt to dissolve into them.

CHAP. II.

Of the Division of Monarchy into Absolute and Limited.

SECT. I.

Whether Absolute Monarchy be a lawful Government.

NOW we must know that most of these distinctions, which were applied to power in general, are applicable to monarchy; because the respects on which they arise are to be found in it. But I will insist on the three main divisions; for the handling of them will bring us to a clear understanding of what is needful to be known about monarchical power.

First, of the distinction of monarchy into absolute and limited.² Absolute monarchy is when the sovereignty is so fully in one, that it hath no limits or bounds under God, but his own will. It is when a people are absolutely resigned up, or resign up themselves to be governed by the will of one man. Such were the ancient eastern monarchies, and that of the Persian and Turk at this day, as far as we know. This is a lawful government, and therefore where men put themselves into this utmost degree of subjection by oath and contract, or are born and brought unto it by God's providence, it binds them, and they must abide it; because an oath to a lawful thing is obligatory. This, in Scripture, is very evident, as Ezek. xvii. 16, 18, 19, where judgment is denounced against the king of Judah, for breaking the oath made to the king of Babylon; and it is called God's oath; yet doubtless this was an oath of absolute subjection. And, Rom. xiii. the power, which then was, was absolute; yet the Apostle, not excluding it, calls it 'God's ordinance,' and commands subjection to it. So Christ commands tribute to be paid, and pays it himself: yet it was an arbitrary tax, the production of an absolute power. Also the sovereignty of masters over servants was absolute, and the same in œconomy as absolute monarchy is in policy: yet the Apostle enjoins not masters called to Christianity, to renounce that title, as too great and rigid to be kept; but exhorts them to moderation in the exercise of it; and servants to remain contented in the condition of their servitude. more might be said to legitimate this kind of government, but it needs not in so plain a case.

SECT. II.

Three Degrees of Absoluteness.

THIS absolute monarchy hath three degrees, yet all within the state of absoluteness. The first; when the monarch, whose will is the people's law, doth set himself no stated rule or law to rule by; but by immediate edicts and commands of his own will governs them, as in his own council's judgment he thinks fit. Secondly, When he sets down a rule and law by which he will ordinarily govern, reserving to himself liberty to vary from it, wherein and as often as in his discretion he judges fit: and in this the sovereign is as free as the former, only the people are at a more certainty what he expects from them in ordinary. Thirdly, When he not only sets down an express rule and law to govern by, but also promiseth and engages himself in many cases, not to alter that rule. But this engagement is an after condescent and act of grace, not dissolving the absolute oath of subjection, which went before it; nor is intended to be the rule of his power, but of the exercise of it, This ruler is not so absolute as the former in the use of his power, for he hath put a bond on that, which he cannot break without breach of promise; that is, without sin: but he

² [' This dyversitie (says sir John Fortescue) is well taught by Saynt Thomas, in hys boke which he wrote, *Ad regem Cipri de Regimine Principum*. But yet, it is more opynly treatid, in a boke callid, *Compendium moralis Philosophiæ*, and sumwhat by Gyls, in his boke, *De Regimine Principum*. ' Fortescue on Absolute and Limited Monarchy.]

is as absolute in his power, if he will sinfully put it forth into act. It hath no political bounds, for the people still owe him absolute subjection, that not being dissolved or lessened by an act of grace coming afterwards.

SECT. III.

Whether Resistance be lawful in absolute Monarchy.

NOW, in governments of this nature, how far obedience is due, and whether any resistance be lawful, is a question which here must be decided; for the due effecting whereof, we must premise some needful distinctions to avoid confusion. Obedience is two-fold: First, positive and active, when in conscience of an authority we do the thing commanded: Secondly, negative and passive, when, though we answer not authority by doing, yet we do it by contented undergoing the penalty imposed. Proportionably resistance is two-fold: First, positive, by an opposing of force: Secondly, negative, when only so much is done as may defend ourselves from force, without return of force against the assailant. Now, this negative resistance is also two-fold: First, in inferior and sufferable cases: Secondly, or in the supreme case, and last necessity of life and death; and then too, it is first either of a particular person or persons; secondly, or of the whole community. And if of particular persons, then either under plea and pretence of equity assaulted; or else without any plea at all, merely for will and pleasure's sake; for to that degree of rage and cruelty some times the heart of man is given over. All these are very distinguishable cases, and will be of use either in this or the ensuing disputes.

To the question, I say; First, positive obedience is absolutely due to the will and pleasure of an absolute monarch, in all lawful and indifferent things; because in such a state the will of the prince is the supreme law; so that it binds to obedience in every thing not prohibited by a superior, that is, divine law: for it is in such case the higher power, and is God's ordinance.

Secondly, When the will of an absolute monarch commands a thing forbidden to be done by God's law, then it binds not to active obedience; then is the Apostle's rule undoubtedly true, 'It is better to obey God than men:' for the law of the inferior gives place to the superior. In things defined by God, it should be all one with us, for the magistrate to command us to transgress that, as to command us an impossibility; and impossibilities fall under no law. But on this ground no man must quarrel with authority, or reject its commands as unlawful; unless there be an open unlawfulness in the face of the act commanded. For, if the unlawfulness be hidden in the ground or reason of the action, inferiors must not be curious to inquire into the grounds or reasons of the commands of superiors; for such license of inquiry would often frustrate great undertakings, which must depend on speed and secrecy of execution. I speak all this of absolute government, where the will and reason of the monarch is made the higher power, and its expression the supreme law of a state.

Thirdly, Suppose an absolute monarch should so degenerate into monstrous unnatural tyranny, as apparently to seek the destruction of the whole community, subject to him in the lowest degree of vassalage; then such a community may negatively resist such subversion. Yea, and if constrained to it by the last necessity, positively resist; and defend themselves by force against any instruments whatsoever employed for the effecting thereof. 1. David did so in his particular case, when pursued by Saul. He made negative resistance by flight; and doubtless he intended positive resistance against any instrument, if the negative would not have served the turn: else why did he so strengthen himself by forces? Sure not to make positive resistance, and lay violent hands upon the person of the Lord's anointed, as it appeared; yet for some reason he did it, doubtless; which could be none other, but by that force of arms to defend himself against the violence of any misemployed inferior hands. If then he might do it for his particular safety, much rather may it be done for the publick. 2. Such an act is without the compass of any of the most absolute potentate; and therefore to resist, in it, can be to resist no power, nor

the violation of any due of subjection. For, first, the most submiss subjection ever intended by any community, when they put themselves under another's power, was the command of a reasonable will and power: but to will and command the destruction of the whole body, over which a power is placed, were an act of will most unreasonable and self-destructive; and so not the act of such a will, to which subjection was intended by any reasonable creatures. Secondly, the publick good and being is aimed at in the utmost bond of subjection: for, in the constitution of unlimited sovereignty, though every particular man's good and being is subjected to the will of one supreme, yet certainly the conservation of the whole publick was intended by it; which being invaded, the intent of the constitution is overthrown, and an act is done which can be supposed to be within the compass of no political power. So that did Nero, as it was reported of him in his immanity, thirst for the destruction of whole Rome; and if he were truly what the senate pronounced him to be, *Humani generis hostis*, then it might justify a negative resistance of his person; and a positive of any agent should be set on so inhuman a service. And the united provinces are allowed in resisting Philip II. though he had been their absolute monarch, if he resolved the extirpation of the whole people, and the planting the country with Spaniards, as it is reported he did. And that assertion of some, that all resistance is against the Apostle's prohibition: resistance by power of arms is utterly unlawful; cannot be justified in such a latitude. But of this more will be spoken in the current of this discourse.

Fourthly, Suppose by such a power any particular person or person's life be invaded, without any plea of reason or cause for it, I suppose it hard to deny him liberty of negative resistance of power; yea, and positive, of any agents, in such assault of murder. For, though the case be not so clear as the former, yet it seems to me justified by the fact of David, and the rescuing of Jonathan from the causeless cruel intent of his father's putting him to death: as also such an act of will, carrying no colour of reason with it, cannot be esteemed the act of a rational will, and so no will intended to be the law of sovereignty. Not that I think a monarch of such absoluteness is bound to yield a reason why he commands any man to be put to death, before his command be obeyed; but I conceive the person so commanded to death may be justified before God and men for protecting himself by escape, or otherwise; unless some reason or cause be made known to him of such command.

Fifthly, Persons subject to an unlimited dominion must, without resistance, subject their estates, liberties, persons, to the will and pleasure of their lord, so it carry any plea or shew of reason and equity. First, it seems to me evident, 1 Pet. ii. 18, 19, 20; if well-doing be mistaken by the reason and judgment of the power for ill-doing, and we be punished for it: yet, the magistrate going according to his misguided reason, it is the command of a reasonable will, and so to be submitted to, because such a one suffers by law, in a state where the Lord's will is the law. Secondly, in commands of the power, where is the plea of reason and equity on the part of the commander; whether it be such indeed, some power must judge, but the constitution of absolute monarchy resolves all judgment into the will of the monarch, as the supreme law: so that, if his will judicially censure it just, it must be yielded to; as if it were just without repeal or redressment by any created power. And let none complain of this as a hard condition, when they or their ancestors have subjected themselves to such a power by oath or political contract. If it be God's ordinance to such, it must be subjected to, and its exorbitances borne, (as he says in Tacitus,) as men bear famine, pestilence, and other effects of God's displeasure.

Sixthly, In absolute monarchy, the person of the monarch is above the reach of just force and positive resistance: for such a full resignation of men's selves to his will and power, by the irrevocable oath and bond of political contract, doth make the person as sacred as the unction of Saul or David. In such a state, all lawful power is below him; so that he is incapable of any penal hand, which must be from a superior; or it is unjust.

I have been the longer on this absolute monarchy, because, though it doth not concern us, yet it will give light to the stating of doubts in governments of a more restrained nature; for what is true here, in the full extent of power, is there also as true within the compass of their power.

SECT. IV.

What makes a Monarchy limited.

IN moderate or limited monarchy, it is an inquiry of some weight to know, what it is which constitutes it, in the state of a limited monarchy?

First, A monarchy may be stinted in the exercise of its power, and yet be an absolute monarchy; as appeared before, in our distinction of absolute monarchy; if that bounds be a subsequent act, and proceeding from free will and grace in the monarch. For it is not the exercise, but the nature and measure of power, wherewith he is radically invested, which denominates him a free, or conditionate monarch.

Secondly, I take it, that a limited monarch must have his bounds of power *ab externo*; not from the free determination of his own will. And now kings have not divine words and binding laws to constitute them in their sovereignty, but derive it from ordinary providence; the sole mean hereof, is the consent and fundamental contract of a nation or men, which consent puts them in their power, which can be no more nor other than is conveyed to them by such contract of subjection. This is the root of all sovereignty individuated and existent in this, or that person, or family: till this come and lift him up, he is a private man, not differing in state from the rest of his brethren; but then he becomes another man, his person is sacred by that sovereignty conveyed to it, which is God's ordinance and image. The truth hereof will be more fully discovered, when we come to speak of elective and successive monarchy.

Thirdly, He is then a limited monarch, who hath a law, beside his own will, for the measure of his power. First, the supreme power of the state must be in him, so that his power must not be limited by any power above his; for then he were not a monarch, but a subordinate magistrate. Secondly, this supreme power must be restrained by some law according to which this power was given, and, by direction of which, this power must act; else he were not a limited monarch, that is, a liege sovereign, or legal king. Now, a sovereignty comes thus to be legal, or defined to a rule of law, either by original constitution, or by after condescent. By original constitution, when the society publick confers on one man a power by limited contract; resigning themselves to his government by such a law, reserving to themselves such immunities: in this case, they, which at first had power over themselves, had power to set their own terms of subjection; and he which hath no title of power over them, but by their act, can, *de jure*, have no greater than what is put over to him by that act. By after condescent, *viz.* when a lord, who by conquest, or other right, hath an absolute arbitrary power, but, not liking to hold by such a right, doth either formally or virtually desert it, and take a new legal right, as judging it more safe for him to hold by, and desirable of the people to be governed by. This is equivalent to that by original constitution; yea, is all one with it: for this is, in that respect, a secondary original constitution. But if it be objected, that this being a voluntary condescent, is an act of grace, and so doth not derogate from his former absoluteness, as was said before of an absolute monarch who confines himself to govern by one rule: I answer, this differs essentially from that; for there a free lord of grace yields to rule by such a law, reserving the fulness of power, and still requiring of the people a bond and oath of utmost indefinite subjection; so that it amounts not to a limitation of radical power; whereas here is a change of title, and a resolution to be subjected to, in no other way, than according to such a frame of government: and accordingly, no other bond or oath of allegiance is required or taken, than according to such a law:—this amounts to a limitation of radical power. And therefore they speak too generally, who affirm of all acts of grace proceeding from princes to people, as if they did not limit absoluteness. It is true, of acts of grace of that first kind;

but yet, you see an act of grace may be such a one, as may amount to a resignation of that absoluteness into a more mild and moderate power, unless we should hold it out of the power of an absolute lord to be other; or that by free condescent, and act of grace, a man cannot as well part with, or exchange his right and title to a thing, as define himself in the use and exercise, which I think none will affirm.

SECT. V.

How far Subjection is due in a limited Monarchy.

IN all governments of this allay and legal constitution, there are three questions of special moment to be considered:

First, How far subjection is due? As far as they are God's ordinance, as far as they are a power; and they are a power as far as the contract fundamental, from which, under God, their authority is derived, doth extend. As absolute lords must be obeyed as far as their will enjoins, because their will is the measure of their power, and their subjects' law; so these, in the utmost extent of the law of the land; which is the measure of their power, and their subjects' duty of obedience. I say so far, but I do not say no further; for I believe, though on our former grounds it clearly follows, that such authority transcends its bounds, if it command beyond the law; and the subject legally is not bound to subjection in such case: yet, in conscience, a subject is bound to yield to the magistrate, even when he cannot, *de jure*, challenge obedience, to prevent scandal, or any occasion of slighting the power which may sometimes grow, even upon a just refusal. I say, for these causes a subject ought not to use his liberty, but, *morem gerere*, if it be in a thing in which he can possibly without subversion, and in which his act may not be made a leading case, and so bring on a prescription against publick liberty.

SECT. VI.

How far it is lawful to resist.

SECONDLY, How far is it lawful to resist the exorbitant illegal commands of such a monarch? 1. As before in lighter cases, in which it may be done, for the reasons alledged, and for the sake of publick peace, we ought to submit and make no resistance at all, but, *de jure recedere*.

2. In cases of a higher nature, passive resistance, *viz.* by appeal to law, by concealment, by flight, is lawful to be made; because such a command is politically powerless, it proceeds not from God's ordinance in him; and so we sin not against God's ordinance in such non-submission, or negative resistance.

3. For instruments, or agents in such commands, if the streight be such, and a man be surprised, that no place is left for an appeal, nor evasion by negative resistance, I conceive, against such positive resistance may be made; because, authority failing, or this act in the supreme power, the agent or instrument can have none derived to him, and so is but in the nature of a private person, and his act as an offer of private violence, and so comes under the same rules for opposition.

4. For the person of the sovereign, I conceive it as well above any positive resistance, as the person of an absolute monarch; yea, though by the whole community, except there be an express reservation of power in the body of the state, or any deputed persons, or court, to use (in case of intolerable exorbitance) positive resistance; which if there be, then such a governor is no monarch; for that fundamental reservation destroys its being a monarchy, inasmuch as the supreme power is not in one. For, wherever there is a sovereign politick power constituted, the person or persons, who are invested with it, are sacred, and out of the reach of positive resistance or violence; which, as I said, if just, must be from no inferior, or subordinate hand. But it will be objected, that since every monarch hath his power from the consent of the whole body, that consent of the whole body hath a power above the power of the monarch, and so the

resistance, which is done by it, is not by an inferior power; and to this purpose is brought that axiom: *Quicquid efficit tale, est magis tale*. I answer: That rule, even in natural causes, is liable to abundance of restrictions, and in the particular in hand, it holds not. Where the cause doth bereave himself of that perfection by which it works, in the very act of causing, and convey it to that effect, it doth not remain more such, than the effect, but much less, and below it: as, if I convey an estate of land to another, it doth not hold, that after such conveyance I have a better estate remaining in me, than that other, but rather the contrary; because what was in one is passed to the other. The servant who, at the year of jubilee, would not go free, but have his ear bored, and giving his master a full lordship over him; can we argue, that he had afterward more power over himself, than his master, because he gave his master that power over him, by that act of œconomical contract? Thus the community, whose consent establishes a power over them, cannot be said universally to have an eminency of power above that which they constitute: sometimes they have, sometimes they have not; and to judge when they have, when not, respect must be had to the original contract, and fundamental constitution of that state. If they have constituted a monarchy, that is, invested one man with a sovereignty of power, and subjected all the rest to him, then it were unreasonable to say, they yet have it in themselves, or have a power of recalling that supremacy, which, by oath and contract, they themselves transferred on another; unless we make this oath and contract less binding than private ones, dissoluble at pleasure, and so all monarchs tenants at will from their people. But if they, in such constitution, reserve a power in the body to oppose and displace the magistrate for exorbitances, and reserve to themselves a tribunal to try him in; that man is not a monarch, but the officer and substitute of him, or them, to whom such power over him is referred or conferred. The issue is this: If he be a monarch, he hath the *Aper*, or *Culmen potestatis*; and all his subjects, *divisim* and *conjunctim*, are below him; they have divested themselves of all superiority, and no power left for a positive opposition of the person of him, whom they have invested.

SECT. VII.

Who shall be the Judge of the Excesses of the Monarch.

THIRDLY, who shall be the judge of the excesses of the sovereign lord, in monarchies of this composure? I answer: A frame of government cannot be imagined of that perfection, but that some inconveniences there will be possible, for which there can be provided no remedy: many miseries, to which a people under an absolute monarchy are liable, are prevented by this legal allay and definement of power. But this is exposed to one defect, from which that is free; that is, an impossibility of constituting a judge to determine this last controversy; *viz.* the sovereign's transgressing his fundamental limits. This judge must be either some foreigner, and then we lose the freedom of the state, by subjecting it to an external power in the greatest case; or else within the body. If so, then, 1. Either the monarch himself, and then you destroy the frame of the state, and make it absolute: for to define a power to a law, and then to make him judge of his deviations from that law, is to absolve him from all law. Or else, 2. The community and their deputies must have this power; and then, as before, you put the *aper potestatis*, the prime ἀρχή in the whole body, or a part of it, and destroy the being of monarchy; the ruler not being God's immediate minister, but of that power (be it where it will) to which he is accountable for his actions. So that I conceive, in a limited legal monarchy there can be no stated internal judge of the monarch's actions, if there grow a fundamental variance betwixt him and the community. But you will say, it is all one way to absoluteness to assign him no judge, as to make him his own judge.

Answ. I say not simply in this case, there is no judge; but that there can be no judge legal and constituted within that frame of government; but it is a transcendent case beyond the provision of that government, and must have an extraordinary judge and way of decision.

In this great and difficult case, I will deliver my apprehensions freely and clearly, submitting them to the censure of better judgments. Suppose the controversy to happen in a government fundamentally legal, and the people no further subjected than to government by such a law:

1. If the act, in which the exorbitance and transgression is supposed to be, be of lesser moment, and not striking at the very being of that government, it ought to be borne by publick patience, rather than to endanger the being of the state, by a contention betwixt the head and body politick.

2. If it be mortal, and such as, suffered, dissolves the frame and life of the government and publick liberty: then the illegality and destructive nature is to be set open, and redressment sought by petition; which if failing, prevention by resistance ought to be. But first, that it is such, must be made apparent; and if it be apparent, and an appeal made *ad conscientiam generis humani*, especially of those of that community; then the fundamental laws of that monarchy must judge and pronounce the sentence in every man's conscience; and every man (as far as concerns him) must follow the evidence of truth in his own soul, to oppose, or not oppose, according as he can in conscience acquit or condemn the act of carriage of the governor. For I conceive, in a case which transcends the frame and provision of the government they are bound to, people are unbound, and in state as if they had no government; and the superior law of reason and conscience must be judge; wherein every one must proceed with the utmost advice and impartiality. For, if he err in judgment, he either resists God's ordinance, or puts his hand to the subversion of the state and policy he lives in.

And this power of judging, argues not a superiority in those who judge, over him who is judged; for it is not authoritative and civil, but moral, residing in reasonable creatures, and lawful for them to execute, because never divested and put off by any act in the constitution of a legal government, but rather the reservation of it intended. For when they define the superior to a law, and constitute no power to judge of his excesses from that law, it is evident they reserve to themselves, not a formal authoritative power, but a moral power, such as they had originally before the constitution of the government; which must needs remain, being not conveyed away in the constitution.

CHAP. III.

Of the Division of Monarchy into Elective and Successive.

SECT. I.

Elective and Successive Monarchy what they are.

THE second division of monarchy, which I intend to treat of, is that of elective or successive. 'Elective Monarchy' is that, where, by the fundamental constitution of the state, the supreme power is conveyed but to the person of him whom they take for their prince; the people reserving to themselves power, by men deputed by the same constitution, to elect a new person on the decease of the former. 'Successive' is, where, by the fundamental constitution of the state, the sovereignty is conferred on one prince; and in that one, as a root and beginning to his heirs, after a form and line of succession, constituted also by the fundamentals of that government. In the first, the people's oath and contract of subjection extends but to one person: in the other, to the whole race and line of successors; which continuing, the bond of subjection continues; or which failing, the people return to their first liberty of choosing a new person, or succession to be invested with sovereignty.

SECT. II.

All Monarchy whether originally from Consent.

I DO conceive that in the first original all monarchy, yea any individual frame of government whatsoever, is elective: that is, is constituted, and draws its force and right

from the consent and choice of that community over which it swayeth. And that triple distinction of monarchy into that which is gotten by conquest, prescription, or choice, is not of distinct parts; unless by choice be meant, full and formal choice. My reason is, because man, being a voluntary agent, and subjection being a moral act, it doth essentially depend on consent; so that a man may by force and extremity be brought under the power of another, as unreasonable creatures are, to be disposed of, and trampled on, whether they will or no: but a bond of subjection cannot be put on him, nor a right to claim obedience and service acquired, unless a man become bound by some act of his own will. For, suppose another, from whom I am originally free, be stronger than I, and so bring me under his mercy; Do I therefore sin, if I do not what he commands me? Or can that act of violence pass into a moral title, without a moral principle?

SECT. III.

Monarchy by Divine Institution.

BUT this will be more manifest, if by induction I shew, how other titles resolve into this. I will begin with that of divine institution. Saul and David were, by the sacrament of anointing, designed to the kingdom, as it were by God's own hand; which notwithstanding, they were not actually kings, till the people's consent established them therein. That unction was a manifestation of the appointment of God, and when it was made known to the people, I think it had the power of precept, to restrain the people's choice to that person; which if they had not done, they had resisted God's ordinance. Yet they were not thereby actually endowed with kingly power, but remained as private men, till the people's choice put them in actual possession of that power; which in David was not till after many years.

SECT. IV.

Monarchy by Prescription.

THEN for that usage or prescription if any such did ever constitute a monarchy, it was by virtue of an universal consent by that usage and prescription proved and implied. For in a popular state, where one man in the community, by reason of great estate, wisdom, or other perfection, is in the eye of all the rest, all reverence him, and his advice they follow; and the respect continues from the people to the house and family, for divers generations. In this case, subjection at first is arbitrary in the people; and, if in time it become necessary, it is because their custom is their law; and its long continuance is equivalent to a former election: so that this tenure and right, if it be good and more than at pleasure, as it was at first; the considerate must needs ascribe it to a consent, and implicit choice of the people.

SECT. V.

Monarchy by Conquest. Whether Conquest give a just title.

BUT the main question is, concerning monarchy achieved by conquest; where, at first sight, the right seems gotten by the sword, without the consent and choice of the people; yea, against it. Conquest is either, first, total; where a full conquest is made, by a total subduing a people to the will of the victor: or, secondly, partial; where an entrance is made by the sword. But the people, either because of their right claimed by the invader, or their unwillingness to suffer the miseries of war, or their apparent inability to stand out in a way of resistance, or some other consideration, submit to a composition and contract of subjection to the invader. In this latter it is evident the sovereign's power is from the people's consent; and the government is such as the contract and fundamental agreement makes it to be, if it be the first agreement, and the pretender hath no former title which remains in force; for then this latter is invalid, if it in-

clude not, and amount to, a relinquishing and disannulling of the old. But the difficulty is concerning a full and mere conquest: and of this I will speak my mind clearly. Such a war and invasion of a people, which ends in a conquest; first, it is either upon the pretence or claim of a title of sovereignty over the people invaded: and then, if the pretender prevail, it is properly no conquest; but the vindication of a title by force of arms: and the government is not original, but such as the title is, by which he claims it. Secondly, or it is by one who hath no challenge of right descending to him, to justify his claim and invasion of a people: then, if he subdue, he may properly be said to come to his government by conquest.

And there be who wholly condemn this title of conquest as unlawful, and take it for nothing else but a national and public robbery: so one of the answerers to Doctor Fern says in his p. 10. 'Conquest may give such a right as plunderers use, to take in houses they can master.—It is inhuman to talk of right of conquest in a civil, in a christian state.' But I cannot allow of so indefinite a censure: rather, I think, the right of conquest is such as the precedent war was; if that were lawful, so is the conquest; for a prince may be invaded, or so far injured by a neighbouring people, or they may be set on such a pernicious enmity against him and his people, that the safety of himself and people may compel to such a war; which war, if it end in conquest, who can judge such title unlawful? Suppose then conquest may be a lawful way of acquisition, yet an immediate cause of right of sovereignty; that is, of a civil power of government to which obedience is due, it cannot be: I say, an immediate cause; for a remote impulsive cause it often is, but not an immediate formal cause; for that must ever be the consent of the people, whereby they accept of, and resign up themselves to a government, and then their persons are morally bound, and not before. Thus far the force of conquest may go: it may give a man title over, and power to possess and dispose of the country and goods of the conquered; yea, the bodies and lives of the conquered are at the will and pleasure of the conqueror: but it still is at the people's choice to come into a moral condition of subjection, or not. When they are thus at the mercy of the victor, if, to save life, they consent to a condition of servitude or subjection, then that consent, oath or covenant, which they in that extremity make, being *in re licita*, binds them, and they owe moral duty. But if they would rather suffer the utmost violence of the conqueror, and will consent to no terms of subjection, (as *Numantia* in *Spain*, and many other people have resolved,) they die, or remain, a free people. Be they captived or possessed at pleasure, they owe no duty, neither do they sin in not obeying; nor do they resist God's ordinance, if at any time of advantage they use force to free themselves from such a violent possession: yea, perhaps, if before by contract they were bound to another, they should sin, if, to avoid death or bondage, they should swear and covenant fealty to a conqueror; and it were more noble and laudable to die in the service, and for the faith to their natural sovereign. Thus, I am persuaded, it will appear an uncontrollable truth in policy, that the consent of the people, either by themselves or their ancestors, is the only mean in ordinary providence, by which sovereignty is conferred on any person or family: neither can God's ordinance be conveyed, and people engaged in conscience by any other means.

SECT. VI.

Whether a Monarch by Succession may not be limited.

IT hath been affirmed by some, that mixture and limitation is inconsistent to successive monarchy, as if, wherever sovereignty is entailed to a succession, it must needs be absolute: but I must profess I cannot see how it can stand with truth. Rather I think, that both elective and hereditary monarchy are indifferently capable of absoluteness or limitation. If a free and not pre-engaged people to any government, by public compact, yield up themselves to a person, to be commanded by his will as their supreme law, during his natural life, and no longer; can it be denied, but that he is an absolute, and yet elective

monarch? Unless you will say he is not absolute, because he cannot, by his will (as by a law) bind them to elect his son to succeed him, and change their government into hereditary. But his being limited in this clause doth not disparage his sovereignty, or make his power of government limited; because this belongs not to present government, but is a mere provision for the future. Again, if the power of ruling according to a law, be, by consent, conveyed to one person, and his heirs to succeed after him; how this should come to be absolute, and the entailment should overthrow the constitution, I cannot imagine. If the whole latitude of power may be by a people made hereditary, sure a proportion may as well; unless the limitation be such as includes a repugnancy to be perpetual. Indeed, this instating of a succession makes that power irrevocable, during the continuance of that succession: but it makes it neither greater nor less in the successor than was in his progenitors from whom he derives it.

SECT. VII.

IN a successive monarchy, the successor holds by the original right of him who is the root of succession, and is *de jure* king, the immediate instant after his predecessor's decease: also the people are bound to him, though they never take any oath to his person. For, as he commands in virtue of the original right, so they are bound to obey by virtue of the original covenant, and national contract of subjection: the new oath, taken by king or people, is but a reviving of the old, that the conscience of it, by renewing, might be the more fresh and vigorous; it neither gives any new power, nor adds nor detracts from the old, unless by common agreement an alteration be made; and so the foundation in that clause is new, which cannot be without the consent of both parties.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Division of Monarchy into Simple and Mixed.

SECT. I.

Simple and mixed Monarchy, what.

THE third division is into simple and mixed. Simple, is when the government, absolute or limited, is so intrusted in the hands of one, that all the rest is by deputation from him, so that there is no authority in the whole body but his, or derived from him. And that one is either individually one person, and then it is a simple monarchy; or one associate body, chosen either out of the nobility, whence the government is called a simple aristocracy; or out of the community, without respect of birth or state, which is termed a simple democracy. The supreme authority, residing exclusively in one of these three, denominates the government simple, which ever it be.

Now experience teaching people, that several inconveniencies are in each of these, which is avoided by the other: as aptness to tyranny in simple monarchy, aptness to destructive factions in an aristocracy, and aptness to confusion and tumult in a democracy. As on the contrary, each of them hath some good which the others want, *viz.* unity and strength in a monarchy; counsel and wisdom in an aristocracy; liberty and respect of common good in a democracy. Hence the wisdom of men deeply seen in state matters guided them to frame a mixture of all three, uniting them into one form; that so the good of all might be enjoyed, and the evil of them avoided. And this mixture is either equal, when the highest command in a state, by the first constitution of it, is equally seated in all three; and then (if firm union can be in a mixture of equality) it can be called by the name of neither of them but by the general style of 'a mixed state:' or if there be priority of order in one of the three (as I think there must be, or else there can be no unity) it may take the name of that which hath the precedency. But the firmer union is, where one of the three is predominant, and in that regard gives the denomination

to the whole: so we call it 'a mixed monarchy,' where the primity of share in the supreme power is in one.

SECT. II.

What it is which constitutes a mixed Monarchy.

NOW I conceive to the constituting of mixed monarchy, (and so proportionately it may be said of the other)

1. The sovereign power must be originally in all three, *viz.* If the composition be of all three, so that one must not hold his power from the other, but all equally from the fundamental constitution; for, if the power of one be original, and the other derivative, it is no mixture; for such a derivation of power to others is the most simple monarchy. Again, the end of mixture could not be obtained; for why is this mixture framed, but that they might confine each other from exorbitance, which cannot be done by a derivative power; it being unnatural, that a derivative power should turn back, and set bounds to its own beginning.

2. A full equality must not be in the three estates, though they are all sharers in the supreme power; for, if it were so, it could not have any ground in it to denominate it a monarchy, more than an aristocracy or democracy.

3. A power then must be sought wherewith the monarch must be invested, which is not so great as to destroy the mixture, nor so titular as to destroy the monarchy; which I conceive may be in these particulars:

1. If he be the head and fountain of the power which governs and executes the established laws, so that both the other states, as well *conjunctim* as *divisim*, be his sworn subjects, and owe obedience to his commands, which are according to the established laws.

2. If he hath a sole or chief power in capacitating and putting those persons or societies in such states and conditions, as whereunto such supreme power by the foundations of the government doth belong, and is annexed; so that though the aristocratical and democratical power, which is conjoined to his, be not from him: yet the definement and determination of it to such persons is from him, by a necessary consecution.

3. If the power of convocating or causing to be put in existence, and dissolving such a court of meeting of the two other estates as is authoritative, be in him.

4. If his authority be the last and greatest, though not the sole, which must establish and add a consummation to every act: I say, these, or any of these, put into one person, make that state monarchical, because, the other, though they depend not on him *quoad essentiam & actus formales*, but on the prime constitution of the government, yet, *quoad existentiam & determinationem ad subjecta*, they do.

The supreme power being either the legislative, or the gubernative, in a mixed monarchy; sometimes the mixture is the seat of the legislative power, which is the chief of the two: the power of constituting officers for government by those laws being left to the monarch; or else the primacy of both these powers is jointly in all three. For, if the legislative be in one, then the monarchy is not mixed but simple, for that is the superior; if that be in one, all else must needs be so too. By legislative, I mean the power of making new laws, if any new be needful to be added to the foundation; and the authentic power of interpreting the old; for I take it, this is a breach of the legislative, and is as great, and in effect the same power.

SECT. III.

EVERY mixed monarchy is limited; but it is not necessary that every limited should be mixed. For the prince in a mixed monarchy, were there no definement of him to a law but only this: that his legislative acts have no validity without the allowance and joint authority of the other; this is enough to denominate it exactly a limited monarchy: and so much it must have, if it be mixed. On the other side, if in the foundations of his government he be restrained to any law besides his own will, he is a limited monarch;

though that both the legislative and gubernative power (provided he exceed not those laws) be left in his own hands: but then the government is not mixed.

SECT. IV.

How far the Prince's Power extends in a mixed Monarchy.

Now concerning the extent of the prince's power, and the subject's duty in a mixed monarchy, almost the same is to be said, which was before in a limited. For it is a general rule in this matter: such as the constitution of government is, such is the ordinance of God; such as the ordinance is, such must our duty of subjection be. No power can challenge an obedience beyond its own measure; for, if it might, we should destroy all rules and differences of government, and make all absolute and at pleasure. In every mixed principality,

First, Look what power is solely intrusted and committed to the prince by the fundamental constitution of the state, in the due execution thereof all owe full subjection to him, even the other estates; being but societies of his subjects bound to him by oath of allegiance, as to their liege lord.

Secondly, Those acts belonging to the power which is stated in a mixed principle, if either part of that principle, or two of the three undertake to do them, it is invalid; it is no binding act: for in this case all three have a free negative voice; and take away the privilege of a negative voice, so that, in case of refusal, the rest have power to do it without the third, then you destroy that third, and make him but a looker-on: so that, in every mixed government, I take it, there must be a necessity of concurrence of all three estates in the production of acts belonging to that power, which is committed in common to them. Else, suppose those acts valid which are done by any major part, (that is, any two of the three,) then you put it in the power of any two, by a confederacy at pleasure, to disannul the third, or suspend all its acts, and make it a bare cipher in government.

Thirdly, In such a composed state, if the monarch invade the power of the other two, or run in any course tending to the dissolving of the constituted frame, they ought to employ their power in this case to preserve the state from ruin; yea, that is the very end and fundamental aim in constituting all mixed policies: not that they, by crossing and jarring, should hinder the publick good; but that, if one exorbitate, the power of restraint and providing for the publick safety, should be in the rest; and the power is put into divers hands, that one should counterpoise and keep even the other: so that, for such other estates, it is not only lawful to deny obedience and submission to illegal proceedings, (as private men may,) but it is their duty; and by the foundations of the government they are bound to prevent the dissolution of the established frame.

Fourthly, The person of the monarch, even in these mixed forms (as I said before in the limited) ought to be above the reach of violence in his utmost exorbitances. For, when a people have sworn allegiance, and invested a person or line with supremacy, they have made it sacred; and no abuse can divest him of that power, irrevocably communicated. And while he hath power in a mixed monarchy, he is the universal sovereign, even of the other limiting states: so that being above them, he is *de jure* exempt from any penal hand.

Fifthly, That one inconvenience must necessarily be in all mixed governments, which I shewed to be in limited governments; there can be no constituted, legal, authoritative judge of the fundamental controversies arising betwixt the three estates. If such do arise, it is the fatal disease of these governments, for which no *salvo* can be prescribed. For the established being of such authority would, *ipso facto*, overthrow the frame, and turn it into absoluteness: so that, if one of these, or two, say their power is invaded, and the government assaulted by the other, the accused denying it, it doth become a controversy. Of this question there is no legal judge: it is a case beyond the possible provision of such a government. The accusing side must make it evident to every man's conscience. In this case, which is beyond the government, the appeal must be to the community, as if there

were no government ; and as, by evidence, men's consciences are convinced, they are bound to give their utmost assistance: for the intention of the frame, in such states, justifies the exercise of any power, conducing to the safety of the universality and government established.

PART II.

Of this particular Monarchy.

CHAP. I.

Whether the Power, wherewith our Kings are invested, be an absolute, or limited and moderated Power?

SECT. I.

HAVING thus far proceeded in general, before we can bring home this to a stating of the great controversy, which now, our sins, God's displeasure, and evil turbulent men, have raised up, in our lately most flourishing, but now most unhappy kingdom: we must first look into the frame and composure of our monarchy; for till we fully are resolved of that, we cannot apply the former general truths, nor on them ground the resolution of this ruining contention.

Concerning the essential composure of this government, that it is monarchical, is by none to be questioned: but the inquiry must be about the frame of it. And so there are seven great questions to be prosecuted.

First, Whether it be a limited monarchy, or absolute? Here the question is, not concerning power in the exercise, but the root and being of it; for none will deny, but that the way of government used, and to be used in this realm, is a defined way: only some speak, as if this definement was an act of grace from the monarchs themselves, being pleased at the suit, and, for the good of the people, to let their power run into act through such a course and current of law; whereas, if they at any time should think fit, on great causes, to vary from that way, and use the full extent of their power, none ought to contradict, or refuse to obey. Neither is it the question, Whether they sin against God, if they abuse their power, and run out into acts of injury at pleasure, and violate those laws which they have, by public faith and oath, promised to observe: for none will deny this to be true, even in the most absolute monarch in the world. But the point controverted is punctually this, Whether the authority, which is inherent in our kings, be boundless and absolute, or limited and determined; so that the acts which they do, or command to be done, without that compass and bounds, be not only sinful in themselves, but invalid and non-authoritative to others?

SECT. II.

Now, for the determining hereof, I conceive, and am in my judgment persuaded, That the sovereignty of our kings is radically and fundamentally limited, and not only in the use and exercise of it; and am persuaded so on these grounds and reasons:

First, Because the king's majesty himself, who best knows, by his council, the nature of his own power, says, 'That³ the law is the measure of his power;' which is as full a concession of the thing as words can express. If it be the measure of it; then his power is limited by it: for the measure is the limits and bounds of the thing limited. And in his answer to both houses concerning the militia, speaking of the men named to him, says, 'If more power should be thought fit to be granted to them, than by law is in the crown itself, his majesty holds it reasonable, that the same be by some law first vested in him, with power to transfer it to those persons,' &c. In which passage it is granted,

³ Declaration from Newmarket, Mart 9, 1641.

that the powers of the crown are by law, and that the king hath no more than are vested in him by law.

Secondly, Because it is in the very constitution of it mixed, (as I shall afterwards make it appear,) then it is radically limited; for, as I shewed before, every mixed monarchy is limited, though not on the contrary: for the necessary connection of other power to it is one of the greatest limitations. A subordination of causes doth not ever prove the supreme cause of limited virtue; a co-ordination doth always.

Thirdly, I prove it from the ancient, ordinary, and received denominations: for the king's majesty is called our liege, that is, legal sovereign; and we his liege, that is, his legal subjects. What do these names argue, but that his sovereignty and our subjection are legal; that is, restrained by law?

Fourthly, Had we no other proof, yet that of prescription were sufficient. In all ages, beyond record, the laws and customs of the kingdom have been the rule of government: liberties have been stood upon, and grants thereof, with limitations of royal power, made and acknowledged by *Magna Charta*, and other publick and solemn acts; and no obedience acknowledged to be due, but that which is according to law; nor claimed, but under some pretext or title of law.

Fifthly, The very being of our common and statute laws, and our kings acknowledging themselves bound to govern by them, doth prove and prescribe them limited: for those laws are not of their sole composing, nor were they established by their sole authority, but by the concurrence of the other two estates; so that, to be confined to that which is not merely their own, is to be in a limited condition.

Some⁴ there be which have lately written on this subject, who take another way to prove our government limited by law, *viz.* By denying all absolute government to be lawful; affirming, that absolute monarchy is not at all God's ordinance, and so no lawful power secured from resistance. What is their ground for this? God allows no man to rule as he lists, nor puts men's lives in the pleasure of the monarch: it is a power arbitrary and injurious. But I desire those authors to consider, that in absolute monarchy, there is not a resignation of men to any will or list, but to the reasonable will of the monarch, which having the law of reason to direct it, is kept from injurious acts. But see, for defence of this government, Part I. Cap. ii.

SECT. III.

HAVING set down those reasons on which my judgment is settled on this side, I will consider the main reasons whereby some have endeavoured to prove this government to be of an absolute nature, and will shew their invalidity. Many divines (perhaps inconsiderately, perhaps wittingly for self ends,) have been, of late years, strong pleaders for absoluteness of monarchical power in this land; and pressed obedience on the consciences of people in the utmost extremity, which can be due in the most absolute monarchy in the world: but I seldom, or never, heard or read them make any difference of powers, but usually bring their proofs from those Scriptures, where subjection is commanded to the higher powers, and all resistance of them forbidden, and from examples taken out of the manner of the government of Israel and Judah; as if any were so impious to contradict those truths, and they were not as well obeyed in limited government, as in absolute; or, as if examples, taken out of one government, do always hold in another, unless their aim was to deny all distinction of governments, and to hold all absolute, who have any where the supreme power conveyed to them.

Amongst these, I wonder most at that late discourse of Dr. Fern, who (in my judgment) avoucheth things inconsistent, and evidently contradictory one to the other. For in his preface he acknowledges our obedience to be limited and circumscribed by the laws of the land, and accordingly to be yielded or denied to the higher power; and that he is

⁴ Pleaders for Defensive Arms, Sect. ii. & iv.

as much against an absolute power in the king, and to raise him to an arbitrary way of government, as against resistance on the subjects part: also that his power is limited by law, Sect. v. Yet, on the other side, he affirms, that the king holds his crown by conquest; that it is descended to him by three conquests, Sect. ii.; that even our senate of parliament hath not so much plea for resistance, as the ancient Roman senate had under the Roman emperors, whose power we know was absolute, Sect. ii.; that in monarchy, the judgment of many is reduced to one; that monarchy settles the chief power and final judgment in one, Sect. v. What is this but to confess him limited, and yet to maintain him absolute?

But let us come to the arguments. First, say they, our kings came to their right by conquest; yea, says the doctor, by three conquests: he means, the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, as appears afterwards: therefore their right is absolute. Here, that they may advance themselves, they care not, though it be on the ruin of publick liberty, by bringing a whole nation into the condition of conquered slaves. But to the argument: 1. Suppose the antecedent true, the consecution is not always true: for, as it is evident in the first part, all conquest doth not put the conqueror into an absolute right. He may come to a right by conquest; but not sole conquest, but a partial, occasioning a right by final agreement; and then the right is specified by that fundamental agreement. Also, he may by the sword prosecute a claim of another nature; and, in his war, intend only an acquiring of that claimed right, and, after conquest, rest in that. Yea, farther, he may win a kingdom merely by the sword, and enter on it by the right of conquest; yet, considering that right of conquest hath too much of force in it to be safe and permanent; he may think conquest the best means of getting a kingdom, but not of holding, and, in wisdom for himself and posterity, gain the affections of the people, by deserting that title, and taking a new by politick agreement; or descend from that right by fundamental grants of liberties to the people, and limitations to his own power: but these things I said, in effect, before, in the first part; only here I have recalled them, to shew what a *non sequitur* there is in the argument.

But that which I chiefly intend, is to shew the infirmity or falsehood of the antecedent; it is an assertion most untrue in itself, and pernicious to the state: our princes profess no other way of coming to the crown, but by right of succession to rule free subjects, in a legal monarchy. All the little shew of proof, these assertors have, is from the root of succession: so William commonly called 'The Conqueror.' For that of the Saxons was an expulsion, not a conquest; for, as our histories record, they, coming into the kingdom, drove out the Britons, and by degrees planted themselves under their commanders, and no doubt continued the freedom they had in Germany; unless we should think, that by conquering they lost their own liberties to the kings, for whom they conquered, and expelled the Britons into Wales. Rather I conceive, the original of the subject's liberty was by those our fore-fathers brought out of Germany: where, (as Tacitus⁵ reports,) *nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas*; 'their kings had no absolute, but limited power;' and all weighty matters were dispatched by general meetings of all the estates. Who sets not here the antiquity of our liberties, and frame of government? So they were governed in Germany, and so here, to this day; for, by transplanting themselves, they changed their soil, not their manners and government. Then, that of the Danes, indeed, was a violent conquest; and, as all violent rules, it lasted not long: when the English expelled them, they recovered their countries and liberties together. Thus it is clear, the English liberty remained to them, till the Norman invasion, notwithstanding that Danish interruption. Now for Duke William, I know nothing they have in him, but the bare style of conqueror, which seems to make for them. The very truth is, (and every intelligent reader of the history of those times will attest it,) that Duke William pretended the grant and gift of King Edward, who died without children; and he came with forces into this kingdom, not to conquer, but make good his title against his enemies. His end of

⁵ Tacit. de Morib. Germ. Sect. 3 & 5.

entering the land was not to gain a new absolute title, but to vindicate the old limited one, whereby the English-Saxon kings, his predecessors, held this kingdom. Though his title was not so good, as it should be, yet it was better than Harold's; who was the only son of Goodwyn⁶, steward of King Edward's house: whereas, William was cousin to Emma, mother to the said King Edward; by whom he was adopted, and by solemn promise of King Edward was to succeed him: of which promise, Harold himself became surety, and bound by oath to see it performed. Here was a fair title; especially Edgar Atheling, the right heir being of tender age, and disaffected by the people. Neither did he proceed to a full conquest, but after Harold, who usurped the crown, was slain in battle, and none to succeed him: the throne being void, the people chose rather to submit to William and his title, than endure the hazard of ruining war, by opposing him, to set up a new king. It is not to be imagined, that such a realm as England could be conquered by so few, in such a space, if the people's voluntary acceptance of him, and his claim, had not facilitated and shortened his undertaking.

Thus we have it related in Mr. Camden, that before Harold usurped the crown most men thought it the wisest policy to set the crown on William's head, that by performing the oath and promise, a war might be prevented: and that Harold, by assuming the crown, provoked the whole clergy and ecclesiastical state against him; and we know how potent in those days the clergy were in state affairs. Also that, after one battle fought wherein Harold was slain, he went to London, was received by the Londoners, and solemnly inaugurated king; as unto whom, by his own saying, the kingdom was by God's providence appointed; and, by virtue of a gift from his lord and cousin King Edward the Glorious, granted: so that, after that battle, the remainder of the war was dispatched by English forces and leaders. But suppose he did come in a conqueror; yet he did not establish the kingdom on these terms, but on the old laws, which he retained and authorised for himself, and his successors to govern by. Indeed, after his settlement in the kingdom, some Norman customs he brought in, and (to gratify his soldiers) dispossessed many English of their estates, dealing in it too much like a conqueror; but the trial by twelve men, and other fundamentals of government, wherein the English freedom consists, he left untouched, which have remained till this day. On the same title, he claimed and was inaugurated, was he king, which was a title of rightful succession to Edward: therefore he was indeed king, not as conqueror, but as Edward's successor; and on the same right, as he and his predecessors held the crown. As also, by the grant of the former laws, and form of government, he did equivalently put himself and successors into the state of legal monarchs: and, in that tenure, have all the kings of this land held the crown till this day; when these men would rake up, and put a title of conquest upon them, which never was claimed or made use of by him, who is the first root of their succession.

SECT. IV.

ANOTHER reason, which they produce, is the successive nature of this monarchy; for, with them, to be elective and limited, and to be successive and absolute, are equipollent: they conceive it impossible, that a government should be hereditary, and not absolute. But I have enough made it appear, Part I. Chap. ii. Sect. 6. that succession doth not prove a monarchy absolute from limitation, though it proves its absolution from interruption and discontinuance, during the being of that succession to which it is defined. And that which they object, that our kings are actually so, before they take the oath of governing by law; and so they would be, did they never take that oath. Wherefore, it is no limitation of their royal power, is there also answered in the next section; and that so fully, that no more need be said. The same law, which gives the king his crown immediately upon the decease of his predecessor, conveys it to him with the same determinations and prerogatives annexed, with which his progenitors enjoyed it; so that,

⁶ *Camden. Britan. Norman.*

he entering on that original right, his subjects are bound to yield obedience, before they take any oath; and he is bound to the laws of the monarchy, before he actually renews the bond by any personal oath. There is yet another argument usually brought to this purpose, taken from the oath of allegiance; but of that I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

CHAP. II

Supposing it to be in the Platform limited, wherein, and how far forth, it is limited and defined.

I CONCEIVE it fundamentally limited in five particulars:

First, In the whole latitude of the nomothetical power; so that their power extends not to establish any act, which hath the being and state of a law of the land; nor give an authentic sense to any law of a doubtful and controverted meaning, solely and by themselves, but together with the concurrent authority of the two other estates in parliament.

Secondly, In the governing power there is a confinement to the fundamental common laws, and to the superstructive statute laws, by the former concurrence of powers enacted, as to the rule of all their acts and executions.

Thirdly, In the power of constituting officers and means of governing; not in the choice of persons, (for that is intrusted to his judgment, for aught I know,) but in the constitution of courts of judicature; for, as he cannot judge by himself, or officers, but in courts of justice, so those courts of justice must have a constitution by a concurrence of the three estates; they must have the same power to constitute them, as the laws which are dispensed in them.

Fourthly, In the very succession: for, though succession has been brought as a medium to prove the absoluteness of this government, yet, if it be more thoroughly considered, it is rather a proof of the contrary; and every one, who is a successive monarch, is so far limited in his power, that he cannot leave it to whom he pleases, but to whom the fundamental law concerning that succession hath designed it. And herein, though our monarchy be not so limited, as that of France is said to be, where the king cannot leave it to his daughter, but to his heir male, yet restrained it is: so that, should he affect another more, or judge another fitter to succeed, yet he cannot please himself in this, but is limited to the next heir born, not adopted, nor denominated; which was the case betwixt Queen Mary and the Lady Jane.

Lastly, In point of revenue; wherein their power extendeth not to their subjects estates, by taxes and impositions to make their own what they please, as hath been acknowledged by *Magna Charta*, and lately by the Petition of Right, the case of Ship-money, Conduct-money, &c. nor, as I conceive, to make an alienation of any lands, or other revenues annexed by law to the crown. I meddle not with personal limitations, (whereby kings, as well as private men, may limit themselves by promise and covenant,) which, being particular, bind only themselves; but with those which are radical, and have continued, during the whole current of succession, from unknown times. Other limitations, it is likely, may be produced by those who are skilful in the laws; but I believe they will be such, as are reducible to some of these, which I take to be the principal and most apparent limitations of this monarchy, and are a most convincing induction to prove my assertion in the former chapter, 'That this monarchy, in the very mould and frame of it, is of a limited constitution.'

CHAP. III.

Whether it be of a simple, or mixed Constitution.

SECT. I.

WHEN the government is simple, when mixed; also where the mixture must be, which denominates a mixed government, is explained, Part I. Chap. iii. Now I conceive it a clear and undoubted truth, that the authority of this land is of a compounded and mixed nature, in the very root and constitution thereof; and my judgment is established on these grounds:

First, It is acknowledged to be a monarchy mixed with aristocracy in the house of peers, and democracy in the house of commons. Now (as before was made appear, in the first part,) it is no mixture, which is not in the root and supremacy of power; for, though it have a subordination of inferior officers, and though the powers inferior be seated in a mixed subject; yet that makes it not a mixed government, for it is compatible to the simplest in the world to have subordinate mixtures.

Secondly, That monarchy, where the legislative power is in all three, is, in the very root and essence of it, compounded and mixed of those three; for that is the height of power, to which the other parts are subsequent and subservient: so that, where this resideth in a mixed subject, (that is, in three distinct concurrent estates,) the consent and concurrence of all most free, and none depending on the will of the other, that monarchy is, in the most proper sense, and in the very model of it, of a mixed constitution. But such is the state of this monarchy, as appears in the former question, and is self-apparent.

Thirdly, That monarchy, in which three estates are constituted, to the end that the power of one should moderate and restrain from excess the power of the other, is mixed in the root and essence of it; but such is this, as is confessed in the answer to the said propositions. The truth of the major will appear, if we consider how many ways provision may be made, in a political frame, to remedy and restrain the excesses of monarchy. I can imagine but three ways: First, by constituting a legal power above it, that it may be regulated thereby, as by an over-ruling power. Thus we must not conceive of our two houses of parliament, as if they could remedy the exorbitances of the prince by an authority superior to his; for this were to subordinate him to the two houses, to set a superior above the sovereign; that is, to destroy the being of his monarchical power. Secondly, by an original conveyance to him of a limited and legal power, so that beyond it he can do no potestative act; yet constituting no formal legal power to refrain, or redress his possible exorbitances: here is limitation, without mixture of another constituted power. As the former of these overthrows the power of the sovereign, so this makes no provision for the indemnity of the people. Thirdly, now the never-enough-to-be-admired wisdom of the architects and contrivers of the frame of government in this realm (whoever they were) have found a third way, by which they have conserved the sovereignty of the prince; and also made an excellent provision for the people's freedom, by constituting two estates of men, who are for their condition subjects, and yet have that interest in the government, that they can both moderate and redress the excesses and illegalities of the royal power, which (I say) cannot be done but by a mixture, that is, by putting into their hands a power to meddle in acts of the highest function of government; a power not depending on his will, but radically their own, and so sufficient to moderate the sovereign's power.

SECT. II.

NOW what can reasonably be said in opposition to these grounds, proving a fundamental mixture, I cannot devise. Neither indeed is a mixture in the government denied

by the greatest patrons of irresistibility; only such a mixture they would fain make it, which might have no power of positive resistance. I will therefore set down what they probably may or do object to this purpose, and will shew the invalidity thereof.

Objection 1. This mixture seems not to be of distinct powers, but of a power and a council: authority in the prince to give power to acts, and counsel in the two houses to advise and propose wholesome acts; as if the royal power alone did give life to the law: only he is defined in this power, that he cannot animate any act to the being of a law, but such as is proposed unto him by this great and legislative council of parliament. *Sol.* This were probable, supposing the parliament were only in the nature of a council; but we know it is also a court, the high court of parliament. Now it is evident that a court is the seat and subject of authority and power, and not barely of counsel and advice.

Obj. 2. The two houses, together with the king, are the supreme court of the kingdom; but, taken divisely from the king, it is no court, and consequently hath no power. *Sol.* Suppose them no entire court divided from the king, yet they are two estates of the three which make up the supreme court; so that they have a power and authority, though not complete and sufficing to perfect an act, without the concurrence of the third. For it appears by the acts of that court, that every of the three estates hath a legislative power in it; every act being enacted by the 'King's most excellent majesty,' and by the 'Authority of the lords and commons assembled in parliament.'

SECT. III.

Obj. 3. **T**HEY have an authority, but in subordination to the king, and derived from him, as his parliament. Indeed, this is a main question, and hath very weighty arguments on both sides, 'Whether the authority of both the houses be a subordinate authority, and derived from the king as its original?' Three reasons seem strong for the affirmative. First, Because it is his parliament, so called and acknowledged. If his court, then the power whereby they are a court is his power, derived from him, as the power of other courts is. Secondly, Because he hath the power of calling and dissolving it. Thirdly, Because he is acknowledged in the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to be the head, and of supreme authority in the kingdom, and all subject to him.

And whereas some make answer, That he is *singulis major*, but *universis minor*, (so the answerer to doctor Fern⁷;) I wonder that the proposition of the observator, that the king is *universis minor*, should be so much exploded. Every member *seorsim* is a subject, but all *collectim* in their houses are not: and he says simply, The houses are co-ordinate to the king, not subordinate; that the lords style *comites*, or peers, implies in parliament a co-ordinative society with his majesty in the government. I conceive this answerer to avoid one extreme falls on another; for this is a very overthrow of all monarchy, and to reduce all government to democracy: for look, where the *apex potestatis* is, there is the government. Also, it is against common reason: for the king, Is he not king of the kingdom? And what is the kingdom but all united? All the particulars knit together in one body politick? So that, if he be king of the kingdom, he is *universis major* too; for the king is *major*, and the kingdom is the united universe of the people. Thus those expressions are some of them false, some (though *secundum quid*) true; yet spoken simply, and in that manner, are scandalous, and incompatible to monarchy. Thus you see what may be said on the one side, to prove the king to be the original of all power, even of that which is in the houses of parliament assembled.

On the other side are as weighty arguments to prove the contrary, *viz.* That the two houses authority is not dependant, nor derived from the royal power. First, The authority of the houses, being legislative, is the supreme; and so cannot be derived. Three concurrent powers producing one supreme act, as con-cause, joint causes of the same highest effect, cannot have a subordination among themselves in respect of that causality: it not being imaginable how a power can cause the supreme effect, and yet be a subordinate and derived power. Secondly, The end of constituting these two estates being the

⁷ Treatise, intituled, 'A fuller Answer to Dr. Fern.'

limiting and preventing the excesses of the third, their power must not be totally dependent, and derived from the third; for then it were unsuitable for the end for which it was ordained. For to limit an agent, by a power subordinate and depending on himself, is all one as to leave him at large without any limitation at all. Thirdly, That which hath been spoken of a mixed monarchy, doth fully prove, that the two other powers which concur with the monarch, to constitute the mixture, must not be altogether subordinate to it, and derived from it. I must profess these reasons to prevail with me, that I cannot conceive how the authority of the two houses can, in the whole being of it, be a dependent and derived power.

SECT. IV.

THAT we may find out the truth amidst this potent contradiction of both sides, recourse must be had to the architecture of this government; whereof I must declare myself to be so great an admirer, that whatever more than human wisdom had the contriving of it, whether done at once, or by degrees found out and perfected, I conceive it unparalleled for exactness of true policy in the whole world; such a care for the sovereignty of the monarch, such a provision for the liberty of the people; and that one may be justly allayed, and yet consist without impeachment of the other; that I wonder how our fore-fathers, in those rude unpolished times, could attain such an accurate composure.

First, Then, suppose a people, either compelled to it by conquest, or agreeing to it by free consent, nobles and commons, set over themselves by publick compact one sovereign, and resign up themselves to him and his heirs, to be governed by such and such fundamental laws: there is a supremacy of power set up, though limited to one course of exercise.

Secondly, Then, because in all governments after-cases will come, requiring an addition of laws, suppose them covenanting with their sovereign, that, if cause be to constitute any other laws, he shall not by his sole power do that work; but they reserve at first, or afterwards it is granted them (which is all one) a hand of concurrence therein, that they will be bound by no laws, but what they join with him in the making of.

Thirdly, Because, though the nobles may personally convene, yet the commons (being so many) cannot well come together by themselves to the doing of such a work, it be also agreed, that every corporation of the commons shall have power to depute one or more to be for the whole in this publick legislative business; that so, the nobles by themselves, the commons by their deputies assembling, there may be representatively the whole body, having commission to execute that reserved authority for establishing new laws.

Fourthly, Because the occasion and need of making new laws, and authentic expounding the old, would not be constant and perpetual, and it would carry an appearance of a government in which were three heads and chief powers: they did not establish these estates to be constantly existent, but occasionally; as the causes, for which they were ordained, should emerge and happen to be.

Fifthly, Because a monarchy was intended, and therefore a supremacy of power (as far as possible) must be reserved for one, it was concluded that these two estates should be assemblies of his subjects sworn to him, and all former laws; the new, which by agreement of powers should be enacted, were to be his laws, and they bound to obey him in them as soon as established. And it being supposed, that he who was to govern by the laws, and for the furtherance of whose government the new laws were to be made, should best understand when there was need; and the assembling and dissolving the two estates meeting, was a power of great privilege; it was put into the prince's hand, by writ, to convoke and bring to existence, and to adjourn and dismiss such meetings.

Sixthly, In process of time, princes not caring much to have their government looked into, or to have any power in act but their own, took advantage of this power of convo-

cating these estates, and did more seldom, than need required, make use of it; whereon provision was made, and a time set, within which an assembly of parliament was to be had. Now, when you have made these suppositions in your mind, you have the very model and platform of this monarchy; and we shall easily find what to answer to the arguments before produced on either side. For, first, It is his parliament, because an assembly of his subjects, convoked by his writ, to be his council, to assist him in making laws for him to govern by: yet not his, as other courts are, altogether deriving their whole authority from the fulness which is in him. Also his power of assembling and dissolving proves him thus far above them, because in their existence they depend on him; but their power and authority, *quoad specificationem*, the being and kind of it, is from original constitution: for they expect no commission and authority from him, more than for their meeting and reducing into existence; but existing they work according to the privileges of their constitution; their acts proceeding from their conjunct authority with the king's, not from its subordination to the king's. The oath of allegiance binds them, and respects them as his subjects, to obey him, governing according to established laws. It supposes and is built upon the foundations of this government, and must not be interpreted to overthrow them. He is thereby acknowledged to be supreme, so far as to rule them by laws already made, not so far as to make laws without them, so that it is no derogation to their power; and, I believe, of these things none can make any question. Therein consists the accurate judgment of the contrivers of this form: they have given so much into the hands of the sovereign, as to make him truly a monarch; and they have reserved so much in the hands of the two estates, as to enable them to preserve their own liberty.

CHAP. IV.

How far forth it is mixed; and what Parts of the Power are referred to a mixed Principle.

I SHALL be the briefer in this, because an answer to it may be easily collected out of the precedent questions. For he who knows how far this government is limited, will soon discern how far it is mixed; for the limitation is mostly affected by the mixture. But distinctly, I conceive that there are three parts of the power referred to the joint concurrence of all three estates: so that, either of them not consenting or suspending its influence, the rest cannot reduce that power ordinarily and legally into act.

The first is the nomothetical power; understanding by it the power of making, and authentically expounding laws: so that I believe an act cannot have the nature and form of a law of the land, if it proceed from any one or two of these, without the positive concurrence of the third.

Secondly, The power of imposing taxes and payments on men's estates. That the king, by himself, cannot assume men's properties, by requiring impositions not granted him by law, is often confessed: and that the other estates cannot do it by themselves, I conceive it as unquestionable. For it were strange to give that to the secondary and assisting powers, which is denied to the sovereign and principal. If it be objected that every corporation electing deputies, and authorising them to be *vice totius communitatis*, do thereby grant them power, and intrust them as to make laws to bind them; so to dispose of any part of their estate, either by a rate or payment for the publick good. I answer, that they are by that deputation enabled as for one, so for the other; that is, according to the fundamental usage of the kingdom; that is, by the joint consent of the other estates: for, though the house of commons is chosen by the people, and they represent the people, yet the representation doth not give them a power which was not in the people. Now the people have no power to do an act which either directly, or by consequence, doth put it in the will and pleasure of any one or two of the estates, to overthrow the other; but this

power of opening and shutting the purse of the kingdom is such a power, that if it be in one or two of the estates, without the third, then they by that power might necessitate that other to do any act, or disable it from its own defence. This and the legislative power have such a nearness, that they cannot be divided, but must be in the same subject. This is so great a power, that, put it absolutely in any estate single, you make that estate in effect absolute, making the rest dependent and beholden to it for their subsistence.

Thirdly, The power of dispatching the affairs of the kingdom, which are of greatest difficulty and weight, the *ardua regni*, which the writ for convocating the other estates doth mention, supposing thereby that such difficulties are not to be dispatched by the power of one alone; for if they were, Why then are the two other convocated to be assisting? I acknowledge many matters of great moment may be done by the regal power, and in such case it may be said, that the other estates are gathered *ad melius transigendum*; that the advice and sense of the community may be for direction. But I conceive there be two sorts of affairs, which ought not to be transacted without the concurrence of all three. First, Such as concern the publick safety and weal, so far as stable detriment or advantage comes to the whole body, by the well or ill carriage thereof; for then there is the same reason as in making new laws. For why was not the power of making any new laws left in the hands of one, but reserved for the concurrence of all three? Save because the ends of the architects was, that no new thing, which was of so much concernment as the stable good and damage of the kingdom, should be introduced without the consent and advice of the whole. So that, if any business be of that moment, that it is equipollent to a law in the publick interest, it should be managed by such an authority and way as that is. Secondly, Such as introduce a necessity of publick charge, (be it matter of war or else,) if to the effecting of it the purse of the kingdom be required, it is evident that it ought to be done by the concurrence of all; because they only jointly (as appears before) have power to impose a publick charge on the estates of men. And it were all one to put the power of our estates in the hands of one, as to put the power of such undertakings in his sole hands, which of necessity bring after them an engagement of publick expense.

CHAP. V.

How far forth the Two Estates may oppose and resist the Will of the Monarch.

SECT. I.

THIS question is, in the general, already handled in the first part; so that it will be easy to draw those answers there to this particular here. Therefore, conformably to what I then affirmed, I will answer this question by divers positions.

First, The monarch working according to his power, not exceeding the authority which God and the laws have conferred on him, is no way to be opposed either by any or all his subjects, but in conscience to God's ordinance obeyed. This is granted on all sides.

Secondly, If the will and command of the monarch exceed the limits of the law, it ought for the avoidance of scandal and offence to be submitted to, so it be not contrary to God's law; nor bring with it such an evil to ourselves, or the publick, that we cannot be accessory to it by obeying. This also will find no opposition. Disobedience in light cases, in which we are not bound, makes an appearance of slighting the power, and is a disrespect to the person of the magistrate. Therefore Christ, to avoid such offence, would pay tribute, though he tells Peter, He was free, and need not have done it.

Thirdly, If he command a thing which the law gives him no authority to command, and if it be such as would be inconvenient to obey; in this case obedience may lawfully be denied. This also finds allowance from them which stand most for royal power. Doctor Fern, in his preface, acknowledges obedience to be limited and circumscribed by the established laws of the land, and accordingly to be yielded or denied. And sect. i. says he, ' We may and ought to deny obedience to such commands of the prince as are un-

lawful by the law of God; yea, by the established laws of the land.' Here he says more than we say, yea more than should be said, as appears in the second position: it is not universally true, that we ought.

Fourthly, If he exceed the limits of the law, and proceed in courses illegal, means there are which it is agreed upon the subjects may use to reduce him to legal government; so much doctor Fern allows, sect. iv. Cries to God, petition to the prince, denial of obedience, denial of subsidy, &c.

Fifthly, But the point in controversy is about positive and forcible resistance; the lawfulness of which some do utterly deny, and others do as confidently maintain. But yet this point might be brought to a narrower state than, in the confused handling of it, it usually is: by distinguishing betwixt forcible resistance used against the king's own person, or against inferior officers and instruments, advising to, or executing the illegal commands.

SECT. II.

FOR the first, as I have before expressed myself, force ought not to be used against the person of the sovereign, on any pretence whatever, by any or all his subjects, even in limited and mixed monarchies. For, if they be truly monarchs, they are irrevocably invested with sovereignty, which sets their persons above all lawful power and force. Also, the sovereign power being so conferred on that person, the person and power cannot be really sundered, but the force, which is used to the one, must also violate the other; for power is not in the sovereign as it is in inferior officers: as water is otherwise in the spring than in the channels, and pipes deriving it. It is not inseparably in them, and therefore, they offending, force may be used against them without violation of the ordinance or authority. These arguments prove it unlawful in any. That, which the doctor brings, I approve as strong against all private force, where he allows defence against the person of the prince himself, so far as to ward his blows, but not to return blows; no, though for natural defence: because the commonwealth is concerned in his person, sect. ii. And to divert a private evil, by inducing a publick, is unjust and unlawful: so that, for this point of force against the person of the prince, I think there ought to be no contention. If any have been so rash to hold it lawful on these grounds, that the whole kingdom is above him, because they make him king, and that by miscarriage he may make a forfeiture, and so lay himself open to force; I do judge these grounds very insufficient, unless the kingdom reserve a superiority to itself, or there be a fundamental clause of forfeiture on specified causes; and then it is not properly a monarchy. But all this hath been already handled in the general part.

Secondly, For instruments of oppression of publick liberty, if the wrong be destructive, and no other means of prevention, but force, be left: I am persuaded it may be used, and positive resistance made against them. And if I find any contradiction, from the most rigid patrons of royalty, it must be only in this point. And here I must complain of the indistinct dealing of that doctor in this matter; who mingleth both these points together, and scarce speaks any thing to resolve men's consciences in this, but speaks either in general, or else in force against the prince's own person. Whereas I think, the case, which sticks most on the conscience at this time, is this latter: of opposing misleading and misemployed subjects; which he speaks very little to. Nay, he seems to me, after all his disclaiming of resistance; to come home to us; and, though sparingly, yet to assent to the lawfulness of resistance in this point. For sect. ii. speaking of David's guard of armed men; he says, 'It was to secure his person against the cut-throats of Saul, if sent to take away his life.' He means to secure it by force; for soldiers are for force. He means no negative securing by flight, for that may be done even against Saul himself: but he speaks of such a securing, which might only be against cut-throats. So then he grants securing by force against these: but they went on Saul's command, and mostly with his presence. Again, in the instance of Elisha, he seems to acknowledge the lawfulness of personal defence against the sudden and illegal assaults of messengers; he means

by force, for he speaks of such which he will not allow in publick, which can be understood of none, but by force. But it appears the doctor, in his whole discourse, hath avoided this point of resistance of misemployed subjects; which yet is the alone point which would have given satisfaction: for, before it appears, we agree in all the rest, and in this too for aught I know; he having not distinctly said any thing against it.

SECT. III.

Whether Resistance of Instruments of Will be lawful.

NOW, concerning this case of forcible resistance of inferior persons misemployed to serve the illegal, destructive commands of the prince, I will do two things. 1. I will maintain my assertion by convincing arguments. 2. I will shew the invalidity of what is said against it.

This, then, is my assertion. The two estates in parliament may lawfully, by force of arms, resist any persons, or number of persons, advising or assisting the king in the performance of a command illegal and destructive to themselves or the publick.

First, Because that force is lawful to be used for the publick conversation, which is no resistance of the ordinance of God, for that is the reason condemning the resistance of the powers. Now, this is no resistance of God's ordinance; for, by it, neither the person of the sovereign is resisted, nor his power: not his person, for we speak of agents employed; not of his own person, nor his power, for the measure of that, in our government, is acknowledged to be the law. And therefore he cannot confer authority beyond law; so that those agents, deriving no authority from him, are mere instruments of his will, unauthorised persons, in their assaults robbers, and (as Dr. Fern calls them) cut-throats. If the case be put, What if the sovereign himself, in person, be present with such assailants, joining his personal assistance in the execution of his commands? It is much to be lamented, that the will of the prince should be so impetuous in any subverting act, as to hazard his own person in the prosecution of it: yet, supposing such a case, all counsels and courses must be taken, that no violence be offered to his person, and profession of none intended. But no reason the presence of his person should privilege ruining instruments from suppression, and give them an impunity to spoil and destroy subjects, better than themselves. His person being secured from wrong, his power cannot be violated in such an act, in which none of it can be conferred on the agents. And sure David, though he avoided laying hands, or using any violence against the person of Saul, and on no extremity would have done it; yet, for the cut-throats about him, if no other means would have secured him, he would have rescued himself by force from their outrage, though Saul was in their company; else what intended he by all the force of soldiers, and his inquiry of God at Keilah? By which it is plain, he had an intent to have kept the place by force, if the people would have stuck to him. Neither is it to the purpose which the doctor says, sect. ii. 'That his example was extraordinary, because he was 'anointed, and designed to succeed Saul;' for that, being but a designation, did not exempt him from the duty of subjection, for the present, or lessen it; as is plain by the great conscience he made of not touching Saul. But he knew it was one thing to violate Saul's person and power, and another to resist those instruments of tyranny, the cut-throats which were about him.

Secondly, Because, without such power of resistance in the hands of subjects, all distinction and limitation of government is vain, and all forms resolve into absolute and arbitrary; for that is so which is unlimited: and that is unlimited not only which hath no limits set, but also which hath no sufficient limits; for to be strained from doing what I will, by a power which can restrain me no longer, nor otherwise than I will, is all one; as if I were left at my own will. I take this to be clear. Now it is as clear, that unless this forcible resistance of instruments of usurped power be lawful, no sufficient limits can be to the prince's will, and all laws bounding him are to no purpose. This appears, by enumerating the other means, prayer to God, petition to the prince, denial of obedience,

denial of subsidy, a moderate use of the power of denying, as doctor Fern calls it. These are all: but what are these to hinder, if a prince be minded to overthrow all, and bring the whole government to his own will? For prayer and petition, these are put in, to fill up the number: they are no limitations; they may be used in the most absolute monarchy. For denial of obedience, that may keep me from being an instrument of public servitude; but princes' wills never want them which will yield obedience, if I deny it: yea, enough to destroy all the rest, if nothing be left them but to suffer. Then, for denial of subsidy, if he may, by thousands of instruments, take all, or what he or they please, and I must not resist: What need he care whether the people deny or grant, if a prince be taught that he may do it? Cases and reasons will soon be brought to persuade him, that in them he may lawfully do it, as late experiences have given us too much testimony. Thus it is apparent, that the denial of this power of resistance of instruments overthrows and makes invalid all government, but that which is absolute; and reduces the whole world *de jure* to an absolute subjection, that is, servitude: for the end of all constitution of moderated forms is not, that the supreme power might not lawfully exorbitate, but that it might have no power to exorbitate.

The doctor is conscious hereof, and therefore tells us, in his sect. v. 'This is the very reason which is made for the pope's power of curbing and deposing kings in case of heresy; because else the church (says the papist) hath no means for the maintenance of the Catholic faith, and its own safety.' But who sees not the vast difference betwixt these two? And that the same reason may be concluding here, which is apparently non-concluding there? For, 1. They thereby would draw to the pope an authoritative power, we know no such superior power, but only a power of resistance for self-conservation, which nature and the law of reason gives to every one, and may stand with the condition of subjection and inferiority. 2. They, on this reason, give the pope a power over the very person of the king, we only of resisting of unauthorised invading destroyers, coming under the colour of an authority which is not in the sovereign to be derived. 3. They prove a civil right for spiritual reasons, we only for civil reasons. 4. The church and the faith are constituted in their very formal being from Christ himself, who is the head and great shepherd immediately in his own person; and, as it is his own family, so he keeps the power of preserving it in his own hands, having made direct and particular promises to assure us of their upholding against all subversion by his own power; so that here is assurance enough without visible means of force for a spiritual body, which lives by faith. But in a civil state there is no such assurance, nor supporting promises; power only, in the undefined being of it, being God's immediate ordinance, and not in this specified or determinate being: wherefore it hath no such immediate provision made for its preservation, no promise of a divine power for its standing. But as it is left by God to men's wisdom to contrive the frame, so to their providence to establish means of preservation.

As the body is outward and civil, so the upholding means must be such; spiritually and infallibly assuring a formed state hath not, as the church and faith have: if there be none of outward force and power neither, then none at all it hath, and is in ill case indeed. But there is an art full of venom, when a truth cannot be beaten down by just reasoning, then to make it odious by hateful comparisons. So in this case aspersions are cast, as if the patrons of resistance did borrow the popish and jesuitical grounds, and their positions as dangerous to kings, as the Jesuits hell-bred and bloody principles: whereas it appears, by all this discourse, (and I am persuaded is written in capital letters in the very consciences of them which despihtfully object it,) that there is no congruity at all betwixt their doctrines, no more than betwixt light and darkness.

Thirdly, Because such power is due to a publick state for its preservation, as is due to a particular person. But every particular person may lawfully, by force, resist illegal destructive ministers, though sent by the command of a legal sovereign; provided no other means of self-preservation be enough. This assumption the doctor seems to grant: he denies it to be lawful against the person of the prince; but, in effect, yields it against subordinate persons. But the main is against the proposition; and the doctor is so heavy

a friend to the state, that he thinks it not fit to allow it that liberty he gives every private man. But whose judgment will concur with his herein, I cannot imagine; for sure the reason is greater: the publick safety being far more precious and able to satisfy the damages of a publick resistance, than one particular man's is of a private. But of this more in answer to his reasons.

Fourthly, Because it is a power put into the two estates by the very reason of their institution; and therefore they not only may, but also ought to use it for publick safety: yea, they should betray the very trust reposed in them, by the fundamentals of the kingdom, if they should not. An authority legislative they have. Now, to make laws, and to preserve laws, are acts of the same power: yea, if three powers jointly have interest in making of laws, surely either of these severally have, and ought to use that power in preserving them. Also, that the authority which the houses have is as well given them for preserving the government by established laws, as for establishment of laws to govern by, is a truth proved by the constant use of their power to that end; in correcting the exorbitance of inferior courts, and questioning delinquent judges and officers of state for violations; and much is done in this kind by the sole authority of the houses, without the concurrence or expectance of royal power. So then, supposing they have such an authority for safety of publick government, to question or censure inferior officers for transgressions, though pretending the king's authority; can it be denied but that their authority will bear them out to use forcible resistance against such, be they more or fewer?

Fifthly, The king's warrant, under his hand, exempts not a malefactor from the censure of a court of justice, nor punishment imposed by law, but the judge must proceed against him according to law: for the law is the king's public and authoritative will; but a private warrant to do an unlawful act, is his private and unauthoritative will: wherefore, the judge ought to take no notice of such warrant, but to deal with the offender as no other than a private man. This proves that such instruments, thus illegally warranted, are not authorised, and therefore their violence may be, by force, resisted (as the assaults of private men) by any; and then much rather by the houses of parliament: which, supposing them divided from the king to have no complete authority, yet, sure they have two parts of the greatest legislative authority. But I fear I shall seem superfluous, in producing arguments to prove so clear a truth. Is it credible that any one will maintain so abject an esteem of their authority, that it will not extend to resistance of private men, who should endeavour the subversion of the whole frame of government, on no other warrant than the king's will and pleasure? Must they be merely passive? Is patience, and the denial of their votes to a subversion, all the opposition they must use, if a king (which God forbid) should, on his royal pleasure, send cut-throats to destroy them as they sit in their houses? Is all their authority (if the king desert them or worse) no more than to petition, and suffer; and, by a moderate use of their power of denying, dissent from being willing to be destroyed? If the power of resisting by force subverters armed by the king's will (for by his authority they cannot) be unlawful for them, all these absurdities must follow. Yea, the vilest instrument of oppression, shewing but a warrant from the king to bear him out, may range and rage all his days through a kingdom, to waste and spoil, tax and distrain, and at the utmost of his insolence, must have no more done to him by the parliament itself, than to stay his hand, as the basest servant may his master's, or the meanest subject the king's own hand, by the doctor's own confession. Consider then, and admire, if any man of learning will deny this power of forcible resistance of ministers, of subverting commands to be lawful. I have, thus far, confirmed my assertion, not that I find any openly opposing it, but because the doctor and some others seem to have a mind that way, and do strike at it, though not professedly and in open dispute.

For the several proofs brought in behalf of resistance, some of them prove as much as is here asserted; others are not to the purpose. Particularly that of the people's rescuing Jonathan from his father's bloody resolution, proves the lawfulness of hindering unreasonable self-destructive purposes, even in absolute monarchies, if it prove any thing. That

of Uzzah's thrusting out by the priests, is not to the purpose ; but David's raising and keeping forces about him, and his purpose at Keilah, proves the point directly ; viz. lawfulness of forcible resistance of cut-throats, even though Saul himself were in presence. This the doctor sees plainly, and therefore shuffles it off, by saying, ' His example is extraordinary : ' as if he were not a present subject, because he was designed by God's revealed counsel to be a future king. And he confesses Elisha's example, of shutting the door against the king's messenger, proves personal defence against sudden illegal assaults of messengers ; which is the thing in question.

SECT. IV.

Arguments on the contrary dissolved.

LET us now view the strength of what is said against resistance, whether any thing comes home against this assertion. The doctor's proofs from the Old Testament come not to the matter. Moses, and afterwards the kings, were of God's particular designation, setting them absolutely over the people, on no condition or limitation ; so that, did they prove any thing, yet they concern not us, respecting a government of another nature : but particularly, that of Corah, and the princes, rebelling against Moses, is not to the matter. It was a resistance of Moses's own person and office ; and, doubtless, penury of other proofs caused this, and the rest here, to be alleged. For that, 1 Sam. viii. 18, how inconsequent is it to say, The people should cry unto the Lord ; therefore they had no other means to help them but cries to God : though, I confess, in that monarchy they had not. That speech, 1 Sam. xxvi. 9, was most true there, and is as true here, but not to the purpose, being spoken of the king's own person. But the main authority, brought against resistance, is that Rom. xiii ; and on that Dr. Fern builds his whole discourse. Let us therefore something more largely consider what is deduced out of that text : First, He supposes the king to be the supreme in St. Peter, and the higher power in St. Paul. Secondly, He collects all persons, every soul is forbidden to resist. Thirdly, That then was a standing senate, which, not long before, had the supreme power in the Roman state, it is confessed ; but that they could challenge more at that time when St. Paul writ, than our great council will or can, I deny : for, that state devolving into monarchy by conquest, they were brought under an absolute monarchy ; the senate itself swearing full subjection to the prince ; his edicts and acts of will were laws, and the senate's consent only *pro forma*, and at pleasure required. He who reads Tacitus, cannot but see the senate brought to a condition of basest servitude, and all laws and lives depending on the will of the prince. I wonder then the doctor should make such a parallel. Indeed the senate had been far more than ever our parliaments were, or ought to be ; but now, that was far less than our parliament hath been, or, I hope, ever will be. They were become the sworn vassals of an absolute emperor ; ours, the sworn subjects of a liege or legal prince. Fourthly, he says, then was more cause of resistance, when kings were enemies to religion, and had overthrown laws and liberties. I answer, there were no causes for resistance ; not their enmity to religion, had they but a legal power, because religion then was no part of the laws, and so its violation was no subversion of established government. And, for the overthrow of laws and liberties, that was past and done, and the government new, the senate and all the rest actually sworn to absolute principality. Now an ordinance of absolute monarchy was constituted ; the sacred bond of an oath had made it inviolate. But what would he infer hence, all being granted him ? Sure this he doth intend, that every soul amongst us, several, and conjoined in a senate, must be subject for conscience ; must not resist, under pain of damnation. All this, and whatever besides he can justly infer out of this text, we readily grant. But can any living man hence collect, that therefore no resistance may be made to fellow-subjects, executing destructive illegal acts of the prince's will in a legal monarchy ? Will he affirm that the ordinance of God is resisted, and damnation incurred thereby ? God's ordinance is the power, and the person invested with that power ; but here, force is offered to neither, as before I have

made it appear. And herein we have Bishop Bilson consenting, where he says, ⁸ 'That the superior power, here forbidden to be resisted, is not the prince's will against his laws, but agreeing with his laws.' I think the day itself is not more clear than this satisfaction, to all that can be concluded out of that text; so the foundation of all that discourse is taken from it, if his intent was thence to prove unlawfulness of resistance of instruments of arbitrariness in this kingdom.

Let us also consider the force of his reasons, whether they impugn this point in hand. He says, such power of resistance would be no fit means of safety to a state, but prove a remedy worse than the diseases. His reasons, 1. Because it doth tend to the overthrow of that order, which is the life of a commonwealth; it would open a way to people, upon the like pretences, to resist, and even overthrow power duly administered. 2. It may proceed to a change of government. 3. It is accompanied with the evils of civil war. 4. On the same ground the two houses proceed against the king, may the people proceed to resistance against them, accusing them not to discharge their trust. Lastly, seeing some must be trusted in every state, it is reason the highest and final trust should be in the highest power. These are his main reasons on which he builds his conclusion against resistance.

To his first, I say, it were strange, if resistance of destructive disorder should tend to the overthrow of order. It may, for the time, disturb; as physick, while it is in working, disturbs the natural body, if the peccant humours make strong opposition; but sure it tends to health, and so doth this resistance of disorder to order. Neither would it open a way for the people to violate the powers; for doing right can open no way to the doing of wrong. If any wicked seditious spirits should make use of the veil of justice to cover unnatural rebellion, shall a people's right and liberty be taken from them to prevent such possible abuse? Rather let the foulness of such pretences discover itself, so God and good men will abhor them; such clokes of rebellion have, in former ages, been taken off, and the authors brought to just confusion, without the expense of the liberties of this kingdom.

To the second, must not instruments be resisted, which actually intend, and seek a change of government, because such resistance may proceed to a change of government? Is not an unlikely possibility of change to be hazarded, rather than a certain one suffered? But I say, it cannot proceed to a change of government, unless it exceed the measure of lawful resistance: yea, it is impossible that resistance of instruments should ever proceed to a change of government; for that includeth the greatest resistance and violation of the person and power of the monarch, the lawfulness of which I utterly disclaim.

Thirdly, It is not ever accompanied with the evils of civil war, but when the prince's will finds enough instruments of their country's ruin to raise it; and then the mischiefs of that war must light on those which raise it. But suppose it may ensue, yet a temporary evil of war is to be chosen rather than a perpetual loss of liberty, and subversion of the established frame of a government.

In the fourth, I deny the parity of reason: for the two houses are bodies constituted and endowed with legislative authority, and trust of preservation of the frame, by the fundamentals of the kingdom; which the people, out of those houses, are not. Again, the government being composed of a threefold consenting power, one to restrain the exorbitance of another; all three together are absolute and equivalent to the power of the most absolute monarch. The concurrent will of all three makes a law, and so it is the kingdom's law.

To the last, I answer, in every state some must be trusted, and the highest trust is in him who hath the supreme power. These two, the supreme trust, and the supreme power, are inseparable; and such as the power is, such is the trust; an absolute power supposes an absolute trust! A power, allied with the connexion of another power, as here it is, supposeth a trust of the same nature: a joint trust, yet, saving the supremacy of the monarch, so far forth as it may be saved, and not be absolute, and the other's authority

⁸ Bilson of Subjection, p. 94 and 280.

nullified. It may be further argued, That it being the prerogative royal to have the managing of the sword, that is, legal force in the kingdom; none can, on any pretence whatever, use lawful force, either against him, or any, but by his will; for it is committed to him by law, and to none but whom he assigns it to: so that the laws of the kingdom, putting all power of force and arms into his trust, have placed him, and all those who serve him, in a state of irresistibleness in respect of any lawful force. This is a point much stood on; and on this ground, the parliament now assuming the disposing of the militia by an ordinance, it is complained on, as a usurping of what the law hath committed to the king, as his prerogative; the opposing of which ordinance, by a commission of array, was the beginning of this miserable civil war. I will distinctly lay down my answer hereto, submitting it to every impartial judgment.

1. The power of the sword, being for defence of the laws, by punishing violators, and protecting subjects, it is subservient to government, and must needs belong to him who is intrusted with the government, as a necessary requisite, without which he cannot perform his trust.

2. As it is an appendix to the power of government, and goes along with it, so it goes under the same terms, belonging to the prince, as the other doth: *scil.* absolutely, to use at will, where the monarchy is absolute; or with limitation, to use according to law, where the monarchy is limited; so that, in this government, the arms and sword of the kingdom is the king's, to a defined use committed to him; *viz.* For defence of the laws and frame of government established, and not for arbitrary purposes, or to enable ministers to execute commands of mere will.

3. The two houses, in virtue of the legislative authority, in part residing in them, are interested in the preservation of laws and government, as well as the king: and, in case the king should misemploy that power of arms to strengthen subverting instruments; or, in case the laws and government be in apparent danger; the king refusing to use the sword to that end of preservation for which it was committed to him; I say, in this case, the two estates may, by an extraordinary and temporary ordinance, assume those arms wherewith the king is intrusted, and perform the king's trust. And, though such ordinance of theirs is not formally legal, yet it is eminently legal; justified by the very intent of the architects of the government, when, for these uses, they committed the arms to the king: and no doubt they may command the strength of the kingdom, to save the being of the kingdom. For none can reasonably imagine the architectonical powers, when they committed the power of government and arms to one, to preserve the frame they had composed, did thereby intend to disable any, much less the two estates, from preserving it, in case the king should fail to do it in this last need. And thus doing the king's work, it ought to be interpreted as done by his will: because, as the law is his will, so that the law should be preserved is his will, which he expressed when he undertook the government: it is his deliberate will, and ought to be done, though at any time he oppose it by an after will; for that is his sudden will, as Dr. Fern himself, sect. i. doth teach us to distinguish.

CHAP. VI.

In what Cases the other Estates may, without, or against the King's personal Consent, assume the Arms of the Kingdom?

SECT. I.

Whether it be lawful to take up Arms against the Magistrate, perverting his Power to a wrong End?

WHETHER were the authors of that book lately published, styled, 'Scripture and Reason pleaded for defensive Arms,' have laid new and over-large grounds for resistance. Two assertions they endeavour to maintain: first, 'Those governors (whether supreme, or

others) who, under pretence of authority from God's ordinance, disturb the quiet and peaceable life in godliness and honesty, are far from being God's ordinance, in so doing; sect. iii. Secondly, 'This tyranny, not being God's ordinance, they, which resist it even with arms, resist not the ordinance of God.' Hereon, sect. iv. They free Christians, even in the apostle's time, and so under the Roman emperors, or any other government, from a necessity of passive subjection in case of persecution; affirming, That the Christians, in those first persecutions, had they been strong enough, might have used arms for defence against the tyranny of their emperors. Their ground is from the reasons used by the Apostle, Rom. xiii. where he commands subjection, and forbids the resistance to the higher powers, because they are God's ordinance, his ministers, for praise to well-doers, for terror to evil-doers. But I must profess myself to dissent from them in this opinion, conceiving, that the Apostle, in urging those reasons drawn from the ends of power, doth intend to press them to subjection, by shewing them what benefit comes to men by authority in its due use; and not to shew how far they are bound to be subject, and in what cases they may resist. For, he had such a meaning at that time, when the governors did altogether cross those ends of their ordination, he had taught them rather a doctrine of resistance, than subjection. Shall we conceive, that he would press subjection to powers in the hands of heathens and persecutors, if he had not intended they should passively be subject unto them, even under those prosecutions? Rather I approve the received doctrine of the saints in ancient and modern times, who could never find this licence in that place of the Apostle, and do concur with master Burroughs, professing against resistance of authority, though abused: 'If those (saith he, in his answer to Dr. Fern, sect. ii.) who have power to make laws, make sinful laws, and so give authority to any to force obedience; we say, here there must be either flying, or passive obedience.' And again: 'We acknowledge, we must not resist for religion, if the laws of the land be against it.' But what do they say against this? In making such laws against religion, the magistrates are not God's ordinance; and therefore to resist is not to resist God's ordinance. As an inferior magistrate, who hath a commission of power for such ends, is resistible, if he exceed his commission, and abuse his power for other ends; so princes, being God's ministers, and having a deputed commission from him to such ends (*viz.* the promotion of godliness, peace, and justice) if they pervert their power to contrary ends, may be resisted, without violation of God's ordinance. That I may give a satisfactory answer to this, which is the sum of their long discourse, I must lay it down in several assertions:

First, I acknowledge, God's ordinance is not only power, but power for such ends, *scil.* the good of the people.

Secondly, It is also God's ordinance, that there should be in men, by publick consent called thereto, and invested therein, a power to chuse the means, the laws, and rules of government conducing to that end; and a judging, in relation to those laws, who be the well-doers, which ought to be praised, and who the evil-doers, who ought to be punished. This is as fully God's ordinance, as the former; for, without this, the other cannot be performed.

Thirdly, When they, who have this final civil judicature, shall censure good men as evil-doers, or establish iniquity by a law, to the encouragement of evil-doers; in this case, if it be a subordinate magistrate that doth it, appeal must be made (as St. Paul did) to the supreme: if it be the supreme, which through mistake, or corruption, doth mis-censure, from whom there lies no civil appeal; then, without resistance of that judgment, we must passively submit. And he, who in his own knowledge of innocency, or goodness of his cause, shall by force resist, that man erects a tribunal in his own heart against the magistrate's tribunal; clears himself by a private judgment against a publick, and executes his own sentence by force against the magistrate's sentence, which he hath repealed and made void in his own heart. In unjust censures by the highest magistrates, from whom there is no appeal, but to God, the sentence cannot be opposed, till God reverse it, to whom we have appealed: in the mean time we must suffer, as Christ did,

notwithstanding our appeal; 1 Pet. ii. 23. and so must we, notwithstanding our appeal 1 Pet. iv. 19. for he did so for our example. If an appeal to God, or a censure in the judgment of the condemned, might give him power of resistance, none would be guilty, or submit to the magistrate's censure, any further than they please. I desire those authors, before they settle their judgment in such grounds (which, I fear, will bring too much scandal) to weigh these particulars: First, their opinion takes away from the magistrate the chief part of God's ordinance; *scil.* power of definitive judgment of laws and persons, who are the good, and who the bad, to be held so in civil proceedings. Secondly, they justify the conscience of Papists, Hereticks, and grossest malefactors, to resist the magistrate, in case they be persuaded their cause be good. Thirdly, they draw men off from the commands of patience under persecution, and conforming to Christ and his Apostles, in their patient enduring without verbal, or real opposition; though Christ could not have wanted power to have done it, as he tells Peter. Fourthly, they deprive the primitive and modern martyrs of the glory of suffering; imputing it either to their ignorance, or disability. Fifthly, it is a wonder, that since, in Christ's and his Apostles' time, there was so much use of this power of resistance, they would by no express word shew the Christians this liberty, but condemn resistance so severely. Sixthly, there is, in the case of the parliament now taking up arms, no need of these offensive grounds; religion being now a part of our national law, and cannot suffer, but the law must suffer with it.

SECT. II.

1. When Arms ought not to be assumed. 2. When they may be assumed.

NOW to the proposed question I answer, First, negatively: *scil.* 1. It ought not to be done against all illegal proceedings, but such which are subversive and unsufferable. Secondly, not publick resistance, but in excesses inducing publick evils: for to repel private injuries of the highest nature with publick hazard and disturbance, will not quit cost, unless in a private case the common liberty be struck at. Thirdly, not when the government is actually subverted, and a new form (though never so injuriously) set up, and the people already engaged in an oath of absolute subjection; for the remedy comes too late, and the establishment of the new makes the former irrevocable by any justifiable power, within the compass of that oath of God. This was the case of the senate of Rome, in St. Paul's time. Secondly, affirmatively: I conceive three cases, when the other estates may lawfully assume the force of the kingdom, the king not joining, or dissenting, though the same be by law committed to him. First, when there is invasion actually made, or imminently feared, by a foreign power. Secondly, when by an intestine faction the laws and frame of government are secretly undermined, or openly assaulted. In both these cases, the being of the government being endangered, their trust binds, as to assist the king in securing, so to secure it by themselves, the king refusing. In extreme necessities, the liberty of voices cannot take place, neither ought a negative voice to hinder in this exigence, there being no freedom of deliberation and choice, when the question is about the last end. Their assuming the sword, in these cases, is for the king, whose being (as king) depends on the being of the kingdom; and, being interpretatively his act, is no disparagement of his prerogative. Thirdly, in case the fundamental rights of either of the three estates be invaded by one or both the rest, the wronged may lawfully assume force for its own defence; because else it were not free, but dependent on the pleasure of the other. Also the suppression of either of them, or the diminishing of their fundamental rights, carries with it the dissolution of the government: and therefore those grounds, which justify force to preserve its being, allow this case, which is a direct innovation of its being and frame.

CHAP. VII.

Where the legal Power of final judging in these Cases doth reside, in case the Three Estates differ about the same?

SECT. I.

The Question stated. Determination of the Question.

IN this question (for our more distinct proceeding) some things are necessarily to be observed: First, that we meddle not here with the judicature of questions of an inferior nature, *viz.* Such as are betwixt subject and subject, or the king and a subject, in a matter of particular right, which may be decided another way; without detriment of the publick frame, or diminution of the privileges of either of the three estates. Secondly, difference is to be made even in the questions of utmost danger. 1. For it may be alleged to be either from without, by invasion of foreign enemies, or by a confederacy of intestine subverters, in which neither of the three estates are alleged to be interested; and so the case may be judged without relation to either of them, or detriment to their privileges. Here I conceive a greater latitude of power may be given to some to judge without the other; for it infers not a subordinating of any of the three to the other. 2. Or else it may be alleged by one or two of the estates against the other; that, not contenting itself with the powers allowed to it by the laws of the government, it seeks to swallow up, or intrench on the privileges of the other; either by immediate endeavours, or else by protecting and interesting itself in the subversive plots of other men. Thirdly, In this case we must also distinguish betwixt, 1. Authority of raising forces for defence against such subversion, being known and evident: 2. And authority of judging and final determining, that the accused estate is guilty of such design and endeavour of subversion, when it is denied and protested against. This last is the particular in this question to be considered; not whether the people are bound to obey the authority of two, or one of the legislative estates, in resisting the subversive estates of the other, being apparent and self-evident? Which I take in this treatise to be clear. But, when such plea of subversion is more obscure and questionable, which of the three estates hath the power of ultimate and supreme judicature, by vote or sentence to determine it against the other? So that the people are bound to rest in that determination, and accordingly to give their assistance, *eo nomine*, because it is by such power so noted and declared.

For my part, in so great a cause, if my earnest desire of publick good and peace may justify me to deliver my mind, I will prescribe to the very question; for it includes a solecism in government of a mixed temperature: to demand which estate may challenge this power of final determination of fundamental controversies arising betwixt them, is to demand which of them shall be absolute. For I conceive, that, in the first part hereof, I have made it good, that this final utmost controversy, arising betwixt the three legislative estates, can have no legal constituted judge in a mixed government: for in such difference, he who affirms, that the people are bound to follow the judgment of the king against that of the parliament, destroys the mixture into absoluteness. And he who affirms, that they are bound to cleave to the judgment of the two houses against that of the king, resolves the monarchy into an aristocracy, or democracy, according as he places this final judgment. Whereas I take it to be an evident truth, that, in a mixed government, no power is to be attributed to either estate, which directly, or by necessary consequence, destroys the liberty of the other.

SECT. II.

Dissolution of the Arguments placing it in the King; and of the Arguments placing it in the Two Houses.

YET it is strange to see how, in this epidemical division of the kingdom, the abettors of both parts claim this unconcessible judgment. But let us leave both sides, pleading for that which we can grant neither, and weigh the strength of their arguments.

First, Dr. Fern lays down two reasons, why this final judgment should belong to the king. 1. 'Monarchy (says he, sect. v.) settles the chief power and final judgment in 'one.' This position of his can be absolutely true no where, but in absolute monarchies: and, in effect, his book knows no other than absolute government. 2. Seeing some one must be trusted in every state, 'It is reason, (says he, sect. v.) the highest and final 'trust should be in the highest and supreme power.' I presume, by final trust, he means the trust of determining these supreme and final disagreements: and accordingly I answer, it is not necessary that any one be trusted with a binding power of judicature in these cases; for, by the foundations of this government, none is, yea, none can be trusted with it: for to intend a mixed government, and yet to settle the last resolution of all judgment in one, is to contradict their very intention. Neither in a constituted government must we dispose of powers according to the guess of our reason, for men's apprehensions are various: the doctor thinks this power fittest for the king; his answerers judge it fittest for the two houses, and give their reasons for it too. Powers must there reside, where they are *de facto* by the architects of a government placed. He who can bring a fundamental act, stating this power in any, says something to the matter; but, to give our conjectures where it should be, is but to provide fuel for contention.

On the contrary, the author of that which is called, 'A full Answer to the Doctor,' hath two main assertions placing this judgment in the two houses.

1. 'The final and casting result of this state's judgment concerning what these laws, 'dangers, and means of prevention are, resides in the two houses of parliament;' says he, p. 10.

2. 'In this final resolution of the state's judgment, the people are to rest;' *ibidem*, page 14. Good Lord! what extreme opposition is between these two sorts of men! if the maintenance of these extremes be the ground of this war, then our kingdom is miserable, and our government lost, which side soever overcome: for I have, more than once, made it good, that these assertions are destructive on both sides. But I am rather persuaded, that these officious propugners overdo their work, and give more to them whose cause they plead, than they ever intended to assume: nay, rather give to every one their due; give no power to one of these three to crush, and undo the other at pleasure. But why doth this answer give all that to the two houses which heretofore they would not suffer, when the judges in the case of ship-money had given it to the king? Sure, when they denied it to him, they did not intend it to themselves. 1. He tells us, 'In them 'resides the reason of the state: and that, the same reason and judgment of the state, 'which first gave this government its being and constitution; therefore all the people are 'to be led by it, and submit to it as their publick reason and judgment.'

I answer: if by state he mean the whole kingdom, I say, the reason of the two houses, divided from the king, is not the reason of the kingdom; for it is not the king's reason, who is the head and chief in the kingdom. If by state he meant the people, then it must be granted, that, as far forth as they represent them, their reason is to be accounted the reason of the kingdom; and doth bind so far forth as the publick reason of the kingdom can bind, after they have restrained their reason and will to a condition of subjection: so that, put the case it be the reason of the state, yet not the same which gave this government its being; for then it was the reason of a state, yet free, and to use their reason

and judgment in ordaining a government: but now the reason of state bound by oath to a government, and not at liberty to resolve again; or to assume a supreme power of judging, destructive to the frame of government they have established, and restrained themselves unto. Their reason is ours, so far as they are an ordained representative body. But I have before demonstrated, that, in this frame, the houses could not be ordained a legal tribunal to pass judgment in the last case: for then the architects, by giving them that judicature, had subordinated the king to them, and so had constituted no monarchy. 2. He argues, 'The parliament being the court of supreme judicature, and the king's great and highest council, therefore that is not to be denied to it, which inferior courts ordinarily have power to do, viz. to judge matters of right between the king and subject, yea, in the highest case of all: the king's power to tax the subject in case of danger, and his being sole judge of that danger, was brought to cognizance, and passed by the judges in the Exchequer.' I answer, 1. There is not the same reason betwixt the parliament and other courts. In these the king is judge, the judges being deputed by him, and judging by his authority; so that, if any of his rights be tried before them, it is his own judgment, and he judges himself; and therefore it is fit he should be bound by his own sentence. But, in parliament, the king and people are judges; and not by an authority derived from him, but originally invested in themselves. So that, when the two estates judge without him in any case not prejudged by him, it cannot be called his judgment (as that of the other courts, being done by his authority); and, if he be bound by any judgment of the two estates without him, he is bound by an external power which is not his own; that is, he is subordinated to another power in the state where he is supreme, which is contradictory. 2. In other courts, if any case of right be judged betwixt him and the subject, they are cases of particular rights, which diminish not royalty, if determined against him: or, if they pass cases of general right (as they did in that of ship-money) it is but declaratively to shew what is by law due to one and the other: yet their judgment is revocable, and liable to a repeal by a superior court, as that was by parliament. But, if the king's prerogatives should be subjected to the judgment of the two estates, the king dissenting; then he should be subject to a sentence in the highest court, and so irremediable; a judicatory should be set up to determine of his highest rights without him, from which he could have no remedy. Thus main causes may be alleged, why, though other courts do judge his rights, yet the two estates in parliament (without him) cannot; and it is from no defect in their power, but rather from the eminency of it, that they cannot. If one deputed by common consent of three doth, by the power they have given them, determine controversies between those three, it is not for either of them to challenge right to judge those cases; because one who is inferior to them doth it. Indeed, if the power of the two houses were a deputed power, (as the power of other courts is,) this argument were of good strength; but, they being concurrents in a supreme court by a power originally their own, I conceive it hard to put the power of final judgment in all controversies, betwixt him and them, exclusively or solely into their hands.

SECT. III.

What is to be done in such a Contention.

IF it be demanded, then, 'How this cause can be decided? and which way must the people turn in such a contention?' I answer; if the non-decision be tolerable, it must remain undecided, whilst the principle of legal decision is thus divided, and by that division each suspends the other's power. If it be such as is destructive, and necessitates a determination, this must be evident; and then every person must aid that part, which, in his best reason and judgment, stands for publick good against the destructive. And the laws and government which he stands for, and is sworn to, justify and hear him out in it; yea, bind him to it.

If any wonder I should justify a power in the two houses, to resist and command aid

against any agents of destructive commands of the king, and yet not allow them power of judging when those agents or commands are destructive? I answer, I do not simply deny them a power of judging and declaring this; but I deny them to be a legal court ordained to judge of this case authoritatively, so as to bind all people to receive and rest in their judgment for conscience of its authority, and because they have voted it. It is the evidence, not the power of their votes, must bind our reason and practice in this case. We ought to conceive their votes the discoveries made by the best eyes of the kingdom, and which in likelihood, should see most: but, when they vote a thing against the proceedings of the third and supreme estate, our consciences must have evidence of truth to guide them, and not the sole authority of votes; and that for the reason so often alleged.

England's Calamities discovered: With the proper Remedy to restore her ancient Grandeur and Policy. Humbly presented by James Whiston.

‘ What Captain and Mariners, when they find the Ship
 ‘ driven by a violent Hurricane amongst the Rocks, full of
 ‘ Leaks, and much disabled, will be so obstinately insensi-
 ‘ ble of the Consequence of such fatal Circumstances, as not
 ‘ to use their own, and embrace the good Endeavours of
 ‘ others, for their Preservation? The only Means of Hope
 ‘ left, whereby themselves and Ship may at last be con-
 ‘ ducted into a safe Harbour.’

London: Printed for the Author; and are to be sold by Joseph Fox, in Westminster-Hall; R. Clavel, at the Peacock in Fleet-street; and T. Minton, at the Anchor under the Royal Exchange, 1696.¹

[Quarto; containing forty pages.]

IT is not unknown to the world, what a difficult task is here undertaken; and we may, without pretence to the gift of prophecy, foretel how many, and what sort of enemies, an honest man is to grapple with, in defence of this one useful and unquestioned principle, *viz.* That every happy government must be supported by just means; and that state which has been so far mistaken in its politicks, as to practise a contrary method, has always drawn upon itself its own ruin and destruction.

And, upon this observation, it has been granted in all ages, that a throne, that would flourish, must be established in righteousness; but we never heard of any that has been long supported by iniquity: for iniquity itself must be obliged to justice; or, at least, to

¹ See Oldy's Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library, No. 361.

those that fill the seats of justice, for its support and maintenance: and, where the execution of this fails, all combinations or societies of men, however formed, naturally fall into disorder and dissolution. Now, since neither the apprehension of enemies, the power or malice of men who have by any means wriggled themselves into the pretended service of the government, nor the difficulty of the undertaking which is to beget in mankind a belief of such truths and qualities as this corrupt age has hardly virtue enough to put in practice, ought to deter a true Englishman from laying open, as occasion serves, those mischiefs and miscarriages, which, if not timely prevented, will overwhelm us; I thought it an indispensable duty, to give these fresh testimonies of love to my country, and allegiance to King William, by rendering both inexcusable; when the consequential miseries of the abuses and corruptions here complained of, shall have reduced us to a too late repentance.

A chief means for the preservation of a state or government in good order is, that particular care be taken, not to stifle and discountenance, but admit and cherish the just impeachments, and reasonable accusations, which are the unquestionable right of the subject, against those who, being biassed by ambition, avarice, or pride, shall, either contrary to law, or by elusion and corrupt practice of the law, seek to invade and destroy their liberties, properties, and native rights. The want of a due and impartial administration of justice, in this particular, has been the grand cause of all the cruelty, oppression, and extortion, that have so often interrupted the publick peace; and now hang over the nation, as a severe judgment.

I would not be misunderstood, as if I intended to fill the kingdom with perpetual clamours and informations; and designed to open a wide door of access for every little whiffler to alarm the magistrate's quiet, with petty vexatious complaints, and malicious suggestions: I abhor that sort of cattle, and the indulging them, as much as any man alive. But it is unjust in itself, and of fatal consequence to a government, to reproach and stigmatise every honest man with the scandal of a common informer, who, out of a true sense of his duty, and an unbiassed zeal for his king and country, shall endeavour to detect the wicked practices of such, who by corruptly abusing the honourable employments they are intrusted with, directly strike at the life and happiness of both. I say such informations as these ought to be assisted with the encouragement of the magistrate; especially, if the complaints are grounded upon reasonable evidence, or even upon probable suspicion: except they will tell us they have made such good provision before-hand, to supply the executive part of the government with honest and able officers, that it is morally impossible for a man in office, to act against his conscience, or betray his trust for money. This would be good news indeed, and at once discharge the people of their complaints and fears, and ease his majesty of the greatest part of his care and danger. But alas! our present circumstances afford us apparent reasons to believe the contrary; and the evils and disasters, that have continually attended us, take away the very pretence, or umbrage, of any excuse whatever. This is too visible to be denied; when the disposal of trust and power, in too many places in the government, is set to sale to the highest bidder; or, what is as bad, bestowed upon favourites, or private minions, though never so unqualified: many offices being only to be obtained by money. Which infamous practice intails these two fatal calamities upon the nation, the very source and spring of unavoidable mischief and disorder. For, by this means, many persons, utterly incapable of discharging the duty of the employments they hold, (by virtue of a strong purse, though never so weak capacity,) are admitted into such part of the publick administration, where this ignorance and inability render them wholly unserviceable; and consequently the trust notoriously mismanaged, to the government's irreparable prejudice. And though we will suppose some purchaser to be fitly qualified, and of honest principles, yet by reason of this heavy fine for his admission, he lies under the daily temptation of stretching the duty of his office, in raising his fees to re-advance his purchase money. By which means, too many places, wherein the honour of the trust, with a moderate salary, would otherwise be an ample gratification, are now become a perfect mart of usury and interest;

with this farther inconvenience, that all the sub-ministers and inferior officers lying under their master's circumstances, being wholly swayed by lucre and profit, are likewise exposed to the very same temptations in the lower class of trust. And what is still more calamitous, their misdemeanors and faults must be very slenderly inspected, or, at best, but mildly punished; lest otherwise you strike at the offender's farm, I may say his fee-simple, his downright purchase and penny-worth. This is deflowering the virgin purity of justice, checking and curbing her in the noblest exercises of her dominion, and administering a plausible colour for defending injustice, bribery, extortion, and oppression. But to double and treble the value, to manage them for the best advantage to the seller, and put him upon the rack of improvement too; what is it but to bespeak the unfittest men, either through want of honesty or experience, that can be met with, to manage those affairs and places, in which justice and reason require the most upright and judicious persons?

But that the deformity, as well as iniquity of such an abominable practice, may become more odious, by being made more visible and conspicuous, (though there are too many other grievances in the nation to be lamented,) for brevity sake, we shall make some particular remarks, and commence our reflections from the honourable city of London; the grand pattern, by whose measures smaller corporations are apt to make their precedents.

Inexpressible are the daily complaints and mischiefs, that arise through the excessive straining and advancing the exorbitant fees of counsellors, attornies, clerks, serjeants, gaolers, and other officers in this city; by reason of the two frequent, malicious, and impertinent actions, and general corruption among them: occasioned chiefly by their being forced to buy their places with money, without regard to merit. For never any man came into an office by the mediation of his gold, but he was compelled to exercise his authority wickedly. He that buys must sell, or he loses by the bargain; which makes the publick offices to be like briars, to which sheep repairing for shelter, must unavoidably be forced to part with some of their fleece. Now to consider the consequences, and those very pernicious ones, of such purchase, we will begin with the serjeant, who, at this time, pays the sheriff near five-hundred pounds for his place. It is true, it has been at a far lower rate, as well as all other places; but the prices rise, as the world degenerates, and consequently corruptions improve and increase. Well; suppose, here is five-hundred pounds given for a place for life, which at seven years purchase, (the customary value of a life) buys seventy pounds *per annum* in a dead rent upon land; where the purchaser has no more to do, than receive his annual revenue, as the money becomes due. But in a place or office purchased, where there is constant toil, attendance, and business, to supply that office, it is modestly computed, that a man ought in all reason and equity to make double as much *per annum* of his money, as in a lazy annuity. So that, for his five-hundred pounds, a serjeant seems to have a justifiable pretension to get about a hundred and fifty pounds a year; a very round income, for a man that, in his post, is sworn but a varlet; an income much larger than that of many an honest gentlemen of good birth and quality, with a much fairer blazon in his coat of arms, than a blood-sucking serjeant. This hundred and fifty pounds *per annum* is three pounds a week, about ten shillings a day; and how must the serjeant raise this money? If by taking only the now customary fees of his office, as allowed in court, *viz.* half-a-crown for every arrest, and no more, of which his yeoman, who gives above two-hundred pounds for his place, goes one-third snack with him; by consequence, he must arrest six men every day one with another, all the year round, to raise the profits of his purchase-money, *viz.* ten shillings, *per diem*, for his own share.

But supposing this serjeant instead of six arrests in one day, does not make above six, and half six more in the whole week, and a good week's work too: how must the money rise then? Instead of half-crowns from the poor prisoners, here must be half pounds, and whole pounds too, extorted for civility-money, as they call it; and several other unreasonable pretences and demands, to make up the sum. And what, I pray, are the con-

sequences of these pounds so extorted? Only this: the poor debtor is so much the less enabled to satisfy his creditor's just debt itself; and all by such unwarrantable extortions, (from the serjeant first, and then from the gaoler afterwards,) not only to the entire defrauding the creditor, but many times to the utter ruin of the poor prisoner, that perishes in gaol under no other load.

Who then (the case thus fairly stated) lays all this oppression upon a poor debtor? The serjeant and gaoler? No: but Mr. Sheriff, that sells them their places. For they, good men, do no more than raise the effects and perquisites answerable to their own fair purchase-penny. If the common right of *meum* and *tuum* thus manifestly suffers, by the creditor's want of his legal satisfaction, occasioned by these arrest or imprisonment extortions; do the serjeant and gaoler obstruct that right? Not in the least. Mr. Sheriff has borrowed a round sum of money of the serjeant and yeoman for their admission, and their great city lords and masters possibly six times as much of the gaoler; and therefore their tallies and loans must be satisfied first. If a poor prisoner, through such extorted sums, is reduced to starving in gaol, are his catch-poles and turnkeys in fault? No, not they. For their head office-jobbers, their great sales-masters, have squeezed first, and it is their turn to squeeze next. In fine, the face of the poor is ground, but the serjeants, gaolers, attornies, &c. only turn the grind-stone; the grind-stone itself is the magistrate.

The keeper's place of Newgate was lately sold for 3500*l*. Now upon such a prodigious sum paid only for the head tyrant's jurisdiction of those stone walls, and iron grates; considering likewise the numerous turnkeys, sutlers, and all his sub-janizaries, to be all fed and fattened also from the fees of their lower posts; what annual income must that one gaol raise, and how raise, to answer such a saucy purchase? Why truly thus: First, For the criminal prisoners. If a thief, or house-breaker, would get unloaded of so many pounds of iron, or purchase a sleeping-hole a little free from vermin, or with wholesome air enough to keep his lungs from being choaked up; he must raise those extravagant sums to pay for it, as can no ways be furnished but from theft and vice, supplied by his jades or brother-rogues abroad, who must rob or whore, to support him even with the common necessities of life. Nay, instead of employing their time in amendment of life, and a religious preparation for their trial, they are forced to drink, riot, and game, to curry favour with the gaoler, and support his luxury. Thus a gaol, which should be a check to roguery and wickedness, in a high measure, by its extortion and oppression, encourages it. And next, for the poor debtor committed thither (for it is the county gaol) he receives much the like severe treatment and hardships; for extortion and oppression, like the grave, make no distinction.

Now let us inquire by what right the magistrates sell that keeper's place, together with those of Ludgate and the compters. It is well known that those places, as well as all others, were formerly given *gratis*. Now, if they had then any inherent power of selling them, it is presumed that the then magistrates were not so extravagantly generous to part with such a considerable feather in the city cap for nothing, provided they had a title to sell. Then, as they took nothing, so we may reasonably presume they could rightfully demand nothing for them. By what pretension then does the chair demand it now? We know of no donation or concession granted by law to entitle them to such a sale. And, without such a donation, it is all but incroachment, iniquity, injustice, and usurpation, where there was no original or fundamental claim to warrant and introduce their pretensions: nay, it is expressly against the commands of God, and the laws of the land, as is here made appear. Now for the effects of this corruption, how often have the suffering prisoners remonstrated against all this cruelty, and petitioned the magistracy for a redress of their grievances, and a retrenchment of the exorbitant demands of a gaol? But all their prayers have either never been heard, or never minded. For the magistracy is deaf to such a work of reformation, by reason his own interest is concerned in the matter; and therefore the abuses and oppressions of the gaoler (who not only repays himself, but acquires oftentimes a great estate to boot) are still connived at.

Having been thus more particular in the gaoler's and serjeant's case, we shall leave the reader himself to judge, what no less hard measures we daily groan under, without relief, from counsellors, attornies, and clerks, &c. in their sphere of law; when about 1500*l.* is paid for a city-council or attorney's place (and divers other officers) which, by the same fore-mentioned proportion of annual advantage, must raise near 500*l. per annum*, to balance the excessive price they pay for them. And, though they live at very extravagant rates, yet, if they enjoy their places any considerable time, they leave great estates behind them. It is by this means that purchased cruelty grows bold, and plumes itself in its extortion; being not only countenanced, but justified by the magistrate, who raises the value of an unlawful sale, because he finds a numerous sort of people thriving and doing well, by living and doing ill. It is example that corrupts us all: for how commonly do the under-officers, goalers, &c. excuse their barbarity, and unreasonable exactions, in alleging that they have no other way to make up the interest of their purchase-money? So that they are hereby forced to lay the whole design of their advantage upon the calamities of the miserable; which inhumanity is too frequently connived at by the magistrate, suffering justice to be over-ruled by the persuasion of many golden temptations. A degenerate and unworthy practice! quite contrary to the office of a good magistrate; whose duty and glory consist in curbing the growth of oppression, retrenching exorbitances, and in searing away the proud flesh of rapine and violence, and not in selling impunity to the evil-doer. It is this alone that steels and case-hardens a goaler's conscience against all pity and remorse; giving him the confidence to demand extraordinary fees and racked chamber-rent from his prisoners, or else crowding them into holes, dungeons, and common sides, designedly made more nasty, to terrify the prisoner, who for preservation of his life is thereby forced to part with his money; or there to be devoured by famine and diseases. This makes him let his tap-houses at such prodigious rates, that where poor people ought to have the best and cheapest, they have worst in quality, and smallest in quantity, at excessive prices. Also farming his beds to mere harpies, and his great key to such pieces of imperious cruelty, as are the worst of mankind; to the eternal reproach of the city's honour, and scandal of the Christian religion; while the bloated patron himself, all the while, maintains his family in pride, and an imperious wife, or perhaps impudent mistress, in excess and luxury, with what he has unconscionably drained from the ruin of the unfortunate. But see, I pray, Whither will not these lewd and infamous precedents at last lead us, when even the common hang-man, encouraged no doubt by these examples, will scarcely give a malefactor a cast of his office without a bribe; very formally, forsooth, demanding his fees, and higgling too, as nicely with him, as if he was going to do him some mighty favour?

I will appeal now to the tribunal of justice itself, By what law or what authority, (not claiming under the bad title of illegal custom) any sheriff, who is the immediate gaoler himself, and ought (as we shall hereafter prove by reciting the law) to receive the prisoner *gratis* into custody, can so unjustly presume to sell the deputation of any man's liberty and life to the control of sordid and imperious avarice? I would fain know by what surmise of common sense (and it would be very hard, if common law and common sense should not agree) a keeper of a prison can demand a recompense or fee of a prisoner for detaining him in prison. There is an admission-fee, he cries:—as if any person can deserve a reward for opening the door of misery and destruction to his neighbour and common friend; for being so civil as to admit him into the horrid grave and abyss of imprisonment. There is a dismissal-fee too: as if it were reasonable to demand money for letting him go, whom the law has set free. Abundance of such absurdities must of necessity follow; to which no law of God or man, nor no sense or reason, can afford the least shadow or pretext of countenance (nay, they all forbid and condemn it) besides that unanswerable one before-mentioned, *viz.* That the officers buy their places, and therefore it is reasonable in them they should make the best of them. But let that be once remedied, and the whole Babel superstructure, erected upon so abominable a foundation, will soon tumble down; to the unspeakable joy of all good men,

the infinite honour of the city magistrates, the comfortable relief of the poor, and to the long desired triumph and restoration of banished justice and charity².

Now, for a due redress of all those crying mischiefs, What could be more easily reformed? For instance, if the council, attorney, clerk, serjeant, goaler, &c. had their places *gratis*, the very retrenchments of their exorbitant fees would be a favour rather than grievance; for, whilst the one keeps his hundreds in his pockets, and the other his thousands, he is neither under the temptation, nor want of extortion. This established fee would not only be enough for his maintenance, but be infinitely more to his ease and satisfaction: for in this case he would lie under no care, or necessity, to fetch up the large sums given for his place, which, till recovered, are reckoned as so much bread taken out of his children's mouths. Besides, a moderate perquisite in an office, that comes free from a kind patron's gift, is gratefully received; whilst, on the contrary, there is no thanks owing for a purchase, though with never so large profits. But, above all, every man would be then naturally careful of a legal discharge of his trust, because he holds by the tenure of a *quam diu se bene gesserit*, viz. as long as he does honestly demean himself; and lies liable to be turned out for misdemeanors, when neither the patron, or lords he holds from, would uphold him in injustice; nor indeed could he himself reasonably complain of being punished for it. And lastly, What could the city speak more magnificent in history, than to bestow her places upon good men, (some of her own members, unfortunately fallen to decay,) who would naturally be content with the lawful and modest gains of their employment? On the contrary, What more dishonourable than to sell her poor citizens to be dilaniated and macerated by the hand of injustice; and for money to make slaughter-houses and shambles of her houses of restraint, which were built at the city's charge? For a city, so fairly decked with the jewels of freedom and privilege, to sell the last remains of a prisoner's comfort? For in selling a goaler's place, &c. it sells the liberty, the estate, the person, nay the very life of the prisoner under his jurisdiction: seeing that, through the cruelty of the prison-keepers, such great numbers of poor people have been stripped to their naked skin, and, when all was gone, have been suffocated in holes and dungeons, to the loss of many of their lives, dishonour of our nation, and scandal of the Christian religion. For is it not, think ye, a goodly sight, to behold the tears of the poor, congealed by a frost of neglected charity and injustice, into a pearl, glittering in the ears of such or such a lady? To see the scarlet of the receiver's magistracy dyed with the blood of helpless innocents, or the purchase of extortion? And, to see some, that ought to be the chief punishers of iniquity, drinking healths of forgetful plenty in hundred-pound goblets, the price of their own infamy?

One considerable advantage that would follow the so-much-desired prevention of the sale of places is, that the civil government would not find her offices so overstocked with her mortal and implacable enemies; I mean such as, in the late reigns, employed their utmost power in introducing upon the nation an arbitrary and tyrannic sway; and since this revolution, have endeavoured to obstruct the kingdom's true interest and welfare. Is it not an indelible reproach to the government to see so many of her offices now filled and supplied with those very men, who, for several years together, were throwing dirt in her face, and ridiculing and deriding the constitution itself? Neither have they yet, though employed by the government, given any evidence of their change of principles, but retain still the same sentiments and inclination to serve their old master³, (as they frequently call him,) when a favourable opportunity presents itself on his behalf! Is it possible to believe that these vipers, thus every where crowd themselves into places of trust, for any other purpose; but only to carry on the same designs clandestinely, which they found they had not power enough to effect openly? It is, indeed, their master-piece of policy; and that which has done their cursed cause more service than all the strength and courage of the faction could otherwise be ever able to accomplish. By this means, the

² [The abuses here so loudly complained of have since been guarded against by an act parliament, wherein it is provided, that 'none shall buy, sell, let, or take to farm, the office of under sheriff, goaler, bailiff, or other office pertaining to the office of high-sheriff, on pain of five-hundred pounds; half to the king, and half to him that shall sue.']

³ [James II.]

king and parliament's endeavours have been so continually disappointed, our publick undertakings embarrassed, our counsels discovered, and designs defeated. Thus does the government indiscernibly receive her mortal wound from the very hand she nourishes; who, under the hypocritical mask of serving her interest, strikes her to the very heart. And, in fine, it is by this door only that men, of whatever denomination, are admitted into a government. And this consideration is of greater importance than most are aware of: for, as it is a certain inlet to unavoidable dangers, which every prudent state would endeavour to prevent; so it reflects on the wisdom of our government, to suffer the safety of their persons, and the peace and happiness of the subjects, to be exposed to the lust and malice of every rich and villainous purchaser. Another inconvenience, that follows the allowance of what is here complained of, is: that not only many of the king's enemies are let into places of trust, but, what is more deplorable, many of his real friends are utterly locked out. There are several, even in this city, who have given such instances of their affection to his majesty, and firm adherence and fidelity to the constitution of the present government, as cannot possibly fall under any doubt or question; who, partly by their expenses in serving the publick, and partly by other occasional accidents, are reduced almost to insupportable necessities. Now, is it not inhuman, as well as unreasonable, to suffer so many honest, well-affected persons to starve for want of employment (who would be glad to accept of any of the meanest offices for a mere livelihood and subsistence) only because their pockets are not large enough to purchase that, to which their virtues and abilities had before given them an unquestionable right and claim? Is not this sufficient to discourage any man from deserving well of a government, which makes no distinction between her friends and enemies, but indifferently sells her favours to the fairest chapman? The prodigious multiplication of officers, also, is no inconsiderable grievance of the publick, and the natural result of the corrupt practice of selling of offices. For, when the superiors have once tasted the sweets of this sort of dealing, they are easily induced to believe, that business may better be dispatched by more hands, and so unnecessary officers are trumped up, as often as they have occasion to give a portion with a daughter, or match a son, or want to make up a sum, to purchase the remaining part, perhaps, of a poor client's estate, after the former has been spent in council's fees, and paying the extravagant and exacted fees and charges of their several courts and offices. And, by this means, all the numerous officers belonging to, and depending on the law, who were at first, no doubt, designed for the service of the publick, in the administration of justice, and the defence of the rights and liberties of the people, are now, by this lewd toleration of the buying and selling of places, become so desperately wicked, that they seem to be joined in unanimous and direct conspiracy to rob and defraud the rest of mankind, and violate all the rules of justice and good policy.

But, though we have been so earnest and vehement in pleading the cause of the poor oppressed prisoners, &c. yet, let us not altogether pass by, without some just reflections, the heinous injustice that is every day done to the poor, and helpless people at liberty. There is one remark that we have made, that very well deserves the most serious and solemn consideration of the magistracy of the honourable city of London; it is this. Before this city was so miserably overspread with corruption and covetousness, it was a custom (no less honourable in its institution, than extremely useful and christian in its end,) for the two and fifty companies, to have their particular granaries, where they used to store up great quantities of sea-coal, and thousands of quarters of corn, which were bought with the charity of those who were brought upon the livery; the company at the same time giving them a receipt, with a promise, that if ever they should be reduced to want, they should have the value of the money laid down in corn and coals, *gratis*: which fund was mightily advanced by many dying persons' bequests, and legacies, and the fines of aldermen, sheriffs, livery-men, and others, which annually amounted to vast sums. This was of infinite advantage to the whole city, both rich and poor. For, buying these commodities, when cheapest, and going to market with ready money, they were obliged, in times of scarcity, to sell them out to the poor at a very moderate price. Which commendable practice has been, for several years, discontinued to the unspeakable prejudice and dis-

service of the poor; many of whom, by neglect of so good a custom, are reduced even to starving in winter, and times of scarcity, yet the said money is still exacted, as due by law, and converted to other uses.

The inexpressible advantage of this laudable and never-to-be-forgotten custom, is further evidenced in the frequent scarcity of corn. For, since the city and suburbs have near doubly increased the number of inhabitants; and the corn now coming into the hands of a very few factors, and several notorious hucksters, (most of them Joseph's brethren,) there being, in all, rarely a month's, and sometimes a week's, store in London: so that, upon contrary winds, frosts, want of convoys, or any other true or pretended reasons, they unjustly raise the market upon the poor, on purpose to improve their own profit, although there be enough in the nation; an inconvenience the city seldom suffered under in those charitable times, when the abovementioned custom was duly observed and practised. The same may be affirmed in the case of coals, &c. And this, as well as the other, was an advantage likewise to the sellers, who were under no apprehension of having their goods lie upon their hands, because they were sure to come to a certain, though not always an equal market, which kept the plough continually going, and the collier's ships sailing; to the vast improvement of navigation, and the general satisfaction of the nation. And this contagion, like the fretting leprosy, has spread itself over all the petty corporations and companies in this city, where they daily exact extravagant sums of money from the subject; taking sometimes sixteen, twenty, thirty, and forty shillings, and oftentimes much more, for the admittance of every freeman; whereas, by the statute of 22 Hen. VIII. *cap.* 40, they are to receive but three shillings and fourpence for the entry of a freeman, and two shillings and sixpence for the entry of an apprentice. But, which is much worse and grievous, are the arbitrary and prodigious fines, of fifteen, twenty, and thirty pounds, more or less, which they squeeze out of their members, for coming on the livery, and for places of stewards, assistants, master-wardens, and divers other offices, to the intolerable oppression of poor citizens, and to their utter ruin: contrary to those most ancient and excellent laws of *de tallagio non concedendo*, the petition of right, &c. intended for the great bulwarks and barriers of the liberties and properties of the people of England. This corruption is likewise crept into lesser societies, even into the parishes where the parsons, churchwardens, overseers, and the rest of those parochial officers, exercise the greatest injustice imaginable, in taking excessive and arbitrary sums of money, for burying in churches and churchyards; and for christenings and marriages; and also in taxing and exacting money, on pretence of relieving the poor; with a true design, at the same time, to expend it in luxury, &c. and forget the miseries of their afflicted neighbours.

A kin to these iniquities is that of the city's farming out the markets at three-thousand six-hundred pounds a year, whilst the farmers have made the burden intolerable to the people by extortion and oppression; and most unconscionably swelled the income to above ten-thousand pounds a year; as has lately been fully proved against them, at the instance and pains of divers well-affected citizens. Thus is the right and interest of the poor and needy farmed out to a parcel of unmerciful harpies and vultures, the inhuman ministers of cruelty and violence.

The case of the orphans also ought not to be passed over in silence. We question whether there has yet been repentance enough testified, sufficient restoration made, to clear them from the guilt of such horrible injustice. We shall but just touch the point, because it is so well known already. Was it not scandalous, as well as abominably sinful and injurious, for the city to assume a right to force the estates of deceased citizens into their own hands, as guardians to the poor orphans, and others: and, when they had got about seven-hundred-thousand pounds into their custody and clutches, unrighteously refused to pay the monies where they became due; to the utter ruin of great numbers of distressed children, (great part of whom have been forced to take extravagant courses to maintain themselves, having been necessitated to sell their estates to men of money at very small and inconsiderable rates) they afterwards pretending to make atonement, by pro-

curing an act of parliament, as is well known, to levy a tax upon all the personal estates in London for ever? We pray God, they may repent and find mercy!

It is not that we are ignorant of the abuses committed in several other offices throughout the kingdom, that we have principally confined ourselves to represent the mismanagement of some of those in the city of London, but only to avoid the being too voluminous. These few papers would have swelled into many folios, if particular notice had been taken of all the corruptions and miscarriages under which the nation groans; and by which our publick affairs have so miserably suffered, and been so treacherously defeated. Besides, our tenderness in launching out further into these troubled waters, has been directed by this consideration, that the gentlemen in places and offices not here mentioned (who have, by their sinister practices, prejudiced the interest, or obstructed the happiness of the present settlement) may, by contemplating the deformity and evil attendances of the city's exorbitant corruptions, be timely made sensible of their sin, and endeavour to make some reparation for the injuries they have done the kingdom, as an atonement and expiation of their crying guilt.

Thus, I think, we have made it undeniably apparent from what grounds our calamities and mischiefs have sprung, and by what means they have continued their daily progress to that fatal height we now so justly complain of, and which requires all the application of the wisdom and power of the government to restrain and remedy. It is by virtue of this golden key alone, or the favours of unjust partiality, that little or no regard has been had to industry and merit: that the halt and blind, and (what is worse) oftentimes the malicious, have been let into the knowledge and management of our publick affairs; whilst the able and honest, for want of that powerful charm, are shamefully excluded and contemned. This sale of offices is a practice so infamous, that it has been condemned and detested by the best men, and best governments in all ages, as a cursed omen, foreboding the certain and inevitable destruction of that state, where it has been in the least tolerated and connived at. It is a shackling justice herself, a direct usurpation upon the native and incontestable rights of mankind, and giving a publick license for the exercise of extortion and bribery. If we at all valued ourselves as Christians (but that great name is too much become a mere cant or term of art to flatter ourselves, and impose upon the credulous) our holy religion would sufficiently inform us of the sinfulness and danger of this abominable practice. What dreadful judgments has the God of impartial justice thundered out against the sale of publick justice, or its dependencies! What excessive and astonishing penalties has he threatened upon all manner of extortion! Nay, so severe are the terrible denunciations of his wrath, poured out upon all that shall dare to suffer or encourage it, as are able to stagger and confound the confidence of the most hardened sinner, but his who lies under the curse of final and incorrigible unbelief. The very heathens themselves abhorred the connivance and countenance of such base and unworthy proceedings. They thought it a degree below the dignity of human nature, to descend to the contemptible practice of taking bribes, and selling licenses to iniquity. We find these two maxims, like two golden pillars, supporting the most flourishing and victorious cities in the world, which Aristotle has not been a little industrious to maintain, *viz.* That the sale of offices is the greatest wrong and affront that can be offered to a commonwealth: and that money ought not to buy those places, which may, nay, ought to be the reward of virtue; and are the fittest means to supply the necessities of good men. The sale of offices in the meridian and glory of the Athenian government (where arts and arms equally flourished, to the delight and satisfaction of all the world) was strictly forbidden, and continually declaimed against. The Lacedemonians, a people the most obstinately virtuous of all the other cities of Greece, utterly exploded it, as a practice altogether inconsistent with their strict morals, and destructive of the fundamental rules of their policy: and I hardly believe there was ever a human government better founded than that of Sparta. The Roman empire, when it seemed to be in its greatest beauty, and most happy condition, severely fined and punished those who sought offices unjustly, by bribery, &c. And it is remarkable, that she then first fostered dis-

sension, and laid foundations for her after ruin and calamities, when she brooked so patiently the sarcastic scoff of Jugurtha, That 'all things at Rome are to be had for 'money.' It was then that Rome became so enfeebled by her daily corruptions, that she, whose virtues had made her mistress of the world, had not power enough left to conquer herself; nor could she hinder her own streets from being the stage, whereon so many dismal tragedies of intestine discord were acted. Their historians assign the reason, *viz.* They made justice a pimp to covetousness, and virtue a stalking-horse to extortion. Yet there was not any other city in the world more jealous of her honour in this point than Rome, or more careful to relieve the poverty of her citizens; of which, in the times of her innocencey, she had many. And what other fate can London, &c. expect, if you dam up the current of her *meum* and *tuum*? If she thus continue selling of justice, her sun-shine and splendor will soon be eclipsed. In short, unavoidable ruin is an inseparable subsequent of antecedent unrighteousness.

It is very observable what is reported of the Persian Cambyses, how he flead one of his judges for bribery. Certainly it had been a very unjust punishment, if he had first sold him his place; much more if he had farmed it to him at a racked rent. Can we believe that this judge's son would have been willing to pay an exacted sum to sit upon his father's skin? Which however he was forced to receive for his cushion (being preferred to his father's seat upon the bench) in order to terrify him from the like offence; which the king very honestly told him would deserve the same punishment. This instance is enough to convince us of the necessity of an universal and equal administration of justice; since even the Persians themselves (one of the most delicate and effeminate nations in the world), found the due execution thereof so essentially requisite to the preservation of the publick peace, that they thought no punishment too severe for the transgression of so inviolable a law, upon which the welfare of all government depends. In fine, there neither are, nor have been, any nations so barbarous, nor any conjunctions or united bodies of men so inhuman, who, though they have exercised all manner of violence and oppression towards their neighbours, or their enemies, have not at the same time established and required an exact observation of justice among themselves, as fundamentally necessary for the maintaining the true interest of their own community.

But our ancient English law-makers seem to have a deeper apprehension of the necessity of this truth, than any others; and by those noble and never-to-be-forgotten laws they have left us, one would think they had a prophetic respect to the degeneracy of the present times, particularly in relation to the grievances, against which this discourse is designed; as abundantly appears from the instances and citations immediately annexed.

This Act was made *Anno 5, 6 Edw. VI. Cap. 16*, against the Sale of Offices.

THE penalty for buying or selling of some sort of offices, for the avoiding of corruption, which may hereafter happen to be in the officers and ministers in those courts, places, or rooms, wherein there is requisite to be had the true administration of justice, or services of trust: and to the intent that persons, worthy and meet to be advanced to the place where justice is to be ministered, or any service of trust executed, should hereafter be preferred to the same, and no other:

'Be it therefore enacted by the king our sovereign lord, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That if any person or persons, at any time hereafter, bargain or sell any office or offices, or deputation of any office or offices, or any part or parcel of any of them; or receive, have, or take any money or fee, reward, or any other profit, directly or indirectly; or take any promise, agreement, covenant, bond, or any assurance to receive or have any money, fee, reward, or other profit, directly or indirectly, for any office or offices, or for the deputation of any office or offices, or any part of them, or to the intent that any person should have, exercise, or enjoy any office or offices, or the deputation of any office or offices, or any part of any of them; which office or offices, or

any part or parcel of them, shall in any wise touch or concern the administration or execution of justice; or the receipt, comptrolment, or payment of any of the king's highness's treasure, money, rent, revenue, account, aulneage, auditorship, or surveying of any of the king's majesty's honours, castles, mannors, lands, tenements, woods, or hereditaments; or any the king's majesty's customs, or any administration, or necessary attendance to be had, done, or executed in any of the king's majesty's custom-house or houses; the keeping of any of the king's majesty's towns, castles, or fortresses, being used, occupied, or appointed for a place of strength or defence, or which shall concern or touch any clerkship to be occupied in any manner of court of record, wherein justice is to be ministered: That then all and every such person and persons, that shall so bargain or sell any of the said office or offices, deputation or deputations; or that shall take any money, fee, reward, or profit, for any of the said office or offices, deputation or deputations, of any of the said offices, or any part of any of them; or that shall take any promise, covenant, bond, or assurance, for any money, reward, or profit, to be given for any of the said offices, deputation or deputations of any of the said office or offices, or any part of any of them; shall not only lose and forfeit all his and their right, interest, and estate, which such person or persons shall then have, of, in, or to, any of the said office or offices, deputation or deputations, or any part of any of them; or of, in, or to, the gift of nomination of any of the said office or offices, deputation or deputations; for the which office or offices, or for the deputation or deputations of which office or offices, or for any part of any of them, any such person or persons shall so make any bargain or sale, or take or receive any sum of money, fee, reward, or profit; or any promise, or covenant, or assurance, to have or receive any fee, reward, money, or profit: But also that all and every such persons, that shall give or pay any sum of money, reward, or fee; or shall make any promise, agreement, bond, or assurance, for any of the said offices, or for the deputation or deputations of any of the said office or offices, or any part of any of them, shall immediately, by and upon the same fee, money, or reward, given or paid, or upon any such promise, covenant, bond, or agreement, had or made for any fee, sum of money, or reward to be paid, as is aforesaid, be adjudged a disabled person in the law, to all intents and purposes, to have, occupy, or enjoy the said office or offices, deputation or deputations, or any part of any of them⁴; for the which such person or persons shall so give or pay any sum of money, fee, or reward, or make any promise, covenant, bond, or other assurance, to give or pay any sum of money, fee, or reward.

And be it also enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every such bargains, sales, promises, bonds, agreements, covenants, and assurances, as before specified, shall be void to and against him and them, by whom any such bargain, sale, bond, promise, covenant, and assurance, shall be had or made."

Coke, Rep. Lib. xii. 78. Hil. 8. Jac.

IN this very term, in the case of Dr. Trevor, who was chancellor of a bishop in Wales, it was resolved, That the office of a chancellor and register, &c. in the Ecclesiastical Courts, are within the statute 5 *Edw. VI. cap. 16*. The words of which statute are, "Any office, &c. which shall in any wise touch or concern the administration or execution of justice." And the words are strongly penned against corruption of officers; for they are, "Which shall in any wise touch or concern the administration, &c." And the preamble: "And for avoiding of corruption, which may hereafter happen to be in the officers and ministers of those courts, places, and rooms, wherein there is requisite to be had the true administration of justice, in service of trust: and to the intent that persons, worthy and meet to be advanced to the places where justice is to be ministered, in any service of trust to be executed, shall be preferred to the same, and none other." Which act, being made for avoiding of corruption in officers, &c. and for the advancement of persons more worthy and sufficient for to execute the said offices, by which jus-

⁴ *Coke, Lib. xii. 78.*

' tice and right shall be also advanced, shall be expounded most beneficially to suppress corruption. And inasmuch as the law allows ecclesiastical courts to proceed in case of blasphemy, heresy, schism, incontinence, &c. and the loyalties of matrimonies, of divorce, of the right of tithes, probate of wills, granting of administrations, &c. And that from these proceedings depend not only the salvation of souls, but also the legitimation of issues, &c.

' And that no debt or duty can be recovered by executors, or administrators, without probate of testaments, or letters of administrations, and other things of great consequence: It is most reason that officers which concern the administration and execution of justice in these points, which concern the salvation of souls, and the other matters aforesaid, shall be within this statute, than officers which concern the administration or execution of justice in temporal matters; for this, that corruption of offices, in the said spiritual and ecclesiastical causes, is more dangerous than the officers in temporal causes; for the temporal judge commits the party convict to the gaoler, but the spiritual judge commits the person excommunicate to the devil. Also, those officers do not only touch and concern the administration of justice, &c. but also are services of great trust for this that the principal end of their proceedings is, *pro salute animarum*, &c. and there is no exceptor or proviso in the statute for them.'

It was resolved that such offices were within the purview of the said statute.

Here follows the Duty of a Gaoler to his Prisoners, with his and other Officers Fees due by Law.

By the common law we find, as Bracton, *Lib. iii. fol. 105.* ' Gaolers are ordained to hold prisoners, not to punish them.' For imprisonment by the law is (neither ought to be) no more than a bare restraint of liberty, without those illegal and unjust distinctions of close and open prison, (as is usual.) See *Stamf. Plac. Cor. fol. 70.*

Therefore Coke, in his 3 inst. 91. saith, ' That, if the gaoler keep the prisoners more straitly than he ought of right, whereof the prisoner dieth; this is felony in the gaoler by the common law⁵. And this is the cause, that, if the prisoner die in prison, the coroner ought to sit upon him.⁶' See also the said Coke, fol. 34. cap. Petty-Treason, how prisoners are to be used; wherein is also an account of an indictment of a gaoler for evil usage of his prisoner; fol. 35. in *Trin. 7 Ed. III. cor. Rege Rot. 44.*—That whereas one R. B. of T. was taken and detained in the prison of Lincoln castle, for a certain debt of statute-merchant⁷, in the custody of T. B. constable of the castle L. aforesaid; that the said T. B. put the said R. into the common gaol amongst thieves in a filthy prison, contrary to the form of the statute, &c. and there detained him till he had paid him a fine of forty shillings. Whereupon Coke makes this observation, ' So as hereby it appeareth, where the law requireth that a prisoner should be kept in safe and sure custody, yet that must be without any pain or torment to the prisoner.'

So Coke 3 inst. 52. saith, ' If a prisoner by duress, i. e. hard usage of the gaoler, cometh to untimely death, this is murder in the gaoler; and in the law implieth malice in respect of the cruelty.'

Horn, in the Mirror of Justice, p. 288, saith, ' That it is an abusing of the law, that prisoners are put into irons, or other pain, before they are attainted.' See also Coke 3 inst. 34, 35. And Horn also, p. 34, 36, reckons the starving of prisoners by famine, to be among the crimes of homicide in a gaoler. *Vox Plebis*, part. i. f. 55, 56.

⁵ [Britton, fol. 18. By statute 1 H. H. 601. It is lawful for the gaoler to hamper a felon with irons, to prevent his escape: but the learned editor of Hale's history observes, that this liberty can only be intended where the officer has just reason to fear an escape; as where the prisoner is unruly, or makes any attempt to that purpose; but otherwise, notwithstanding the common practice of gaolers, it seems altogether unwarrantable, and contrary to the mildness and humanity of the laws of England, by which gaolers are forbidden to put their prisoners to any pain or torment. And Lord Coke, 2 inst. 381. is express, that by the common law it might not be done.]

⁶ Flet. lib. i. cap. 26.

⁷ 1 Ed. III. cap. 7.

Which also *Coke*, in his 3 *inst. cap.* 29. tit. Felony in gaolers by duress of imprisonment, &c. by statute and by the common law, *fol.* 91.

And, next, let us see what the law saith for the fees due to gaolers: The Mirror of Justice, pag. 288, tells us, 'That it is an abusing of the law, that prisoners, or others 'for them, pay any thing for their entries into the gaol, or for their going out.' This is the common law, there is no fee due to them by the common law⁸. See what the statutes say: The statute of 3 *Edward I. cap.* 26. saith, 'That no sheriff, or other minister of the 'king, shall take reward for doing their offices⁹, but what they take of the king; if they 'do, they shall suffer double to the party aggrieved, and be punished at the will of the 'king¹⁰.' Under this word, minister of the king, are included all escheators, coroners, gaolers, &c. as *Coke*, 2 *inst. fol.* 209. affirms; and agreeable is *Stampf. Placit. Coron.* 49. Nay, by the statute of 4 *Ed. III. cap.* 10, gaolers are to receive thieves and felons, taking nothing by way of fees for the receipt of them. So odious is this extortion of gaolers, that very thieves and felons are exempt from payment of fees. And we find in our law-books, That no fees are due to any officer, gaoler, or minister of justice, but only those which are given by act of parliament: for, if a gaoler will prescribe for any fees, the prescription is void, because against this act of parliament, made 3 *Ed. I.* being an act made within the time of memory, and takes away all manner of pretended fees before, and we are sure, none can be raised by colour of prescription since; and therefore we find, by the books of 8 *Ed. IV. fol.* 18, 'That a marshal or gaoler cannot detain any prisoner after his 'discharge from the court, but only for the fees of the court (the court being not barr'd 'by this statute of *Westm.* 1. aforementioned) and, if he do, he may be indicted for extortion.' And agreeable to this, is the book of 21 *E. VII. fol.* 16, where, amongst other things, it is held for law, 'That if a gaoler, or guardian of a prison, takes his prisoner's 'proper garment, cloke, or money from him, it is a trespass; and the gaoler shall be answerable for it.' So that we may undeniably conclude, That there is no fee at all due to any gaoler, or guardian of a prison, from the prisoner, but what is due unto him by special act of parliament. And if a gaoler, or guardian of a prison, shall take any thing as a fee of his prisoner, he may and ought to be indicted of extortion, and, upon conviction, to be removed from his office; and if his prisoner, by constraint, menace, or duress, be forced to give him money, he may recover that money against the gaoler again, in an action of the case at common law.

Item, The King, considering the great perjury, extortion, and oppression, which be and have been in this realm, by his sheriffs, under-sheriffs, and their clerks, bailiffs, and keepers of prisons, &c. hath ordained by authority aforesaid, in eschewing all such extor-

⁸ [The learned and ingenious Daines Barrington remarks, that the right which the gaoler hath to demand fee of dismissal by the common law, is proved by the fifth chapter of *Ordinatio pro statii Hiberniæ, Edw. I. 17. An. 1288.* 'As the criminal (continues the same writer) is almost always in necessitous circumstances, the 'payment of this fee is often disputed, and always most justly complained of: the remedy however seems to be 'by settling a proper salary on the gaoler, as otherwise he is most clearly entitled to it. Many who exclaim 'against the gaoler's fees as unreasonable, may not perhaps know, that a secretary of state, or his officers, claim 'a fee of two guineas for an answer to the judges representation, that a criminal is a proper object of the king's 'mercy, upon condition of transportation.' *Obs. on the Statutes, 1769, p. 144.*]

⁹ ['It is not said, that he shall take no reward generally, but no reward to do his office. Thus the fee of 20d. 'called *bar-fee*, time out of mind taken by the sheriff of every person that is acquitted, is not against the statute, 'for it is not taken for doing his office.' *Coke*, 2 *inst.* 210.]

¹⁰ But there seems to be no necessity for this distinction; for it cannot be intended to be the meaning of the 'statute to restrain the courts of justice, in whose integrity the law always reposes the highest confidence, from 'allowing reasonable fees for the labour and attendance of their officers: for the chief danger of oppression is 'from officers being left at liberty to set their own rates on their labour, and make their own demands; but 'there cannot be so much fear of these abuses, while they are restrained to known and stated fees, settled by 'the discretion of the courts, which will not suffer them to be exceeded without a proper resentment.' 1 *Hawk.* 171.]

¹¹ [At the common law this offence is severely punishable at the king's suit, by fine and imprisonment; and also by a removal from the office in the execution whereof it was committed. And this statute doth add a greater penalty than the common law did give; for hereby the plaintiff shall recover his double damages. *Coke*, 2 *inst.* 210. 1 *Hawk.* 171.]

tion, perjury and oppression, 'That no sheriff¹¹ shall let to farm, in any manner, his county, nor any of his bailiwicks. Nor that any of the said officers and ministers, by occasion, or under colour of their office, shall take any other thing by them, nor by any other person to their use, profit, or avail, of any other person by them, or any of them, to be arrested or attached, for the omitting of any arrest or attachment to be made by their body, or of any person by them, or any of them, (by force or colour of their office arrested or attached) for fine, fee, suit of prison, main-prize, letting to bail, or shewing any ease or favour (to any such person arrested or to be attached) for their reward or profit, but such as follow; that is to say, for the sheriff 20*d.* the officer which maketh the¹² arrest or attachment 4*d.* and the gaoler of the prison, if he be committed to ward, 4*d.*'——'And that all sheriffs, bailiffs, gaolers, or any other officers or ministers, which do contrary to this ordinance, in any point of the same, shall lose to the party, in this behalf, indamaged or grieved, his treble damages, and shall forfeit the sum of 40*l.*¹³ for every such offence; the one moiety to the king, the other to the prosecutor, to be recovered at common law, in either of the courts of King's-Bench, or Common-Pleas, at Westminster.'

This is a perfect account of the gaoler's fees in all cases, where persons are laid in prison upon civil matters and causes, which fee of 4*d.* is more than any other statute or law allows them to take from their prisoners. But, in such cases where the king is party, it is established, 'That the prisoners in all the king's prisons should be maintained at the king's charge, and out of the king's revenues, according to the old law of the land.' Much less to have money extorted from him by the gaoler. But look into the prisons in and about the city of London, what horrible oppressions, extortions, and cruelties, are exercised upon the free-born people of England; yea, in most prisons throughout this kingdom.

So that by the law of the land it appears, that those who sell, or take any manner of reward for any publick office or place, or those who do receive any greater fee than therein is expressed, have no more property, right or interest to do it, than the pirate has to the peaceable merchant's ship, a robber to the innocent traveller's purse, or the wolf to the blood of the harmless lamb.

Thus we have traced our distempers to their very spring and original. We have shewn you the danger of our present condition, the true cause from whence it arose, and prescribed an effectual remedy against it for the future. It is the magistrate's duty now to accomplish and perfect the cure. I confess a great deal of resolution is requisite to make a thorough reformation, and stop all those bleeding wounds through which the government is insensibly breathing out its very life. Yet we are willing to assume more than an ordinary confidence of the good success of this undertaking, considering that our great senate, to their immortal glory, in their last address to his majesty, have so eminently signalized their vigorous zeal, and unshaken resolution, of reducing not only our own, but the grand enemy of Europe, to reason. I am persuaded that no one thing can contribute more to the accomplishment of so glorious a design, than a timely and general redress of the grievances here exposed and complained of. How cheerfully would the people of England receive the news of the parliament's going about a work of this nature, in relieving them from an oppression, under the weight of which every individual, at one time or other, has more or less suffered? This would not only enlarge their hearts, but make their purses, too, more free and open, in furnishing the necessary supplies which his majesty's affairs at this time so earnestly require. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that (through the negligence or remissness of the magistrates) an evil custom may sometimes obtain and fix itself so firm in the interest or opinion of the people, that there shall be less danger in conniving at it, than in endeavouring to suppress it. But then it must

¹¹ *Stat. 23 H. vi. Cap. 10. Stat. 4 H. iv. 5. Rast. Prædict. fol. 318. Coke Prædict. 365. 21 H. vii. 7. fol. 16.*

¹² *Rast. Prædict. fol. 371.*

¹³ *Stat. 21 Ed. iii.*

not be such as directly and designedly aims at the very being of government itself, as this does, which we now so justly regret. In short, the redress of this fatal calamity can offend none but such contemptible creatures, whom it is more honourable and safe to distaste than oblige; and sure it can reflect no blemish upon a government to say, they have taken away from villains the very means and temptation of being unjust and dishonest.

But as the easing of oppression, and unloading the shoulders of the poor, is the main argument of this treatise, so to push on the great cause before us yet a little further, the author hereof declares he is ready to demonstrate those reasonable methods for employing all the necessitous poor, and likewise for encouraging many thousands of idle persons to set themselves to work, though they are not reduced to the necessity of the former; which will be of such publick service and general advantage, that even the profits of their labours and industry shall more than advance the whole taxes now raised; with several other useful proposals, abundantly conducing to the benefit of trade, improvement of navigation, increase of seamen, &c. which, too long to be here set down, would require a treatise of itself.

Now, to conclude; I cannot but a little take notice of the great neglect of the pulpit, when those spiritual pilots at the helm of religion, who preach, or at least ought to preach universal charity, and denounce the comminations and judgments against all oppressions and injustice, have not publicly borne their testimony against this crying sin, in the particular national grievances before mentioned. Nor does the duty of this publick remonstrance lie less upon the great statesmen of the nation, the steerers at the temporal helm, but rather more, by so much as the immediate care and welfare of the national interest is their nearer and more particular charge and province. But, if all we have here urged in so just a cause, shall be utterly neglected, we have one farther unhappy circumstance to add to these deplorable calamities now threatening us, which is, that oppression and extortion will receive an encouragement even from these very papers, when the cry of justice, unheard and unredressed, will but harden their iniquity; whilst their impunity, like an *ignoramus* to a capital indictment, will be looked upon as their justification. And then what assurance can we possibly have of enjoying our rights, liberties, and estates, safe from the invasion of ravenous and mercenary extortioners, who make no scruple of turning butchers to the people's privileges, and conspirators against their rights and properties? Or, what prospect can we flatter ourselves with, of bringing our national endeavours to a successful conclusion, while judgment is turned back, justice stands afar off, our ancient and fundamental laws of mercy, as well as the express commands of God are turned into a shadow; and those who would reclaim these evils (in order to avert the just judgment and indignation of God, ready to break out against us) only draw on themselves the frowns and displeasure of enraged violence, as a recompence of their pains and labour?

Labour in Vain: Or, What signifies Little or Nothing? *Viz.*

- I. The Poor Man's Petitioning at Court.
- II. Expectation of Benefit from a covetous Man in his Lifetime.
- III. The Marriage of an old Man to a young Woman.
- IV. Endeavours to regulate Men's Manners by Preaching or Writing.
- V. Being a Jacobite.
- VI. Confining an Insolvent Debtor.
- VII. Promise of Secrecy in a Conspiracy.
- VIII. An Inquiry after a Place.

London: Printed and sold by most Booksellers in London and Westminster, 1700.

[Quarto; containing thirty-two pages.]

A Dialogue between the Author and the Printer.

Printer. **W**HAT title do you design to give this book?

Author. 'Labour in Vain: or, What signifies Little or Nothing?'

Printer. Then I am like to make a very hopeful bargain this morning; and grow rich like a Jacobite, that would part with his property for a speculative bubble.

Author. Be not angry: for the same estimate and epithet the greatest divines give to the whole world.

Printer. I do not like their characters, or epithets; for I believe there is a real value in our coin: and I know little of their spiritual notions; neither will I puzzle my head about what they tell me, I cannot rightly understand.

Author. I could convince you, that you are in the wrong; in being so indifferent about inquiring into the cause, nature, and value of things.

Printer. I am, in this point, a quaker; and will not by reason be convinced. Pray, Sir, tell me, am I to buy a shop full of empty pasteboard-boxes, or not?

Author. Sir, they are full.

Printer. Why, then do you put over the door, that the goods 'Signify little or nothing?' It is a strange sort of information, to expect to get customers by.

Author. I had several reasons that induced me to put this title to my book; and, not to keep you longer upon the fret, I will tell you some of them: First, the natural inquisitive humour, that reigns in mankind, after novelty; for no sooner will the title be read, or cried, but the reader, or hearer, will query what it is about, conclude it some maggot or other, and, to be satisfied, will buy it; so, you will gain by his curiosity. Then I have known many dull books, that have sold well, by the help of an ingenious, or whimsical title. 'Puffe me, Puffe mo, Puffe cannot stay, Colle molle Puff:' the oldness and maggot of that cry has sold the fellow many a tart; for many persons, who only out of curiosity have peeped into his basket, have found something or other that pleased them.

Besides the title is *apropos*; because the subjects I write about, though they make a great bustle in the world, yet their conclusions, or produce, are very frivolous, insignificant, and answer not the end designed.

Printer. To what purpose, did you spend your time in writing on such subjects? And why should I be at the labour of printing, or charge of paper?

Author. Print it by all means: it may employ some to add to it the history of the printer.

Printer. What, that my pains was 'labour in vain,' and charge signified 'little or nothing?' I am mightily obliged to you, for the method you have taken, to expose me to laughter: but let it prove as it will, if I buy the devil, I will try to sell him. But if your whim does not take, I will never buy goods again, before I have looked over the parcel.

The Poor Man's Petitioning at Court.

How fruitless and empty the requests of the poor have returned at court, whether they have been for justice or mercy, is apparent from a thousand instances: and one I will relate to you, without a peevish design of reflecting upon any particular court; for the pauper's petition is alike neglected, by what I have seen, heard, or read, in every court. A gentleman fitly qualified, who by permission had purchased an employ for life, under a king, and to his successors, upon a successor's coming to the crown (though he had taken oaths of allegiance, and done what was requisite, according to law, for qualification) to feed the avarice, or gratify the wicked bounty of a certain person, to whose care the managery was intrusted, was turned out, with only the madman's humorous reason, *sic jubeo, sic volo*. By which unjust, at least, unkind usage, he had very little left to maintain himself, wife, and four children.

At once his quondam friends sounded retreat,
Would scarce afford good words, and much less meat;
To see his face, they'd never after care,
As if his very looks infectious were:
Like careful bees, to their own hives, they flew,
As he from fortune, they from him withdrew.

I cannot forbear, in this place, putting the epithet *wicked*, to that generous virtue, bounty; since here it was a powerful robbery committed upon one man's right, to seem bounteous in a bequest to another. The deprived man, hurt, complained with all the respect a suppliant should use; but his prayer was answered with a negative. Afterwards he served that king without pay in his army abroad, and, upon the death of the possessor of his employ, he again prayed to be restored; upon which prayer, he had an order for the next vacancy, which when happened, a certain gentleman, who but a short time before had presented the deprived man to the king, in the army, and had given it under his hand, that he had been turned out, without cause, and that he served as a volunteer; gave it again under his hand, that the poor petitioner's alleging to have served in the army, was a mistake; and his last act (the former, in good manners, I will believe, being forgot) was credited; so order and petition were both dismissed, to the ruin of the man, and his family.

OBSERVATION.

By this true relation, it is evident the little success, that is to be expected from the poor unhappy man's petitioning against a man in power: for, when he pleases, he blackens and misrepresents an underling; and what a favourite says is easily believed.

Then tell me how the poor shall find relief,
Or gain a cure for undeserved grief,
Their fate depending on a king's belief?

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In such a case, a prince is the easiest man in the world to be imposed on, considering the vast multitude of affairs, that center in his ordering and manage, the particular cognisance of all which it is impossible for him to take; for, upon a kind of necessity, he is obliged to have his knowledge of several affairs, from the report that those about him are pleased to make; and what man will tell a story to his own disadvantage? And who can tell it but the favourite, whilst the poor petitioner is debarred access?

Before a fav'rite, none shall be believ'd,
And 'gainst the rich, 'tis hard to be reliev'd:
In vain you offer up an empty prayer,
Which fattens not the courtier, or his heir;
Something that's solid, and of real good
(At least for such by worldlings understood)
Must be presented, if you'd favour find,
Which rarely warms th' endowments of the mind:
But to the fortunate, and rich, are kind.
Since money weighs down justice and desert,
The poor's desires don't signify a f—t.

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Expectations of Benefit from a covetous Man, in his Life-time.

Quis pauper? Avarus! An admirable and proper answer to the question; because the covetous man wanteth that which he hath, as well as that which he hath not; as proves true by the following relation: A friend of mine, if a covetous man can be so, of genteel extraction, and suitable education, having a competent estate of four-hundred pounds *per annum*, and a thousand pounds in money, left him; which revenue as far exceeding his desire of living, as it came short of his desire of acquiring; for he no sooner had the possession, but he retrenched the usual expenses of the family; he saved charge, by putting away the mouths that caused it; and the only servant that he kept lived almost like a bear in Greenland, on the nourishment he had got in the summer of the father's life-time. In short, no anchorite lived more sparing than he, unless it were upon another's cost, and then it was a covetous humour made him eat and drink like a glutton and a drunkard. In all his actions he was base; he would steal his own goods, to make his servant pay for them. By such sordid ways his wealth was accumulated; he sold the mansion-house, because the purchase-money would yield a greater profit, than the rent amounted to; and retired from a great house (not from plenty and abundance) to a less, that he could not rent out: by such niggardly methods, in process of time, he had heaped up a very great treasure.

There was a young hopeful gentleman, his nephew, who expected to reap the fruits of his covetousness, that often came to visit him, and was always complaisant, soothed, and commended every humour, which I take to be the right way of pleasing; for certain (at least, during the time of prevailing fancy, or action) every man is pleased with his own sentiments, or doings; so consequently loves to have them approved and applauded.

He gratified the miser's appetite at his own expense, his pantry and his cellar were always ready to gratify his least motion of desire, his coach and horses attended his occasions; he baulked his own humour, neglected his pleasant and facetious companions, and confined himself to oblige his sordid temper. Though, it must be confessed, self-interest moved him, yet it pleased the wretch, when he advised him to secure his treasure, that no Rachel, or other, might steal his god. He christened his son of the Jew's name, he did,

what not? to oblige him. He defended him from robbers, at the peril of his own life: nay more, he justified his base principles, contrary to his conscience: but all the returns, that were paid to these services, were mountain-promises, whilst in his cups; but mole-hills, or no performances, when sober.

Afterwards, this obliging gentleman fell by misfortune into straits and necessities, so that his family wanted convenient subsistence; yet the other, pitiless and unconcerned, returned no good nature, no charity, no grateful act, for all his generous obligations; not so much as even common humanity would, out of mercy, oblige a Jew to shew to a stranger in misery. After the miser had bought what he had left, for half the value, he forbid him his house; and whenever he met him, he passed by him, as a stranger. At last, intestate the miserable rascal dies; for the very thought of disposing of his riches would have been as mortal as a cannon-shot: so *volens nolens*, what he left, fell to this gentleman.

But I had almost forgot to tell you, that his jealous temper, which must accompany the covetous, let their avarice be fixed on what it will, made him bury a great part of his money and writings; so that a great deal was lost, for want of the knowledge of the concealments.

OBSERVATION.

A covetous desire is properly applicable to *self*; for, even when I seem to desire the advantage of another, there is something of self in the matter; and it must be allowed, that he, I wish well, is my friend; though another's being my enemy only makes him so: so, by my desire, I gratify my own inclination, in my friend's advantage, or please my anger, in my enemy's disadvantage. A covetous man's thoughts center in his own profit; and what good goes besides him, he counts by providence wrong applied: then it is idle to expect, that he that covets all, should frustrate his vast design, by giving me a part: as covetousness is a selfish humour, it is impossible it should be diffusive.

The miser's wish is of a vast extent,
And would engross, beneath the firmament,
All that it likes; still covetous, would try
To merchandise with spirits of the sky.
His wishes only to advantage tend,
From self's their origin, in self they end;
So cannot be diffusive to a friend.
In vain a favour you expect from such,
You may as well expect one from the D——.

The Marriage of an old Man to a young Woman.

THE mutual disappointments, that commonly thwart, and hinder the happiness expected by the marriage of an old man to a young woman, the following story sets forth. An ancient gentleman, whose head age had powdered like a beau's, who in his sprightly youth could at sight answer the expectations of the most lascivious female, as Doctors-commons, and parish-books could witness; he had lived a libertine life, and had never thoughts of marriage, till he was threescore and ten, when he happened into the company of a beautiful young woman, whose charms and behaviour blew away the ashes that covered the fire that remained in the brand's end; so that it made a faint blaze, which (of late unaccustomed) warmth made the (willing to be deceived) senior fancy that there was yet a great stock of vigour in his veins, that would answer the ends of marriage. Thus when lechery had left his tail, and, agitated only by desire, he fancied mighty performances in his lustful brain, he courts this lady for his bride, who had not the charms

to renew an old *Æson's* age: sensible that his expiring flame could not long last, he was impatient of delay; so, by continual courtship, he tried to watch his mistress, like a hawk, into compliance; but it was persuasive money that made her consent to endure a Lenten penance, in expectation of an happy Easter after his death. In short, she for 'filthy lucre' married him, and submitted herself to his feeble threescore and ten years attempts: after his fluttering all the wedding-day, they were put to bed (I think that word suitable to his age), and after sack-posset eat, and stocken thrown, the company withdrew, and left them to themselves. When he failed in performance, she was frustrated in her expectation; so that their marriage signified little or nothing.

OBSERVATION.

The answer I make, to those that will say, 'every body knew this story,' is, that though I pretend to write novels, I do not novelties, but to dress up something that for one meal may be pleasing, and of grateful gust; and, perhaps, some observation may be made from this story worthy self-application. But, though the reader do not, I will, to continue the method I first designed.

To attempt any thing, which nothing but (almost) a miracle can make successful, is folly and madness; and little less can move a man of threescore years and ten to do to any purpose. An old man's marrying a young woman is like laying down a good joint of meat, to an almost consumed fire, which will blaze a while, but by the sudden decay, for want of fuel, will make it but lukewarm. He is counted a blockhead that pretends to set up a trade, when he is past labour, unless he takes an able journeyman; and I believe, in this case, no man will willingly admit of a journeyman to manage his commodity, and without one (by effects may be judged) the marriage will signify little towards procreation. Disappointments must happen to the man from natural consequence, notwithstanding the mighty belief of his abilities. I have known, from powerful fancy, when a child has been tired with walking, yet imagining he rode when he had a switch between his legs, would imitate the trot and gallop, for a small while, without complaining; but presently the weakness and imbecility of his feet made him sensible his natural strength (though agitated by desire) could not carry him to his desired home: so the old, whose vigorous heat is spent, may imagine, if he get a cock-horse, how furiously he will ride; but, like the tired child, his natural decay will appear.

The man being deceived, by consequence the woman must; and what sad effects do such disappointments cause, are evident from the future carriage of both man and woman. He grows jealous, unwilling another should feed, though he himself cannot make use of the dainties; then the poor abused woman is watched, perhaps confined, and her whole life made uneasy. Like a poor man (cajoled by mighty promises) transported to the West-Indies; when he comes there, finding himself a slave to the beck and rod of an imperious patron, being fast bound by contract, has no hopes of liberty, but from the expiration of time: such is the condition of a young woman, who, flattered with the belief of fond doating dalliance, and plenty, is betrayed into the slavery of marriage, with an old fellow, she has no hopes of deliverance from, but by the expiration of her disagreeable husband's life; her youthful heat, meeting with the icy coldness of his age, causes thunder in the house: continual jars forbid all hopes of peace.

When waves swoln high by force of mighty wind,
They fiercely meet, and are in battle join'd;
The frothy salt, with motion, 's set on fire;
But, wash'd with native water, soon expire:
So toss'd by billows of remaining lust,
Which shuffles up and down the aged dust,
Salt sparks are blown into a sudden flame,
But age's moisture soon does quench the same,

The old man's boasting promises, in love,
 Do little signify, as women prove;
 'Tis vapour all, and limber as my glove.
 In vain the aged man hopes to receive
 Blessings, which only sprightly youth can give;
 In vain a woman does expect a trade,
 From one whom stingy age has bankrupt made;
 Such disappointments happen to them both,
 Which makes the marriage prove of little worth.

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The reverse of this story, which is an old woman's marrying to a young fellow, is to the full as ridiculous, and signifies as little to a mutual content.

Endeavours to regulate Men's Manners by Preaching or Writing.

THE present age is not so very virtuous, but that we may meet with examples in almost every company and conversation, that demonstrates the little efficacy the well designed writings and publick teaching of good men have had, towards reformation of manners and the practice of virtue. But not being willing to expose particularly the insensibility that appears either in my own life, by not amending and correcting my reprov'd actions, or in the general practice of any fellow countrymen; I have pitched upon the history of Socrates, so far as it agrees with my design; that is, to shew how little the good documents he taught signified to the reform or benefit of the Athenians, and the odium they caused from those he endeavoured to amend.

Socrates, who was born in a small village called Halopex, under the Athenian jurisdiction, is commonly called the Athenian; to distinguish him from several others of that name, one of which wrote the history of Argos; another was a Bithynian, &c. This Socrates, the Athenian, was taught philosophy under Anaxagoras: he was a man of great temperance, of a strong constitution, one who inquired into the nature of sublime things, studied humanity, practised and publicly preached, to poor and rich, virtue and good manners; to be silent, and not to reprove wicked men, he counted a crime against the gods; to discourse of virtue, he esteemed as a great happiness; and, employing himself almost constantly in instructing of the citizens, he neglected mightily his private affairs, so that he was poor, and told the Athenians, that he ought to be maintained out of the prytaneum, or publick store-house; that he ought to be rewarded more than a victor, for the conqueror could but make them appear to be happy, when, by his instructions in virtue, if practised, they would really be so, not only from present serenity of mind, but in futuro; for he believed an immortality of the soul, and the very day he died, he employed in discoursing of, and (by convincible arguments to his friends) proved the soul's indivisibility, and (consequently) immortality. He taught as he believed, that nothing of evil could happen to a good man, his concerns being taken care of by the gods; but, notwithstanding his eloquently persuasive speeches upon so noble a subject, as virtue, (which, for its own sake, ought to attract man's inclinations, and affections,) the Athenians were so far from reforming from their accustomed immoralities, that Miletus, Anytus, and others, accused him, as guilty of a capital crime, for instructing the people in the ways of virtue, and for reproving them, when they acted contrary to morality and good manners. They were so exasperated against him for his good endeavours to introduce honesty and piety, (inconsistent with their practice,) that, without a confronting witness, they condemned him to death; which sentence was put in execution by a draught of poison. By which barbarous usage, it is apparent, that all his teaching signified little towards the reformation of the lives of his fellow citizens.

OBSERVATION.

Though licentiousness is more agreeable and facile to the depraved nature of mankind; yet almost every age hath produced a preaching experienced Solomon, a Socrates, a Plato, or some such good men, who have endeavoured, by writing and teaching, backed with the inducing reasons of a present serenity of mind, that must, upon necessity, accompany virtuous actions, or the glorious prospect of an unconceivable reward hereafter; to persuade men by arguments, conducing to self-interest (which, in all other cases, is prevalent) to practise piety, honesty, and civility; yet, what poor crops have the stony soil produced, every age against itself is witness. The libertinism of an heathen I do not so much wonder at, because he has no thoughts of futurity to check his mad career; but that men who are daily taught, and instructed in piety and morality, and who, upon a self query, will own that they really believe to do good is for their advantage, should act directly contrary to their belief, is an extravagant madness not to be paralleled. Is there no remedy for so great and contagious an evil to be found? Yes, an heathen teaches me one, *trahimur exemplis plus quam præceptis*: for, if those in power and greatness practised virtue, the underlings would imitate; if it was customary, every one would be in the fashion. But, whilst vice and immorality are countenanced by the great, orders for keeping the Sabbath, and against profaneness, are of little efficacy: for, when the great fish break the net, the little ones will go out at the rent. Though arguing for virtue, and good manners, is highly to be recommended, yet the little reformation we find shews, that hitherto it has signified little or nothing.

He that would bar me of a coming joy,
 And by strict rules my liberty destroy,
 In trammels makes me pace away my life,
 'Twixt nature and his rules is constant strife;
 So irksome and uneasy I must be,
 By reason of their great antipathy.
 This is the language of th' unthinking man,
 Who, led by custom, loves to be profane;
 And will not change his road, whate'er you teach,
 Scarce, though a Jonah once again should preach:
 But still that monkey, man, would imitate,
 And virtue practise, copy'd from the great.
 Examples, wanting precepts, are but vain;
 And moving arguments, in florid strain,
 Won't make the blockish crowd from ill refrain. }

Being a Jacobite.

ONE whom, out of good manners, I must style a gentleman, because he justly claims that title from his ancestors; and it must be allowed him now, even in his adversity, since his accounted crimes of omission, in not actually complying to the laws in force, proceed from the dictates of his conscience, and not from an obstinate spirit of contradiction: for though this gentleman's opinion will not permit him to comply in the active part, yet, out of submission to the laws of his country, without refractoriness, he is obedient in the passive. This gentleman, as many others, is at this time termed a Jacobite; as being the title customarily used, in opposition to Williamite; concluding, that he that is not for me, is against me.

Upon the revolution, in the year 1688, (which by unfathomed providence was brought about, so contrary to rational appearance, that after ages will hesitate at the belief of the heroic attempts of the present king; and the unaccountable manage of the last) this man was turned out of several considerable employs; or rather he turned himself out; for it

cannot be expected, that any will be master, unless by power, to those that will not serve them. Stripped of his incomes, he, for a while, handsomely subsisted; but, feeding constantly upon last year's crops, without sowing for another harvest, his granary was emptied without hopes of replenishing, without a miracle. Reduced, he herded with those of his own opinion, that (by the benevolence of fortune) were able to relieve him; and did, generously, for a time: but, continual dependance made him sensible of the bitterness of the curse. The undervaluing slights, the tiring attendance, often refusals, beggarly loans, reprimands, advice too late given; all which, with appearing patience, by force he was obliged, if he would eat, to undergo, made him almost distracted in his thoughts. The impending misery of want, by its near approach, appearing dreadful and affrighting, put him upon the studious thoughts, how to subsist for the future. He considered the many reasons drawn from self-interest, and other powerful motives, for conforming to the present government: the general consent and practice of many, whose learning and integrity he could not call in question, unless he should contradict his own experience, made him bring his manage into examination, and his rational arguments made him often waver, and query the prudence of his opinion; so far, that he had some thoughts of conforming to what the representatives of the nation had agreed. But, having long stood out, he could have no hopes of being received with that favour, so as to be trusted in any considerable employ, either civil, military, or ecclesiastical: he was too poor, and of too little interest, to expect an honourable title; too illiterate to be made a dean; too well known to be trusted with the managing of a secret in national affairs; so he stuck to his old principles, though he reaped no advantage by them; for poverty, like ivy, twines to the Jacobite, and spoils his growth: his opinion contradicting, in general, the sentiments of the greatest part of the nation, was so far from being any ways advantageous to him, that it exposed him to want, and debarred him from the hopes of repairing his ruined fortunes.

OBSERVATION.

This story is equally applicable to Jacobite, Williamite, Whig, Tory, or what other name of distinction is given to any man, who rows not with the common stream that the river of his country runs; he tugs against the tide, and makes very little progress. To oppose the general sentiments of a country, is drawing up-hill by choice, and gives just cause for people to call a man's judgment in question, since there is a nearer and down-hill beaten path at hand. It is something like going in the Strand, towards the Horse-guard, on a Sunday in the evening, when one has the trouble of meeting the current of the city-gentry going from the Park: he that complies not to the practice of a nation, appears like one in a sad-coloured coat, bearing arms amongst the guard at Whitehall; he is started at; and, if observed by a superior, will be punished.

Relating to a man's compliance, or non-compliance, it ought to be considered, whether what is required be consonant to justice and self-preservation, argued *pro* and *con* in reference to spiritual and temporal affairs; the last not contradicting the former's positive commands. And sure I am, or must appear to be, to rational men, much wiser, or more blockish than the rest of the nation, in a general council consenting, if I oppose or refuse conformity to its agreement. Parallel examples ought to be searched for; and the method of proceedings that have been commonly taken by others, (approved of by future allowance to have been just, and fitting to be done,) ought to guide, and mightily sway me to concord to such approved precedents: for, if a man disagrees out of a particular opinion or interest, he (as far as in him lies) calls the discretion of a great many in question, and battles a number with his opiniated reason: from such proceeding, one can expect no benefit or reputation. No advantage, because none will trust another (in any thing of weight) that is of a contrary persuasion; because it is reasonable to believe, that every man is inclinable to act what suits best to his fancy, and most conduces to bring to effect his desired aim: so, instead of serving that interest by which intrusted, to gratify his real sentiments, he will betray the secrets to him committed.

What is in vogue carries a present reputation ; then, being a Jacobite, must consequently cause an undervaluing, and so signify little or nothing.

Allow sentiments offer'd, right or wrong,
 If judge and jury too join with the throng;
 In contradiction to the present thought,
 My sole opinion signifieth nought;
 'Tis over-rul'd, and I am surely cast,
 Which proves the fate of separatists at last:
 For to oppose the torrent of a stream,
 Resist a greater power, is like my dream,
 Which fancies mighty riches, mighty power,
 But, poor and weak, I meet the waking hour;
 With a *probatum est* some sadly tell,
 What once they were, to what they now are fell.

Confining an insolvent Debtor.

A GRAVE citizen, an alderman's fellow, (by losses and crosses, and God knows what,) was reduced to the necessity of leaving his house, and moving himself and effects into the sanctuary for bankrupts, White-friars; where for a while he confined himself to his chamber, and when he went out, the company seasoned to the place, who were no proud men, but would quickly be acquainted without ceremony, made him ashamed, and blush like a young sinner, the curtains undrawn. With care he soon cast up his books, and, subtracting his debtors from his creditors, he found a greater balance due, than he was able to pay; but, willing (as it is natural for all creatures) to be at liberty, he summoned his creditors, and offered them ten shillings for every pound, reserving for himself but a small pittance to subsist on, or lay a new foundation for fresh credit. But some (Jews in practice) refused a compliance to any abatement, and resolved to make dice of his bones. Their cruelty grieved and afflicted him so much, that his sorrow and concern was apparent in his face; and, being asked the reason, he told, 'That his creditors' non-compliance was the cause of it.' Upon which, a doctor in the civil laws, of the place, took him to task; told him his security there; brought examples and precedents, how Tom such an one, and Sir John such an one, had used their creditors, and brought them to compliance. Unmerciful rogues! What, refuse to take ten shillings in the pound? If I might advise you, they should not have above half-a-crown; I intend to give mine but eighteen pence; sure you are not such a fool to part with all, and suffer yourself and family to want. Such company, such examples, such documents, have washed away the honest first intents of many a man, but it could not float his; for he still designed, to his power, to satisfy every body: but unwilling to be caged in a closer prison, he there lived, and spending upon the main stock constantly, it wasted so fast, that at his next proposal to his creditors, he could offer but five shillings; which was also rejected. And some time after, not being watchful of his ways, the catchpoles seized him, at the suit of an old protesting friend of his, a neighbour, for whom he would have sent, hoping mercy from their former intimate acquaintance; but, the officers telling it would be to no purpose, since that warrant, which they named to him, was but one amongst twenty they had against him; so, after squeezing him out of twenty shillings for dinner, ale, and brandy, they lodged him in the compters; where his fellow-prisoners flocked about him, some pulling this way, some that, like watermen at turn of ebb at Billingsgate, all calling for garnish; which clamorous demand never ceased, till he had paid it. The want of liberty made him value it more than ever, and, desiring next to life his liberty, he, with prayers, entreated his creditors to accept of all that he had; but they refused it, and would not believe that he gave a true or just account, though he offered to make oath of it: so, by

living there, the poor man, for necessities, consumed what merciful men would have been contented with; when the parliament, out of consideration of the misery, that many (not able to pay their debts) in prison endured, ordered a discharge upon such and such conditions, under the which he was comprehended, and consequently discharged without paying one farthing; whereas, if the creditors had formerly complied, they might have had half their debts, and the man his liberty; so their confining him proved their detriment. And the like happens to others, when the insolvent die in custody; for, where it is not to be had, the king must lose his right.

OBSERVATION.

Such has been the fate of many insolvent debtors, and such has proved the return to many uncharitable and cruel creditors; and, I believe, all merciful men would think the last deserved. Expectation to recover debts by confining an insolvent man, whereby he is debarred of opportunity to acquire wherewithal to pay his debts, is an Egyptian proposal, to make brick without straw; *quod ultra posse non est esse*.

It is a very good law, in the seigniority of Biscay, That no native Biscaner shall be imprisoned for debt above forty-eight hours; but the creditor, in that time, shall have judgment against whatsoever effects shall be found to be his, or what afterwards he, either by labour, art, or otherwise, shall acquire; yet, upon giving security not to depart the seigniority, he shall be discharged out of custody, to get his livelihood.

I have heard, that in Holland no creditor shall keep in prison an insolvent debtor, unless he will maintain him there, with subsistence to preserve his life: but here in England, in this point, we out-do the Dutch in cruelty; confining people to starve, contrary to humanity, mercy, or policy. One may as reasonably expect his dog should catch an hare, when chained to a post, as that a poor debtor should, in a goal, get wherewithal to pay his debts.

Ask but the cruel man, what he would have
From his poor debtor, to his will a slave,
Confin'd in prison? Presently he'll say,
'My money;' yet acts quite contrary way
To gain his end; for, how can one expect,
Where no cause moves, there should be an effect?
What silly farmer will confine his cow
From needful herbage, for no harder lowe
For food? Or, in reason can he believe,
By such confinement, he shall milk receive?
As silly is the hope, when you confine
A man insolvent, for to raise the coin,

Promise of Secrecy in a Conspiracy.

THOUGH I could produce variety of instances, out of ancient history, suitable to this subject, yet I have chose one, which has come to the knowledge, and is still fresh in the memory of almost every Englishman, to shew the little trust and confidence, that is to be given to the solemn promises of secrecy in a conspiracy, or wicked design.

In the year 1699, several angry discontented men clubbed to the hatching a plot or conspiracy for subverting the present government; and for the more certainty of effecting it, designed (contrary to honour and common humanity) to take off the present head, that the limbs might be in confusion, wanting an immediate director for their motion; so, in the hurly-burly, to have proclaimed one, who unhappily has too much proclaimed himself.

There is no need of mentioning their design at large, on the progress they had made; every man knowing the drift of their conspiracy, and the conspirators; so I will only

take notice, that, after their plot was laid, the assassins agreed on, and secrecy sworn to, (at the Sun-Tavern, and other places,) some of them (false, first to their country, then to their adherents) discovered the conspiracy. I wish it were done out of a repentant principle, and believing a promise to do evil ought not to be kept: but their covetous soliciting for rewards induces me to believe, that the principle of self-interest was the chief motive of their discovery; but, let it proceed from what cause soever, it is apparent, that the obligations, under which they were engaged, were not of force to keep the secret undiscovered; the like discoveries have been made at Venice, at Rome, at Genoa, and in almost all the kingdoms on the earth; though the greatest cautions and securities that self-preservation, or aspiring ambition could invent, to tie up the confessing tongue, have been made use of. He that will be villain, in attempting a great evil, is not to be trusted; for it is probable he would be so in a lesser, especially if he expects to reap advantage by it.

OBSERVATION.

Seldom any resolution is so fixed, but that apparent benefit (as self-preservation, or riches,) will alter it, especially when the resolve is evil; for no man, though never so much prompted by ambition, avarice, lust, or revenge, but has a monitor within, which dictates to him, that his resolve and attempt is evil in itself; and, from what one's reason informs to be bad, a man is easily drawn from effecting. So we find many men who dare undaunted look death in the face, in a just cause, will recant and appear cowards, when ill is to be attempted; from whence has proceeded many discoveries of plots and conspiracies, to the secrecy of which, men have obliged themselves by all the ties that are counted sacred and binding: such are to be counted repentants, because they discover the design out of an odium to the evil. But some, without considering good or evil, in relation to futurity, discover the secret conspiracies with them intrusted, not for conscience, but for lucre sake; others, when their first heat is over, grow pusillanimous, and confess to save their lives; sometimes infinite wisdom confounds their councils and devices, leads them into errors and mistakes, and by ways unimaginable, brings to light the hidden things of darkness.

Whilst a protecting providence does sway,
 Whilst men inspired dictates do obey,
 Whilst life has value, and reward has love,
 Protested secrecy in ill does prove
 Of small validity: the first will act
 What's consonant to justice of a fact;
 The second by impulsive power command;
 What wo'n't man do to keep his wasting sand?
 And bountiful reward makes men betray
 Their dearest kin, and friendship wipes away.
 Subject to power, and tempted by a bait,
 Too pleasing to deny, of little weight
 Proves promis'd privacy; then why should I
 Meddle in plots, in hopes of secrecy?

The Progress of an Inquirer after Places.

THOUGH disappointments are, in some degree or other, most commonly the companions that attend and thwart the hopes and expectations of all mankind; yet have I not observed more disappointments generally to accompany any attempt, than I have the endeavours, and designs, to get into reputable places and employments; as by the sequel will appear.

An English gentleman, who, by hospitality amongst his country neighbours, had spent the greatest part of his estate; having very little, besides the mansion-seat of his family

left, seeing himself slighted by those very men who had largely tasted of his bounty, seriously began to consider, how he should still support himself in some credible reputation: and after he had run over several designing thoughts, and built castles in the air, he at last fixed upon the common hopes of getting a place, or employ, at London. To effect which, he presently sold the remaining part of his estate; and to London he came, to put in practice the scheme he had drawn, for raising once again his fortune. His first application was, to be sure, to one of the worthy burgesses that served for a neighbouring corporation, who by the charms of bribery, and by virtue of his strong drink, had carried the election *nemine contradicente*; him he acquainted with his design, and desired his kind assistance, who presently promised fair for country sake, though he was an Irishman. Upon his promise, every morning he danced attendance at the levee of my dear joy; and, when he walked, he kept cringing on his larboard quarter, not presuming to go cheek by jowl with one of the representatives of the nation; who had the same business during the whole sessions of parliament, that he had during the term time, two motions a day, to Westminster and back again: but finding his waiting, and the other's promises, would signify the same thing, and the senator being gone to Tunbridge (where the proverb was on his side,) he bethought himself what farther methods were to be taken; and luckily finding, on a coffee-house table, a paper, intituled 'A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, by John Houghton, F. R. S.' Wherein he found, that he knew of several that wanted men, so or so qualified or recommended, and several that were so and so qualified and recommended, that wanted the employments which others wanted to have officiated. At first view, he thought this paper as a pillar of light to guide him in the dark: but upon examining the inquiries after places and employs, and those that wanted agents, found they answered one another's occasions, and that there was not one agent inquired after, but there was the same place sought for; so he despaired of success from that, seeing every one's occasion might be supplied.

Though his sleep, or rather slumber, was unquiet and short, occasioned by the concern that hagged his thoughts about his future earthly well-being, yet his lying awake was more tormenting to him; as much as impending want had then a more lively impression, than his drowsy fancy could represent: so trying, as if it were to avoid himself, he arose, slighting beauish formality, soon dressed himself, and went to Man's coffee-house; where, though it was early in the morning, he found talkative Will, a tall elderly man, with his own hair, diverting the company, sometimes in English, sometimes in French: in both languages he told stories as improbable to be true as all D. O's narrative. He took upon him the statesman, and told the company he knew of funds that would have raised money enough to defray the charge of the war, without being any pressure to the subject. He blamed all that he was pleased to think mismanagement in the concerns of the nation; and then gravely told them, how all might have been prevented; (which every blockhead can do, after the act is past) and, for the future, how he would have things managed: but, mercy upon us, if affairs were to be ordered by his managery (looking upon his conduct) it may reasonably be believed, that they would have been ten times worse directed.

After he had railed at several particular persons, whose names he did not tell (but described them plainer than I do him) he grumbled at the bounty bestowed upon favourites. But I suppose his cousin Harry's humour then possessed him, who always rails when he is poor; but whilst a bounty is in his pocket (which never wears it out) he is as much for praising, as when penniless, in railing and reflecting. If variety be pleasing sure Mr. William's discourse was diverting; for he run over stories (as much as the time would allow) of men and women of all qualities, all sorts of countries, governments, languages, horses, dogs, cocks, wine, snuff, &c. as positively as if he had been an eye or ear witness, had travelled them all over, been a privy-councillor in every one of them; a professor of languages; owned, or laid wagers; drank, tasted, or snuffed of every sort. But at last took opportunity (though no occasion offered) to tell how nigh he was related to, and how he was beloved and respected by a Dutch-English nobleman; which at last startled my inquirer from the confusion the medley of his discourse had put him into, and brought into his thought, that this gentleman's interest might do him a kindness.

His approaching necessity having made him confident beyond his natural temper, he presently inquired the gentleman's name and lodging, and that day waited upon him; and, in short, desired his favour towards helping him to an employ fit for a gentleman, and at the same time promised to be grateful; Mr. William, who never wants complimentary civility, told him, that he would assist him in what lay in his power, and mentioned to him several places that he might endeavour to get; but, knowing none then vacant, he desired he would meet him on the morrow, when he would bring a man (meaning his cousin Harry) whom the cobweb laws cannot confine (though in close confinement) who knew of forty to be disposed of.

The next day, according to appointment, they all met, and Harry cajoled my inquirer, and fitted his humour to a T; indeed, he must be of a very stingy temper whom he cannot please, for he is really a very sensible gentleman. My inquirer's desires were made known to him; and Harry, who never parts with a man but he leaves him a plausible prospect of effecting his designs, laid down such assurances upon promises made in his favour, that my gentleman began to believe at such a day he might enter into pay or salary. But, before he parted, Harry had nicely examined (though at a distance) how his stock was, either to bribe or purchase; and, in a day or two, was to give my inquirer a positive answer. But I had almost forgot to tell you, that just at parting, Harry bore up to him, and told him, that, though he would serve a gentleman *gratis* with his labour, yet there would be expenses; to defray which, he expected he should bring him ten guineas the next morning. My inquirer, buoyed up with hopes, came the next morning with ready rhino in his pocket, had immediately admittance into a room spread with old carpets, that the man at the 'Three Roses' had refused to stitch cards on. Presently, honest Harry (who, like the hungry Jew, watched the falling manna,) came in, and accosted him with, "Sir, I have done your business, for I was with my lord last night; and, to serve you, spent my own interest, so effectually, that I had his promise on your behalf." Upon these words the manna dropt into his hands; which Harry never kept till the following day, for fear it should turn sour.

My inquirer's moving hand having reached ten, (at which number Harry's alarm stood,) it immediately rung a peal in division about places, for half an hour together, that he¹ that wrote the present state of England, in the year 1694, was a blockhead compared to him; for he has not mentioned a quarter of the places and employs that Harry named to my inquirer, and gave him the choice of any of them. He, that put an advertisement for the sale of horses, cannot in a month's time name so many horses to be sold, as he pretended to know employs. My inquirer, amongst the many texts this parson quoted, pitched upon two or three which served to his liking; and when Mr. Harry had done talking, he told him, such or such would suit his education, and agreed with his humour. "Oh, (says Harry) those are not as yet vacant, but they will be, perhaps, before the parliament rises; for they are resolved to suffer very few members of the house to be in employs, wherein any branch of the revenue is to be managed; and, since it is certain some will part with their places rather than be turned out of the house, your study must be how to get into one of those they abdicate: to effect which, you must try to ingratiate yourself with a s—— of s——², with three of the l—— of the t——³, at least: and the thoughtful gentleman, who, by much labour of his brain, hammers out things in a great perfection, to be known and well recommended to the p—— c——⁴; for some employs must be granted in c——⁵. Now, the fittest man upon earth, to be your solicitor there, is W. F. who, though he is foundered in his feet, has a natural assurance to tell a story plausibly to any nobleman, though it is seldom minded; he is old dog with the ladies and boys, and their constant solicitor. Besides, he may be, from his own interest, very serviceable to you; for I know, the other day, he helped a footman to a place, and took but half-a-crown for his labour.

It will also be requisite for you to learn decimals and gauging, and make application

¹ [Dr. Chamberleyne.]

² [Secretary of State.]

³ [Lords of the Treasury.]

⁴ [Privy Council.]

⁵ [Court.]

to the c—— of e——⁶; or to the l—— of the a——⁷, or to the c—— of the c——⁸. But you must not neglect making application to several particular persons, who always seem in an hurry, as if they had the whole concerns of the nation to manage: amongst which there is honest Tony, who seldom gives the Court of Pleas, and Exchequer, much trouble to draw up a report; ‘A. R. is not duly elected.’ I must beg pardon when I say, it is hard, that so understanding a gentleman, one that knows how to take all advantages, should not be in the house; no man being fitter to caution against deceits than the ——. He has been serviceable to the nation by the project of packing of hay; by the manage of which, horses eat less than usual, and their bellies were taken up, without belly-cloths; the smell did their business; yet Tony had but 3*l*. a load for what cost him 25*s*.

His principles may be guessed by his practice, and he has declared his sentiments, how people, that would thrive, should manage themselves; and designs, if he may be believed, to instil the same principles into his children: for he told an honest gentleman, that if he had a son, he would advise him to flatter and dissemble with all mankind, never to speak truth but when it was for his advantage. With this worthy gentleman it will be necessary to be acquainted, if you have money to purchase an employ under the m—— of the h——⁹; for every one of them, that were in his reach, he was either sold, or been a broker in the matter. You need make no interest to him by intercession of friends; for he has no respect to persons, principles or qualities; but, like a late deceased knight, whose wit (by mistake so called) lay in bold examinations of scripture-passages, buffoonly ridiculing what was beyond his shallow capacity to understand, has regard only to the money, let it come from Williamite, Jacobite, or Devil. Besides him, there is another you should be acquainted with, that is a blinking fellow, a mere pretender to the law, who could scarce read (allowing brevitations) at the Exchequer-bar. He, by his pretensions, one would think, had the disposal of forty considerable places: indeed, he has most of the gentry at his beck, though it is a shame to see how poor-spirited some of them are, to cringe and creep to him, whom most men avoid; though there is a broad mixture in this man of knave and fool, yet he so manages, by tricks and lies, a certain person, in whose power it is to make you one extraordinary, that a trial ought to be made of his interest. And sure, by some of these, with my assistance (which you shall never want) a man of your birth, education, and ingenuity, cannot miss of some employ or other. Now, Sir, I have told you what is to be done, use your endeavour; and, when you have fixed upon your particular, come again to me, and I (as Mr. Houghton says) can help.

My inquirer, with his head full of his counsel, takes leave, resolving to meditate on it, and put it in practice; but, going down stairs, he saw a written paper which Harry’s servant had dropped; and, being curious, took it up, and put it in his pocket to read at leisure; the first opportunity he had, he opened the paper, and found as follows: ‘Answers, excuses, and observations, to be got by heart, and used, as occasion offers, by my servant Robin.

‘If a man knocks hard early in a morning, with a cane in his hand, believe him to be a creditor, and the first time answer him, that I am not well, and you dare not disturb me; to countenance which, be sure two or three days in a month, tie a rag upon the knocker of the door:—the second time, I was sent for about earnest business, to any busy noblemen you first think of. Afterwards, say for me as you would have others say for you to whom you owe money: but be sure you be not catched in a lie, for people are too apt to believe that courtiers servants lie, though they speak truth, if their desires be not complied with. If it be one that wears a sword, it is ten to one but it is either some body I am in combination withal to cheat another, or that he himself is to be cheated; him presently admit, for from such, corn comes to the mill. If it be one whose company I have shunned, send him to some tavern or coffee-house out of the verge of the court, where, to be sure, I never go but on a Sunday.’

⁶ [Commissioners of Excise.]
⁸ [Commissioners of the Customs.]

⁷ [Lords of the Admiralty.]
⁹ [Master of the Horse.]

Some part of the paper had been torn off, but one may be certain, he had learned the whole lesson by the variety of shams and excuses he had constantly ready. Bless me! How was my inquirer surprised at the reading it? And began to conceive that he was fallen into the hands of a tongue-padding cheating courtier: but finding his counsel, in some measure, ought to be followed, he was resolved to make applications as he was directed. In a short time, by friends or money, he was little or much recommended to almost all fortune's darlings, that had the disposal of any employs: one or other of them he was almost continually waiting on with the recommendation of my lord such an one, Sir such an one, or honest Mr. such an one; and every one to whom he was recommended, like true courtiers, spoke him fair. One promised the next thing that fell; another promised to take care of him; a third, out of kindness, would have him qualify himself, that upon any opportunity, he might jump in; a fourth took money in part; and, a fifth invited him to dinner, which gentleman, it must be said of him, did him more kindness than all the rest; for, after he had waited half a year, he found their promises to be only air. For, when the first had power, by a vacancy, to be sure he said, 'He was pre-engaged.' The second's care was to avoid him. The third gentleman would not give him opportunity to jump, continually selling reversions. The fourth did his business but in part; for he could never get all his money again. Thus shuffled off from one to another, by fair words and promises, he spent a great deal of time, and all his money to no purpose; meeting with so many disappointments, and really wanting necessities, and reflecting on the usage he had met withal, and dreading the poverty he saw approaching, he had fallen into despair, but that he had still the happiness to carry in his mind the thoughts of futurity, from which he resolved as much as possible to be content; and, to strengthen him in his acquaintance and resignation to a Supreme Will, he often went to church: but one day going into St. Martin's, though early, the surly clerk refused him admittance into a pew, which so mightily concerned him, that he went to his lodging, and whilst the thought continued, he wrote the following verses:

To what extremities am I driven,
 When parish-clerks bar my converse with Heaven,
 As much as in the surly rascals lie?
 Who, by the face, the pocket do descry, }
 And, *sine* pence, admittance they deny! }
 These under-graduate Peters of the church,
 Would sell to Simon the heavenly gift,
 If to their avarice and humour left:
 Perhaps the men did my misfortunes know,
 Afraid to trust me, who so much did owe;
 Deny'd admittance, lest that I should pray
 Blessings, for which they thought I'd never pay.

Having long racked his brains, and spent his money and time in vain, his peery landlord, by a writ, secured him a safe place in the Marshalsea, *durante vita*, unless a compassionate parliament release him by an act of grace.

Fed up with hope by such, his money's spent,
 But has no greater prospect, than if lent
 To needy noblemen, of its return,
 Who seldom pay a debt, but to the urn.
 Place-brokers to inquirers still speak fair,
 Blow up a bubble-globe, which turns to air;
 Like lottery-projectors, draw a scheme,
 How thousands may be got,
 If, if they draw the lot;
 But hit, or miss, there's profit still to them.

A View of the Court of St. Germain, from the Year 1690 to 95. With an Account of the Entertainment Protestants meet with there. Directed to the Malecontent Protestants of England.

London: Printed for R. Baldwin, near Oxford-Arms Inn, in Warwick-Lane, 1696.

[Quarto; containing thirty Pages.]

The Preface.

THE ages to come will hardly believe, that in England there should be found one single Protestant Jacobite, at this time of day: and the reformed nations abroad are at a loss what to make of that unaccountable species of men. When most of the Roman Catholick princes have heartily embraced the late revolution in Britain, as the last effort for the common liberty of Europe, and have entered into the strictest alliance, with those of an opposite religion, to support it; it looks like a dream, to meet with any English Protestant in an interest contradictory to, not only the publick liberty of their country, but to the religion they profess.

It was indeed no great wonder, that the late king made all the steps possible towards the change of the religion, in his opinion, heretical; at a time, when he was upon the throne, and backed with all the promising supports of regal power; yet even then he thought himself obliged to keep some measures with his protestant subjects, and instead of a total rupture with them, endeavoured to lull them a-sleep, under the specious pretence of liberty of conscience, till all his engines were ready to give the fatal blow. But now, that he has fallen under circumstances, which one would think should much more than ever oblige him to assume anew, at least keep on the old mask: upon the quite contrary, since he went to France, he has taken all pains imaginable to let the world know his inveterate aversion to all those of the reformed religion, though never so much his friends; and, at the same time, has given us the most authentic demonstration of his firm design, never to allow any there of his favour, nor owe his restoration to any but Roman Catholics. All which will appear by the following account of his carriage towards those few Protestants, that have followed his sinking fortunes, the length of St. Germain's.

THERE being already so many volumes to shew the lawfulness of the late revolution, it is superfluous, it seems, to make any further attempt on the same subject; for, if you have shut your eyes against the strong arguments and convincing proofs made use of in those books, who can flatter himself to cure you of that wilful blindness? However, I hope, this plain account I make bold to direct to you, will not prove altogether useless: for, when I consider your party, I think I may reasonably believe that it is made up of some good and honest men, though misguided by a tender conscience, and of some self-interested persons, who being not able to obtain the preferments they expected, have turned Jacobites, in hopes to advance their fortune by a second revolution. But, give me leave to tell you further, that after an impartial inquiry into the life and conversation of your party, I have all the reason in the world to conclude, that the number of the

conscientious Jacobites I have spoken of, must be very little, and that the greatest number amongst you are hurried away by the imaginary hopes I have hinted at; therefore, if I can convince you that you have no reason to flatter yourselves, to obtain any reward or preferments under King James, (no, not when he should be restored by your means,) I hope some of you will open your eyes to your own interest, and forsake a prince from whom you cannot expect any grateful return.

I will not recall to your minds his behaviour, while he was on the throne of England: I suppose nobody has forgot, that no Protestants were welcome to him, but such as would promise to betray the liberties of their country to popery, and arbitrary power: neither shall I mention how severely he used the Protestants of Ireland in 1689. You would be apt to say, that, being in popish hands, he could not avoid it: but I intend only to give you a short view of his court at St. Germain, and an account of the entertainment the Protestants of your party have met there. For, if a prince in his circumstances, whose interest it ought to be to court Protestants, cannot conceal, for a time, the hatred he has for them; what treatment can you expect from him, when he is re-inthroned, and supported by the power of France?

King James, retiring into France after his defeat at the Boyne, left the administration of his affairs in Ireland to my Lord Tyrconnel¹; and in Scotland, to the Colonels Buchan and Cannon; and the French king having appointed St. Germain in Laye, for his reception, he there began to form a court in the year 1690, and his household was constituted as follows:

The Duke of Powis, lord-chamberlain.

Col. Porter, vice-chamberlain.

Col. Skelton, comptroller.

The Earls of Dumbarton and Abercome, lords of the bed-chamber.

Captains Macdonald, Beadle, Stafford, and Trevanian, grooms of the bed-chamber.

The two Sheldons, esquires.

Fergus Graham, privy-purse.

Sir John Sparrow, board of green-cloth; and Mr. Strickland, vice-chamberlain to the queen.

The Officers of State were as follow:

Mr. Brown (brother to my Lord Montague Brown, and sometime commissioner of the customs) secretary of state for England.

Father Innes, president of the Scots college at Paris, secretary of state for Scotland.

Sir Richard Neagle, secretary of state for Ireland.

To these were added, as a junto, Mr. Carril, the queen's secretary; and Mr. Stafford, formerly envoy at the court of Spain; whom the king called together as a privy-council, to advise with upon all emergencies: the earl of Melford², prime-minister of state, being sent to Rome sometime before, partly to negotiate King James's affairs at the pope's court, and partly to remove him from the jealousies of the Irish, who, at that time, wholly monopolized this prince's ear and favour.

Thus things continued for a-while; but Ireland being reduced some time after, and the

¹ [Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnel, a bigotted papist, was in 1687, appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of the earl of Clarendon. This struck such a terror into many of the Protestants of that kingdom, that some of them left, and others sold their estates and came over to England.

Vide Presby's Memoirs, 4to. p. 134.]

² [John Drummond, earl of Melford, was secretary of state, and privy-councillor, in the reign of James. Soon after the accession of that prince, he, together with his brother, the earl of Perth, and the earl of Murray, became a convert to the Roman Catholic Religion. He adhered to the king in his exile, and was sent ambassador by him to the pope. He died abroad in 1713, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

Granger's Biog. Hist.]

Scottish highlanders submitting, the court of St. Germain was every day thronged with gentlemen from those kingdoms, as well as from England; and then a protestant party began to distinguish themselves, and endeavour to make an appearance at that court.

The first considerable step they made, was to desire a chapel from King James, for the exercise of their worship according to the church of England; and proposed Dr. Granville³, (brother to the earl of Bath,) formerly dean of Durham, as a fit person to be their chaplain; they urged the great encouragement such a toleration would give to his adherents in England, and what satisfaction it would be to such protestants as followed him. But though common policy, and his circumstances, made every body believe that this request would be easily granted, yet it was positively denied; and Dr. Granville obliged not only to retire from court, but also from the town of St. Germain, to avoid the daily insults of the priests, and the dreaded consequences of the jealousies with which they possessed King James's court against him. Dr. Gordon, a bishop of Scotland, the only protestant divine that then was there, met with a worse treatment still than Dr. Granville, and was reduced to the necessity of abjuring his religion for want of bread, with which he could not be supplied, but upon those hard terms. However, King James, being sensible that such an usage would prejudice his interest in Britain, resolved to prevent the coming of any protestant divine there; and therefore sent Mr. Macqueen in company of Major Scot into England, who brought letters from him to his friends, in which he required them to trouble him no more with divines as messengers.

This bad success did not altogether discourage the protestant party; they made a second effort upon the constitution of the before-mentioned council of five, to have one of the number, at least, a protestant: they insisted upon the advantages which might thence redound to his majesty's affairs in Britain; and, for that, did earnestly recommend my lord chief-justice Herbert, as a person both well qualified to give advice in English affairs, and of an unspotted reputation in his country.

Those reasons were so convincing, that, (the Irish fearing they would obtain their demand,) an information was trumped up against the chief justice by Mr. Comptroller Skelton, and Sir William Sharpe, of having said, "That King James's violent temper would ruin himself and all that followed him." My lord owned the words; but made so ingenuous an explanation of his meaning, which was in relation to the act of settlement in Ireland, that King James was satisfied. The Irish, having missed their aim, formed a short time after another plot against him, and charged him with corresponding with the English, and misrepresenting the transactions of that court; whereupon he and a worthy lady, with whom he boarded, were confined, and Broomfield the quaker, committed to the Bastile. And thus was this lord chief justice, for no other reason but his adhering to a protestant interest, excluded from all share of management of affairs in King James's court; though his capacity and sufferings were sufficient, in the eyes of all reasonable men, to have entitled him to a share in that prince's favour and secret. If my lord chief justice Herbert was so used, I would fain know upon what ground any of our Jacobites should flatter himself with a better treatment.

Mr. Cockburn of Lanton, in the kingdom of Scotland, was the next protestant that had merit and favour enough to pretend to a share in the management of King James's affairs. This gentleman, having followed him in Ireland, was taken at sea, after the battle of the Boyne, and brought prisoner to London; but, a proposal being made of exchanging him

³ [Dennis Granville, or Grenville, D. D. a younger son of the loyal and valiant Sir Bevil Grenville, and brother to John, the first earl of Bath of that family, was educated at Exeter College, Oxford; and became successively archdeacon, prebendary, and dean of Durham, and probably would have been advanced to the bishoprick, if he had not conscientiously retained his attachment to James II. to whom he was chaplain, and in whose cause he published tracts, and raised money. When the revolution was established, he might have made his peace with the new government; but absolutely refusing to take the oaths to William and Mary, he was deprived of his deanery, and the living of Sedgefield which he held with it. He went to Honfleur, thence to the court of St. Germain; but a protestant was so little regarded there, though he had banished himself for the cause of James, that he was obliged to retire. He came into England twice, but finally returned to Paris, where he died April 8, 1703, aged 64. Noble's Contin. of Granger's Bio. Hist.]

for Captain St. Lo, then prisoner in France, he was enlarged; and, during his abode here, did so ingratiate himself with the most considerable of the disaffected Protestants, that he was recommended by them to King James, as a person fit to serve him in the affairs of greatest trust. He was no sooner arrived at St. Germain, than he told that prince, his friends in England thought that my Lord Melford, who was then returned from Rome, was a great grievance, and ought to be laid aside; and that the only way for the king to procure the good opinion of his subjects in Britain, and reconcile them to him, was to put the management of his affairs in protestant hands. This prudent advice of the disaffected Protestants of England, or of Mr. Cockburn, had an effect quite contrary to what they expected. King James took it so ill, that, in a few days after, an order was procured from the French court, commanding him to depart France under severe penalties, being too much a friend to the English interest. Mr. Cockburn was forced to obey; and has lived as an exile in Holland and Hamburg ever since.

But the submission of the Scotch highlanders affords us still more convincing proofs of King James's hatred for the protestant religion, and of his ingratitude towards such who had made a sacrifice of all that can be dear to men, to support his sinking fortune in Scotland. The Lords Dumferling, Dundee, Dunkel, Colonels Cannon, Graham, and several others protestants, having forfeited their estates and families, retired into France, as also did the Colonels Buchan, Maxwell, Wauchop, and some other popish gentlemen: but when they came to St. Germain, the papists were immediately preferred to considerable posts, both in the French and Irish armies; while the Protestants (though their merit was greater) were exposed to all imaginable hardship, and contempts. My Lord Dumferling and Col. Cannon are too illustrious examples of King James's ingratitude, to be here passed by. The earl, through a mistaken notion of loyalty and honour, had sacrificed his honourable family, and a plentiful estate, to follow that prince in his misfortune; and, it must be granted, that such a proof of loyalty deserved some kind returns; yet, happening to quarrel at St. Germain with one Capt. Brown, a papist, about a trifle, the captain was encouraged and countenanced in his quarrel by the court, and made commander of a company of Scots, reformed officers in Catalonia, whilst this noble lord was despised, for his adhering to his religion. This ill treatment broke his heart, and he sunk under the weight of his hard fate, at St. Germain. His misfortune lasted longer than his life; for, notwithstanding his merits, sufferings and the interest made by his friends, he could not obtain a christian burial; and his corpse was hid in a chamber, till an opportunity was found of digging a hole in the fields, in the night, where they thrust him in.

Nor was Col. Cannon better used than my Lord Dumferling. This gentleman commanded as general over King James's army in Scotland, and served him with so much faithfulness, that every body thought he would be preferred to a great command, upon his arrival at St. Germain: but he, positively refusing to abandon the little religion he had, which was protestant, was reduced to the scandalous allowance of half-a-crown a day, whilst papists, who had served under him, were advanced to good posts. This unhappy gentleman, finding himself thus neglected, fell sick through grief, and want, and died; having taken the sacrament from the hands of Dr. Granville, three days before his death: but the priest, who was always buzzing about him, took the opportunity of his being speechless, to thrust a wafer down his throat, and gave out, "That he was dead a papist;" and, by this means, got him the favour of burial, which his corpse had else been excluded from, as well as my Lord Dumferling's. If the sufferings and great merits of these two gentlemen, have not been able to mollify King James's heart, and to obtain from him any generous returns, I would fain know upon what foundation are grounded the great hopes of our grumblers; seeing the most part of them have not had courage enough to follow that prince, and have, for ought we see, no other qualifications to recommend them, but their bare jacobitism.

However, if the examples, I have already exposed to your view, are not sufficient to convince you, that as long as you are Protestants, and Englishmen, you are to expect no

share in King James's favour : I will produce some others, which I am sure will open your eyes, unless you are bound by an oath to continue always blind ; and I will begin with Sir James Mountgomery ⁴.

This gentleman left no stone unturned to re-establish King James in Scotland, by the same parliament, that declared him to have forfeited his right. He was afterwards, for several years, his most active minister in England ; penned and published declarations for him at the time of his designed descent from La Hogue, and, after the miscarriage of that, wrote his ' Britain's just Complaints ;' was his weekly news-sender, and project drawer. Yet, this very Sir James Mountgomery, who had done such great things, and run such great hazards for him, being obliged to fly to France, (after making his escape from the messenger's house,) could not obtain, by reason of his being a protestant, any share in that prince's favour ; was brow-beaten from the court by priests ; daily upbraided with having been once in the prince of Orange's interest ; and at last obliged to retire to Paris, where he died with the melancholy reflections of the miserable state he brought himself into.

The earl of Lauderdale ⁵, though a papist, met with no better fate than Sir James. His lady being a protestant, and he an enemy to the violent measures of the court, was judged to be a sufficient reason to exclude him from any share in the government : so natural it is for all bigots to hate every body that will not go to their height of violence. This gentleman heartily advised King James to put his affairs into protestant hands, and recommended the earl of Cl——n, and the non-juring bishops in England, and the Lord Home, Southerk, and Sinclair in Scotland, as the fittest persons to serve him : but his advice was so ill taken, that he had his lady sent to England, not to return any more ; was himself forbid the court, and reduced to a pension of one-hundred pistoles *per annum*. He retired to Paris, and seeing no probability of his master's changing his measures, died of grief. One would have thought that his brother, Mr. Alexander Maitland, who, on several occasions, had behaved himself very bravely in that prince's service, should have been preferred by him ; yet he met with such an entertainment, that (wanting bread there) he was very glad to come to England, and make his peace with the government, whose service he had deserted ; having once had a command in the Scots guards, under King William.

Sir Andrew Forrester is another great instance of King James's aversion to Protestants. This gentleman served, with all imaginable zeal, that prince's interests, when a subject ; and was the devoted creature of his most arbitrary commands, when a king. He suffered imprisonment in the Tower for him, at the time of his designed descent ; and yet, notwithstanding all this, and the great experience he had in Scottish affairs, he could never obtain any share in that prince's confidence. When he came to St. Germain, all his merits, sufferings, and the good character he had in both kingdoms, were not enough to counterbalance the objection of being a protestant, and therefore by no means to be intrusted ; so that, after some time's attendance, as a cypher, he was reward with a pass to return to England, for they had there no occasion for him.

Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, who, by his capacity as well as services, was encouraged to go over, and offer his assistance, met with Sir Andrew Forrester's fate, upon account of his religion ; and was so unkindly used, that he was very glad to get home to old England again, where, it is expected, he will plot no more.

Mr. Fergus Graham was the only protestant gentleman in King James's family, but as soon as they saw that my Lord Preston, and Col. Graham, his brothers, who ventured so much for that prince, could do them no more service in England ; he was discharged for no other reason, but that they thought a protestant a blemish in their household

Nor was Sir William Sharp better used, although he pretended to come over upon the act of parliament in Scotland, to save his estate ; for the entertainment he had at St. Ger-

⁴ [Vide further particulars of this gentleman in Noble's Contin. of Granger's Biog. Hist.]

⁵ [Afterwards duke.]

main, before he came away, is very well known. The pension he had, whilst King James's army in Scotland kept up, was taken from him, and he fell under distrusts, with Melford and Innes, and contempt at court; which will appear, to all reasonable men, a sufficient motive for his coming away.

But the usage of Dr. Cockburn, a Scottish divine, is beyond any thing that can be imagined. This gentleman was banished Scotland for his practices against the government; and afterwards being obliged to leave England, for writing of pamphlets, thought himself secure of a sanctuary at St. Germain, if not, of a reward for his services; but instead of that, he met with the daily importunities of priests, to make him abandon his religion; and, their endeavours proving vain, they then represented him as a dangerous person, and got him sent from France. He lives now an exile in Holland, both from Britain and France.

Mrs. Ashton, widow to Mr. Ashton⁷, who was executed for his being concerned, in my Lord Preston's affairs, went to the court of St. Germain, after her husband's death, as thinking, that she had some merit to plead for a kind reception; but she was as much deceived as any of those, I have already mentioned. Few days after her arrival, priests were sent to tell her, that nothing, but being a Roman Catholick, could recommended a woman to the queen's service; which the poor gentlewoman declining to comply with, was neglected; and, dying soon after, was refused burial, till her father, Mr. Rigby of Covent-Garden, as a mighty favour, and at great charges, obtained leave from the court of St. Germain, to have her body brought over to England; and buried her in Covent-Garden church.

If these examples are not sufficient to convince our Jacobites, or if they question the truth of them; (for I really must own, that they are almost incredible;) I desire them, to consult the young Lord Henmore, Mr. Louthian, Captains Murray, Dalyel, Macgil, Maclean, Fielding, Mr. Charles Kinnaird, and several hundreds more, now in and about London, who are lately come from St. Germain: and they will tell you, that the only reason, why they left that court, was, because they could not have bread, except they would change their religion; and therefore did chuse rather to run the hazard of imprisonment, by returning to England, than stay and starve in France.

Many instances more might be given, to shew King James's hatred to every thing, that bears the name of Protestant; but, if what has already been said, is not sufficient, sure I am, that the rest should be to no purpose. What protestant has he ever so much as seemed to trust, since he lived in France? I know that my Lord Middleton must be excepted; for indeed, King James has a seeming trust in him. There is no man, that has been at St. Germain, but must needs perceive, that he is not chief minister, as Melford was, nor manages affairs betwixt Versailles and St. Germain; that being done by Innes and Porter. He is but seldom called to the council, and the French court has never depended upon his correspondence, since the disappointment they received, by our fleet's going into the Streights.

I hope, these instances will convince all good men, that have any sense of liberty, religion, and honour, how unreasonable it is to be a Jacobite, and to think that the present misfortunes of King James, will frighten him from invading our laws and liberties in time to come; seeing that neither the abandoning of wives, children, and estates, nor the hazarding, nay, loss of life in his service, can render him just and favourable to such Protestants, who have made a sacrifice of all those things, to follow him. And, if it be so, (as certainly it is) what must those protestant nations expect, if ever he re-obtains the government, who have renounced him, and set another prince upon his throne? If these, who have followed him into France, are denied the exercise of their religion, when

⁷ [This unfortunate gentleman had been in the service of Mary of Modena, queen to James II. and conspiring to restore the abdicated monarch, he was seized with Lord Preston. They had just gone from Barking in Essex, and were got into a vessel which had sailed below Gravesend. The treasonable packet was found in his bosom. He and Lord Preston were tried on Jan. 16, 1691, and found guilty. His Lordship procured his pardon, but Mr. Ashton was executed Jan. 28 following. Noble's Contin. of Granger's Biog. Hist.]

his circumstances make it his interest to grant it; what must we expect, if ever he be again in possession of the crown?

My lord chief justice Herbert, and the other gentleman before-named, who firmly adhered to his interests, even in his greatest misfortunes, were contemned, despised, and suffered to starve, because they were Protestants. How can we, or any Protestant Jacobites, who have none of those merits, pretend to be better used? If the loss of honours and estates has not been sufficient to obtain from him christian burial; upon what ground can our Jacobites, who have done nothing for him, flatter themselves with the hopes of great preferments, if he is re-inthroned? In short, if the example he had of his father's misfortunes, and his brother's exile, (wherein he himself was a sharer,) together with the sense of his own misfortunes, have not been able to work a reformation upon him, as appears by the above written account; can we expect, that he ever will be made more pliable?

The education of his Prince of Wales, (whom no body doubts, he designs his successor,) is another instance of his irreconcilable antipathy to the protestant religion, and English liberties. One would have thought that interest, as well as policy, would have made him educate his child a protestant; or, at least, oblige him to put Protestants about him, of unquestioned reputation, to instruct him in the ways of pleasing the people: but instead of that, Dr. Beeson, a famous and violent papist, was made his preceptor; and none but popish servants are allowed to be about him; so that he can imbibe nothing, but what is for the interest of Rome, and destruction of England.

Can people be so mad, as to expect good terms from a prince, who not only thus treats his protestant subjects, who have followed him in his misfortunes, but also whose religion lays him under a necessity of doing it? Could greater obligations be laid upon any prince, than were upon him, by the church of England, when a subject? Her interest saved him from being prosecuted for the popish plot, excluded from the succession to the English throne, and afterwards dethroned by the Duke of Monmouth; yet all those obligations were no more than his coronation oath, could not hinder him from invading the protestant religion in general, but more particularly the liberties of the church of England.

But, perhaps, some will object against what I have said, that from the entertainment Protestants meet with, at St. Germain, it is not reasonable to conclude, that King James bears still such an aversion to our religion and liberties. For, being himself but a refugee in France, and having nothing to live upon, but the pension, the French king allows him; it is not in his power to reward those Protestants who have followed him, even not to caress them; and therefore, we ought rather to peruse the declarations he has put out, since his being in France; for therein we shall find undeniable proofs, that his misfortunes have much altered his mind. Read (will our Jacobites say) the declaration he published upon his intended descent from La Hogue, and observe what promises he makes, both in relation to our religion, and our liberties; the sincerity whereof you have no manner of pretence to question; for then, thinking himself sure of his game, nothing could oblige him to disguise the true sentiments of his heart.

This is somewhat indeed, gentlemen, and were the thing as you say, I would agree with you: but give me leave to tell you, that it is a great question whether the declaration you speak of, which was printed here, did really contain King James's sentiments. But whether it was his own declaration, or Sir James Mountgomery's, it does not matter a pin; for his late majesty did publicly disown it, in a memorial to the pope, upon his return to Paris; and it is acknowledged in a jacobite pamphlet, called, 'An Answer to Dr. Wellwood's Answer to King James's Declaration:' that the same was formed without his knowledge, and against his inclination.

I have told you, in the beginning of this discourse, that I believe that there are among you some conscientious men, and to those I shall say nothing at this time: but to such that are angry with the government (as I know many amongst you are) merely because they cannot have any employment under it, and who think, without any further examination, to better their condition by a second revolution; I will say, that they ought to

consider, that King James's popish friends must be all provided for first of all; and pray, what will remain then for you? For, as to pensions, I think you are not so mad as to flatter yourselves with such imaginary hopes: for the French army, that brings King James over, must be paid; and their vast charges for the Irish war, and the maintenance of King James re-imbursed; before your beloved prince be in a condition to express his favour to you. Perhaps, you will say, that the French king is too much a gentleman to demand any such thing; but I do not know what has given you that noble idea of his generosity. But, supposing his temper to be such, this war will so much drain his exchequer, that necessity will force him to demand what is justly owing to him, and who shall be able to dispute his bill of charges? Nay, will King James be able to satisfy him? I do not know: but this I am sure of, that as long as you profess the protestant religion, you cannot expect to be more favourably treated, than his present followers.

Some others amongst you are disaffected, because, as they say, without the restoration of King James, a protestant war will be entailed on the nation; and because our treasure is exhausted by taxes, and our blood expended beyond sea, which the nation cannot long bear.

To these gentlemen I must answer, that they are much mistaken; for the bringing in of King James, which they think will put an end to these troubles, would infallibly bring the seat of war from Flanders into England. For it is unreasonable to suppose, that so many noblemen and gentlemen, as are engaged in King William's cause, would tamely submit; or that his majesty, whose interest in Europe is so very great, would either ingloriously abandon his throne, or want foreign assistance to support him in it.

2. King James and the French King are both old, and, upon a change of a governor in France, we may reasonably expect a change of measures; for, as to the Prince of Wales, his interest stands, or falls, with that of his supposed father. But, after all, is it reasonable to believe, that the French, or any other nation, will live in perpetual war with us, merely for the sake of a prince, who pretends to be deprived of his rights? There are very few knight-errants in this age; or, at least, sure I am, that no nation in general is actuated by their principles; and we see the French offer already to forsake him.

3. I grant, that our taxes are greater than ever our nation paid; but yet they are not so heavy, but that we can hold it out many years at this rate. In short, whatever they be, I believe there is no good man, but will rather hazard his person to keep the enemy abroad, than see a French and Irish army in the bowels of our own country, destroying our substance, burning our habitations, and committing the barbarities, which they committed in the Palatinate. For, certainly, by one month's ravage of this nature, we should lose more blood and treasure, than can, probably, be spent to bring the war to an honourable and happy conclusion. That happy moment is not, perhaps, so far, as some people imagine: for whosoever will cast his eyes on the present posture of affairs in Europe, must needs conclude, that the French cannot hold it out much longer.

A full and true Account¹ of a most dreadful and astonishing Fire which happened at Whitehall, and begun in Col. Stanley's Lodgings, on Tuesday last, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, continuing with great Violence till about Nine o'Clock the next Morning, burning down and consuming the King's Chapel, the Guard-Chamber, the Long Gallery, &c. together with near 150 Houses. An Account also how several Persons were killed, with the blowing up Twenty Houses, &c. Licensed according to Order.

London: Printed by J. Bradford in Little Britain, 1698.

[Folio; containing two Pages.]

MANY and various have been the relations concerning this dreadful and surprising accident; some affirming it had its beginning in one place, and some in another, and yet all or most of them remote from truth; therefore, for satisfaction of all such who desire to be truly informed in those unhappy and amazing particulars, I have published this following account, *viz.*

On Tuesday last, being the fourth of this instant January, 1698, betwixt the hours of three and four of the clock in the afternoon, a Dutch woman who belonged to Col. Stanley's lodgings (which were near adjoining to the Earl of Portland's house at Whitehall) having sudden occasion to dry some linen in an upper room, for expedition sake lighted a good quantity of charcoal, and carelessly left the linen hanging round about it, which took fire in her absence to such a degree, that it not only consumed the linen, but had seized the hangings, wainscots, beds, and what not, and flamed and smoaked in such a violent manner, that it put all the inhabitants thereabouts into consternation, as well as confusion, not knowing from whence it proceeded, insomuch that the unhappy Dutchwoman could not return; so that in an instant (as it were) the merciless and devouring flames got such advantage, that, notwithstanding the great endeavours used by the water-engines, numerous assistance, and blowing up houses to the number of about twenty, it still increased with great fury and violence all night, till about eight of the clock next morning, at which time it was extinguished, after it had burnt down and consumed (according to modest computation) about 150 houses, most of which were the lodgings and habitations of the chief of the nobility.

Such was the fury and violence of this dreadful and dismal conflagration, that its flames reduced to ashes all that stood in its way, from the Privy-stairs to the Banqueting-house, and from the Privy-gardens to Scotland-yard all on that side, except the Earl of Portland's house, and the Banqueting-house, which were preserved, though much damnified and shattered; the fire proceeded close to the gate by the Duke of Ormond's lodgings, before it could be extinguished. The most remarkable houses, which were consumed by these astonishing flames, are the Guard-chamber, Council-chamber, Secretary's-office, the King's Chapel, the Long Gallery to the gate, the Queen's Lodgings, Duke of Devonshire's, &c. but not the Earl of Portland's, as has been impudently affirmed in a late scandalous and ridiculous pamphlet. The danger done by this fiery disaster is at present unaccount-

¹ See Oldys's Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library, No. 513.

able, considering the vast riches that were contained among those noble families; therefore consequently their loss must be very great, and might have been much greater, had not the officers of the guards taken care to stop the numerous crowds from pressing forward into houses where goods were removing.

It was confidently affirmed, that twenty or thirty persons were killed, but (blessed be God) upon a strict inquiry, I cannot learn that above twelve persons perished, among whom were two grenadiers, a waterman, and a painter; who endeavouring to reach out some goods at a window while the house was on fire, a piece of iron fell upon his head and beat out his brains; the like fate had a gardener, by the blowing up of a house. Yet it is certain, many more are dangerously wounded.

The Banqueting-house, though not much injured by the fire, (except that part next Westminster) yet all parts of that renowned and ancient building are so much shattered and disordered, that it little resembles what it was the day before; as are also most houses thereabouts, whose inhabitants were under the apprehension of danger, particularly the Duke of Ormond's at the gate, which is not only cleared of all its rich furniture, but of all hangings whatsoever, that could possibly be got out during the fury of the fire.

To conclude, it is a dismal sight to behold such a glorious, famous, and much renowned palace, reduced to a heap of rubbish and ashes, which the day before might justly contend with any palace in the world, for riches, nobility, honour, and grandeur.

God save King William!

Note.—There is a scandalous, lying, and ridiculous pamphlet published, which asserts, that the Earl of Portland's and Duke of Shrewsbury's houses are burnt, which is notoriously false; they being both standing, having received no damage by the fire; with many other impertinencies, which the printer is ashamed to set his name to, or the place where he lives, only a counterfeit one like his pamphlet.

Seasonable Advice for preventing the Mischief of Fire, that may come by Negligence, Treason, or otherwise. Ordered to be printed by the Lord-Mayor of London; and is thought very necessary to hang in every Man's House, especially in these dangerous Times. Invented by William Gosling, Engineer.

Printed for H. B. at the Castle in Cornhill, 1643³.

[In one Sheet, Broadside.]

How many several Ways, Houses, Towns, and Cities, have been set on fire.

SOME have been burnt by bad hearths, chimneys, ovens, or by pans of fire set upon boards; some by clothes hanged against the fire; some by leaving great fires in chimneys, (where the sparks or sickles breaking, fell and fired the boards,) painted cloaths, wainscots, rushes, mats, as houses were burnt in Shoreditch; some by powder, or

³ Vide Oldys's Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 239.

shooting off pieces; some by tinder or matches; some by setting candles under shelves; some by leaving candles near their beds; some by snuffs of candles, tobacco-snuffs, burnt papers; and some by drunkards, as many houses were burnt in Southwark; some by warming beds; some by looking under beds with candles; some by sleeping at work, leaving their candles by them; so many have been burnt of several trades; some by setting candles near the thatch of houses; some by snuffs or sparks fallen upon gun-powder, or upon mats, rushes, chips, small-coal, and in chinks; so Wimbleton was burnt: Some towns were burnt by malt-kilns; some by candles in stables; or by foul chimneys; some by candles amongst hemp, flax, and warehouses; some by candles falling out of their candlesticks; some by sticking their candles upon posts; some by links knocked at shops, stalls, cellars, windows, warehouses, doors, and dangerous places; some by carrying fire from place to place, where the wind hath blown about the streets, as it did burn St. Edmund's-Bury; some by warm sea-coal, cinders put in baskets, or wooden things, as did burn London-bridge: And some have been burnt without either fire or candle, as by wet hay, corn, straw, or by mills, wheels, or such like; all which hath been by carelessness: And some have been fired of purpose, by villainy or treason.

Orders to be observed, that Fire may not happen.

IS, that every house-keeper, either himself, or one by his appointment, that should be last up, see to the fire and candle, and to shut the cellar-windows, doors, casements, garret-windows, and to stop holes, and sinks, that fire may not come in by treason, or otherwise. To prevent treason that may come by wild-fire, is to stop the wild-fire simples, where they are sold. Seek to prevent fire at the beginning, and by the sight of smoke, to look to it, for divers fires have been so prevented. Some have been prevented by smelling old wood, linen, or woollen burn; and some, by hearing the crackling of sticks, coals, or sparks of fire, have prevented mischief thereby. If you will use candle all night, let your candlestick be a pot of water brim-full, and set it where it shall stand; then light a candle, and stick a great pin in the bottom of the candle, and let it slowly into the water, and it will burn all night without danger. If the wood under the hearth of a chimney be on fire, then take heed you do not open it too suddenly, before you cast water upon it; for, the air getting in, the fire will burst forth: therefore still throw water, and open it by degrees. And that the bricklayers should look better to the foundations of hearths and ovens, to prevent the hurts of fire. If chimneys be on fire, either wet hay, or straw, or a wet blanket, or a kettle of water hung over, or bay-salt cast into the fire, or a piece shot up into the chimney, will help it. And that the watch might be from day-light to day-light, at such a distance, that they may see and hear from one watch to the other; that some might be upon gates, towers, or churches, if need be, to give notice to the watch below, upon any occasion, to prevent both enemy and fire.

Orders, that if Fire should happen either by Wild-fire, or otherwise, to prevent the Miseries thereof.

THAT the bells, going backward, do give notice of fire; and that all officers and others must keep the streets or lanes ends, that the rude people may be kept from doing mischief; for sometimes they do more harm than fire: and suffer none but the workers to come near, and all the streets from the fire to the water, may have double rows or ranks of men on each side of the street, to hand empty pails, pots, or buckets, to the water, and to return full to the fire, by the other row or rank of people, on the same side of the street; so, as the streets afford, you may have divers ranks; and, by this order, water may be brought to quench it, or earth to choak it, and smother it, with that speed and plenty as need requires.

All those of higher or level ground should throw down water to run to the place where the fire is, and there to stop it, and others to sweep up the waters of kennels towards the fire. If water-pipes run through the streets, you may open one against the house that is on fire, and set another pipe in that upright, and two or three feet lower than the height of the head of the same water, set in some gutter, trough, or pipe, unto the upright pipe, to convey the water to the fire; for, under the foresaid height, it will run itself from high ponds, or from Sir Hugh Middleton's water¹, or conduit heads, or from the water-houses, without any other help, into the fire, as you will have it. You may keep great scoops or squirts of wood in houses; or, if you will, you may have in the parish a great squirt on wheels, that may do very good service.

Where wild-fire is, milk, urine, sand, earth, or dirt, will quench it; but any thing else, set on fire by that, will be quenched as before. If there be many houses standing together, and are endangered by a mighty fire, before it can be quenched or choaked with earth; then you may pull down the next house opposite to the wind, and then earth and rubbish being cast upon the fire, and round about it, will choak the violence of the fire, besides the water you may get to do the like. Also it is necessary that every parish should have hooks, ladders, squirts, buckets, and scoops, in readiness, upon any occasion.

O! the miseries of cities, towns, villages, and particular houses that have been burnt, where some could not recover their losses in thirty years after, and some never; which have been lamentable spectacles unto us, when many men, women, and children have been burnt in their houses; and multitudes of people utterly undone, that saw all their wealth burned before their eyes. Besides, many have been hurt, many killed, and many burned, that came but to help to quench the fires. What lamentable cries, frightenings and amazements there were to all sorts of people; some sick, some in childbed, and some great with child, to the terror of them all: and all was through the miseries of fire, that came by carelessness and wilfulness.

Therefore, let the very sight of fire and candle put us in mind to prevent the like miseries that have come by fire, both in London and the parts of England; for great winds may rise suddenly, and enemies' furies may do mischief. To master the elements is either to increase or decrease any of them; for, as air makes fire increase, so earth will choak it, and water will quench it.

Preventions of fires would save the often collections of money in all churches in England; all which is for the profit and safety of the commonwealth. As good order and care prevent our fear of fire, so a good life prevents the ways to sin: and if every one mend one, then all will be mended. The Lord commandeth us to have care of our neighbours' goods, Deut. xxii. For the love of our neighbour fulfilleth the law, Rom. xiii.

¹ [i. e. The New River, brought by Sir Hugh from Amwell to London.]

The She-Wedding; Or, a mad Marriage, between Mary, a Seaman's Mistress, and Margaret, a Carpenter's Wife, at Deptford. Being a full Relation of a cunning Intrigue, carried on and managed by two Women, to hide the Discovery of a great Belly, and make the Parents of her Sweet-heart provide for the same: for which Fact the said Parties were both committed; and one of them now remains in the Round-House at Greenwich, the other being bailed out¹.

London: Printed by Geo. Croom, at the Sign of the Blue Ball in Thames-street, overagainst Baynard's Castle, 1684.

[Quarto; containing eight Pages.]

IT hath been the policy of the prince of darkness in all ages, when any work of his was to be carried on, which required a more than ordinary cunning, to employ a female craft therein: nor indeed from his first attempt in that kind, in the betraying our mother Eve, did he ever find reason to blame his discretion in the said method, since he scarce ever failed thereby of his ends. It was by a Dalilah he betrayed the strongest; by strange women the wisest; by an adulteress, the best of men in Scripture chronology. Whence it is no wonder, if still he courts them; and every day he shews us what advantage he can make to himself of that subtle sex: a remarkable instance whereof I shall here present you with.

At Deptford in the County of Kent, at the sign of the King's-head, for some time past, as a maid servant in the house, there hath lived one Mary, who hath pretended herself, in her conversation, reserved and honest enough for one of her age (being thirty or thereabouts), till about seven or eight months past she used ordinarily to keep company with one Charles Parsons, a young man lately gone to sea, with whom she was observed to be somewhat familiar; insomuch that the neighbours looked upon her as either married to him, or at least as free of her favours as if she had; and in a little time her squeamish stomach gave her mistress cause to regard her more narrowly, and began to suspect that her sweet-heart had given her a belly full of love, as afterwards it proved but too true: for that, about the beginning of this last month of July, the same appeared so evident that none but observed it, and charged her therewith, much about the time that Charles Parsons left her, to pursue a voyage to the Indies: upon which, being no longer able to hide the same, she freely confessed that hans in kelder was then six months old, and that Charles Parsons was the father thereof; applying herself accordingly to his mother, and acquainting her that they were married, desiring her to assist her towards her lying-down.

The mother, suspecting the matter, began a little to demur thereupon, and inquire into the time and place when and where the same was consummated; to which questions our said Mary returned a satisfaction; but yet the old woman, still doubting thereof, urged that she might produce her certificate; and that, if she found the same true, she would provide for her, and what she went with; which if she could not procure, she was resolved never to look on her.

¹ Vide Oldys's Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 504.

This answer, put so close to Mary, began to make her look about herself, and set her wits upon the rack how she should deceive the mother, which at length she compassed; (wit being then certainly readiest, when necessity is the strongest;) but thinking, as the old woman when she carried her dog a gossiping, that two heads were better than one, she was resolved to advise with a neighbour of her's that was her friend, and by name Margaret, (the wife of a carpenter living hard by,) how she should accomplish her intent, which after some time, remembering a story that had been told in the neighbourhood, how that two men, that had a design on a parson's wife, agreed to dress the youngest in women's cloathes, and accordingly to marry each other; thereby designing, by a liberal reward to the parson, to get an admission for the first night into the house, to play the love scuffle for the pretended wife's maidenhead; by which opportunity, whilst the parson was at his morning studies, the party who represented the wife, and was enamoured of the good man's bed-fellow, changed beds, and left her nominal husband, to enjoy the real wife; which the parson not at all suspecting, readily assented to, and ignorantly brought cuckoldom upon himself. Remembering I say this story, they consented with themselves that two women might as well commit matrimony as two men, and in a different garb deceive the eyes of any who should be the spectators thereof.

Which design being thus agreed on, the carpenter's wife gets a suit of her husband's cloaths, in which she arrays herself, and sets to work (without her chief tool) to act the man's part, practising her congees and dialect, to be perfect therein, against the day she designed to act the same, which soon after came about; and having all things ready, away they trudged for St. George's church in Southwark, the carpenter's wife taking upon her the name of Charles Parsons, and representing him. They gave notice of their intentions to the clerk of the parish, that they desired to be joined in matrimony, which the minister and clerk, at first not at all suspecting them, readily consented unto; but in the time of administering the ceremony they began a little to hesitate at what they were a doing; imagining, by the softness of her tone, which she could not so well counterfeit, that she was not what she represented: and the rather when she was to answer to those words, 'I Charles take thee Mary,' &c. she mistook the words, and cried 'I Margaret;' but thus she excused it; that she had been at the marriage of a sister of her's, who was then in her thoughts, and which occasioned the mistake; confidently averring herself a man, and being of a large make and an impudent carriage, carried on and completed the deceit. After which, the ceremony being ended, and the certificate a making, she drew the clerk aside, telling him that true it was, dabbling with his said wife before marriage, he had got her with child, and that she was very forward, being near six months gone of her time; and fearing that his wife's relations and his own, might take notice of the date of the certificate to his disadvantage, desired that the same might be ante-dated, promising the clerk to reward him for so doing: which, after many importunities he at last consented to; and accordingly dated the same about six months before. Having obtained which certificate, away they return for Deptford, and thought themselves now secure of their booty. So that the same day they repaired to the mother of Parsons aforesaid, and produced what she desired, the certificate before-mentioned; which the old woman took into her own hands, beginning to think herself happy in her daughter-in-law, and that in a short time she should be blessed with a grand-child, rummaging her old chests for linen to provide for clouts and other necessaries for the production of her great belly. Nor was Mary her daughter less glad at the success of her enterprise, it being what she thought would take off the reproach that was likely to succeed upon her, for the unlawfulness of her former frolicks; and likewise as to the establishment of her future fortunes. But this sunshine was not long before the same began to be overshadowed by the clouds, that soon after discovered themselves, in relation to her present circumstances.

For so it is, that most of the sex, though excellently well accomplished in the contriving a deceitful intrigue, yet is their humour such, that when once they see the same to take its first promises of perfection, they are apt to brag of its effects, before the means are thoroughly settled, that lead to the ends thereof; and then most especially when the good

wives are together, toping their noses over the brandy-bottle, or hot-suppings, at a merry-meeting amongst themselves. And by such methods came this intrigue to a discovery: for, several of the neighbours being together, and talking of the change of Mary's condition, Mary and Margaret could not chuse but smile thereat, and lovingly called each other by the name of husband and wife, saying, that they knew a couple that had been six weeks wedded, and both as likely as any two in England, and yet neither of them had one bout since they were married.—One bout, replies an old woman, that is much; I would cut off the tool of that husband that should have a wife for two whole days and nights, and never put it to the exercise that God made it for.—Some rogue, I warrant him, replies another, to tantalise a wife after that rate.—Did I know the dull dog, pursues a third, I would set him up for all our neighbours in Deptford and Greenwich, to make a public pissing-post of.—Intolerable, says a fourth, a whole month and a half to put a poor wife upon longing, he deserves to be carbonadoed; and, were the good woman of my mind, if I pawned the petticoat that covered me, I would have some honest fellow to relieve me in what I most wanted, and make him do it before the rogue's face, that he might see and be satisfied he was what he deserved to be, the most notorious cuckold in Deptford.—And there are, says another, as many good crests, to my knowledge, in this town, as any place of its bigness between this and Gravesend.

The discourse between them being much to this purpose, the parties concerned fell out into a great laughter to see their neighbours in such a feud, and told them it was a truth; and scarce one in that company but knew the parties, and that they had conversed with them that day; which set them all upon the tenters, to know the person, every one guessing at his neighbour, and examining who it should be.—Well, says Margaret, as for that in a few days, you shall be made acquainted therewith; but, for the present, left them to consider thereof; till, being further urged, she added, why may not two women be married together in Deptford, as well as Susan and Sarah at Fish-street-hill.

Upon this, some of the company began to suspect the matter, and told Mrs. Parsons, of the discourse abovesaid; possessing her so far therewith, that she resolved to go and inquire at the church where the certificate had mentioned her son and supposed daughter-in-law to have been married: upon inquiry whereinto, the church-book was searched, and at the day mentioned therein, no such persons were found to have been recorded; which further increased their suspicion, so that she entering upon the description of the parties, and acquainting the clerk with her supposition, put him in remembrance of the late couple he had joined, and, turning to that time, found the same out; adding withal, that ever since the said marriage, he had been highly suspicious of, and concerned within himself at the cheat. The matter then appearing very plain, home goes the old woman, and discards her supposed daughter from her favour, alleging the falsity of her pretences, and declaring to all the neighbourhood how base a trick had been put upon her. Inasmuch, that it became the public discourse of the whole town; and none but were talking of the seaman's mistress, that had married Margaret, the carpenter's wife; every one bestowing one twit or other upon her for the same: the young maids laughing at the flat sport they had the first night; the graver matrons, at the impudence of the parties that should so vilify and disgrace the honest state of matrimony; looking upon it as a scandal to their sex in general. Upon all which, the parson, that married them, made a complaint thereof to the civil magistrate, who committed them both to the Round-house in Greenwich, and bound them over to answer the same at the next assizes; where Margaret hath been since bailed out, and Mary yet continues there.

Some particular Matters of Fact relating to the Administration
of Affairs in Scotland, under the Duke of Lauderdale.
[1689.]

Humbly offered to your Majesty's Consideration, in obedience to your
Royal Commands.

[Folio ; containing one Sheet.]

I. **T**HE duke of Lauderdale did grossly misrepresent to your majesty the condition of the western countries, as if they had been in a state of rebellion, though there had never been any opposition made to your majesty's authority, nor any resistance offered to your forces, nor to the execution of the laws. But he, purposing to abuse your majesty, that so he might carry on his sinister designs by your authority, advised your majesty to raise an army against your peaceable subjects; at least, did frame a letter, which he sent to your majesty to be signed by your royal hand, to that effect; which being sent down to your council, orders were thereupon given out for raising an army of eight or nine thousand men, the greatest part whereof were highlanders; and, notwithstanding that, to avert this threatening, the nobility and gentry of that country did send to Edinburgh, and, for the security of the peace, did offer to engage, that whatsoever should be sent to put the laws in execution, should meet with no affront, and that they would become hostages for their safety: yet this army was marched and led into a peaceable country, and did take free quarters, according to their commissions; and, in most places, levied great sums of money, under the notion of dry quarters, and did plunder and rob your subjects; of which no redress could be obtained, though complaints were frequently made: all which were expressly contrary to the laws of the kingdom.

II. In their quarters, it was apparent, that regard was only had to the duke's private animosities: for the greatest part of those places, that were most quartered on and destroyed, had not been guilty of any of the field-conventicles complained of; and many of the places, that were most guilty, were spared upon private considerations.

III. The subjects, at that time, were required to subscribe an exorbitant and illegal bond, which was impossible to be performed by them: that they, their wives and children, and servants should live orderly according to law, not go to conventicles, nor entertain vagrant preachers, with several other particulars; by which bond, those that signed it were made liable for every man's fault, that lived upon their ground.

IV. Your majesty's subjects were charged with laborrows, denounced rebels; and captions were issued out for seizing their persons, upon their refusing to sign the aforesaid bond; and the nobility and gentry there, who had ever been faithful to your majesty, and had appeared in arms for suppressing the last rebellion, were disarmed upon oath. A proclamation was also issued, forbidding them, upon a great penalty, to keep any horses above four pounds ten groats price.

V. The nobility and gentry of the shire of Aire were also indicted, at the instance of your majesty's advocate, of very high crimes and misdemeanors, whereof some did import treason. These indictments were delivered them in the evening, to be answered by them the next morning upon oath; and when they did demand two or three days to consider of their indictments, and craved the benefit of lawyers, to advise with in matters of so high concernment, and also excepted to their being put to swear against themselves, in matters that were capital (which was contrary to all law and justice); those their desires

were rejected, though the like had never been done to the greatest malefactor in the kingdom : and it was told them, they must either swear instantly, or they would repute them guilty, and proceed accordingly.

VI. The noblemen and gentlemen, knowing themselves innocent of all that had been surmised against them, did purge themselves, by oath, of all the particulars that were objected to them, and were thereupon acquitted : and, though the committee of the council used the severest manner of inquiry to discover any seditions, or treasonable designs, which were pretended as the grounds of leading in that army into those countries, yet nothing could ever be proved. So false was that suggestion concerning a rebellion then designed, that was offered to your majesty, and prevailed with you for sending the aforementioned letter.

VII. The oppressions and quarterings still continued. The noblemen and gentry of those countries went to Edinburgh to represent to your council the heavy pressure that they and their people lay under, and were ready to offer to them all, that in law or reason could be required of them, for securing the peace. The council did immediately, upon their appearing there, set forth a proclamation, requiring them to depart the town within three days, upon all highest pains ; and when the duke of Hamilton did petition for leave to stay two or three days longer, for some very urgent affairs, that was refused him.

VIII. When some persons of quality had declared to the duke of Lauderdale, that they would represent their condition to your majesty, if they could not have justice from your ministers ; for preventing that, a proclamation was set forth, forbidding all the subjects to depart the kingdom without licence, that so your majesty might not be acquainted with the said condition of your subjects, from making their applications to your majesty ; no less contrary to your majesty's true interest (who must always be the refuge of your people) than to the natural right of the subject.

The former particulars relate to the invasion of the rights of great numbers of your subjects all at once. What follow, have indeed only fallen on some single persons, yet are such, that your whole people apprehend they may be all, upon the slightest occasions, brought under the like mischiefs.

1. The council hath, upon many occasions, proceeded to a new kind of punishment, of declaring men incapable of all publick trust ; concerning which, your majesty may remember what complaints the said duke made, when, during the earl of Middleton's administration, he himself was put under, and incapacitated by an act of parliament. The words of his paper against the earl of Middleton are ' Incapacitating,' which was to whip with scorpions ; a punishment to rob men of their honour, and to lay a lasting stain upon them and their posterity. And if this was complained of, when done by the highest court of parliament, your majesty may easily conclude, it cannot be done in any lower court ; but yet, notwithstanding, it is become of late years an ordinary sentence in council, when the least complaints are brought against any, with whom the duke of Lauderdale and his brother are offended.

Instances of this are :

The declaring thirteen worthy citizens of Edinburgh incapable of publick trust ; against whom no complaint was ever made to this day ; as your majesty will perceive by a paper more fully concerning that affair. The true cause of it was, that those men being in the magistracy, that duke and his brother could not get a vast bribe from them out of the town's money, which was afterwards obtained when they were removed.

The provosts of Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Jedburgh, were put under the same sentence, for signing a letter to your majesty, in the convention of the boroughs with the rest of that body ; which letter was advised by him who is now your majesty's advocate, as that

which had nothing in it, which could bring them under any guilt: and yet those three were singled out of the whole number, and incapacitated, besides an high fine and a long imprisonment, as to your majesty will more fully appear by another paper.

Sir Patrick Home of Polworth, being sent by the shire of Berwick to complain of some illegal proceedings, and to obtain a legal remedy to them, (which he did only in the common form of law,) was also declared incapable of publick trust, besides many months imprisonment.

The provost of Linlythgow, being complained of, for not furnishing some of your forces with baggage-horses, was called before the council; and, because he said they were not bound in law to furnish horses in such manner, he was immediately declared incapable of publick trust, and was both fined and imprisoned.

There are also fifty of the town of St. Johnston's incapacitated upon a very slight pretence; so that it is very impossible for them to find a sufficient number of citizens for the magistracy of that town.

2. Your subjects are sometimes upon slight and sometimes upon no grounds imprisoned, and often kept prisoners many months and years, nothing being objected to them; and are required to enter themselves prisoners, which is contrary to law. It was in the former article expressed, that many of these persons, declared incapable of publick trust, did also suffer imprisonment; and, besides these instances, Lieutenant-general Drummond, (whose eminent loyalty and great services are well known to your majesty,) was required to enter himself a prisoner in the castle of Dumbarton; where he was kept one year and a half, and was made a close prisoner for nine months; and yet nothing was ever objected to him, to this day, to justify that usage.

The Lord Cardross was, for his lady's keeping two conventicles in her own house, (at which he was not present,) fined one-hundred and ten pounds, and hath now been kept prisoner four years in the castle of Edinburgh, where he still remains, although he hath often petitioned for his liberty; and Sir Patrick Home hath been now a second time almost one year, and nothing is yet laid to his charge.

Besides these illegal imprisonments, the officers of your majesty's forces carry frequently warrants with them, for apprehending persons that are under no legal censure, nor have been so much as cited to appear; which hath put many of your subjects under great fears, especially, upon what was done in council three years ago. Capt. Carstayres, (a man now well enough known to your majesty,) did intrap one Kirkton, an outed minister, into his chamber at Edinburgh, and did violently abuse him; and designed to have extorted some money from him. The noise of this coming to the ears of one Baily, brother-in-law to the said Kirkton, he came to the house, and hearing him cry 'Murder, Murder!' forced open the chamber-door, where he found his brother-in-law and the captain grappling: the captain pretended to have a warrant against Kirkton, and Baily desired him to shew it, and promised, that all obedience should be given to it: but, the captain refusing to do it, Kirkton was rescued. This was only delivering of a man from the hands of a robber, which nature obliged all men to do; especially, when joined with so near a relation. The captain complained of this to the council, and the Lord Hatton, with others, were appointed to examine the witnesses: and, when it was brought before the council, the Duke of Hamilton, Earls of Moreton, Dumfries, and Kincardon; the Lord Cocheren; and Sir Archibald Primrose, (then lord register,) desired, that the report of the examination might be read; but that not serving their ends, was denied. And, thereupon, those lords delivered their opinion, that since Carstayres did not shew any warrant, nor was clothed with any publick character, it was no opposing of your majesty's authority in Baily, so to rescue the said Kirkton; yet Baily was for this fined in six-thousand marks, and kept long a prisoner.

Those lords were, upon that, so represented to your majesty, that, by the Duke of Lauderdale's procurement, they were turned out of the council, and all command of the militia. And it can be made appear, that the captain had, at that time, no warrant at

all against Kirkton, but procured it after the violence committed; and it was antedated, on design to serve a turn at that time. This manner of proceeding hath, ever since, put your subjects under sad apprehensions.

There is one particular further offered to your majesty's consideration, concerning their way of using prisoners.

There were fourteen men taken at a field-conventicle, who, without being legally convicted of that, or any other crimes, were secretly, and in the night, taken out of prison, upon a warrant signed by the Earl of Lynlythgow, and the Lords Hatton and Collington; and were delivered to Capt. Maitland, (who had been page to the Duke of Lauderdale, but was then a French officer, and was making his levies in Scotland,) and were carried over to the service of the French king, in the year 1676.

3. The council hath, upon many occasions, proceeded to most unreasonable and arbitrary fines, either for slight offences, or for offences where the fine is regulated by law, which they have never considered, when the persons were not acceptable to them. So the Lord Cardross was fined in one-thousand one-hundred and eleven pounds, for his lady's keeping two conventicles in his house, and christening a child by an outed minister without his knowledge. The provost formerly mentioned, and Baily, with many more, were also fined without any regard to law.

The council hath, at several times, proceeded to the taking of gentlemen's dwelling-houses from them, and putting garrisons in them, which, in time of peace, is contrary to law. In the year 1675, it was designed against twelve of your majesty's subjects, and was put in execution in the houses of the Earl of Calendar, the Lord Cardross, the Lady Lumsden, &c. and was again attempted in the year 1678, in the houses belonging to the Lairds of Cosnock, Blagan, and Rowall, which were possessed by soldiers, and declared garrisons. Nor did it rest there; but orders were sent from the council, requiring the countries about their houses, to furnish them for the soldiers use, and to supply them with necessaries, much contrary to law. It was against this, that Sir Patrick Home came to desire a remedy; and, common justice being denied him, he used a legal protestation in the ordinary form of law, and was, thereupon, kept for many months a prisoner, and declared incapable of all publick trust, &c.

There is another particular, which, because it is so odious, is unwillingly touched; yet it is necessary to inform your majesty about it: for thereby it will appear, that the Duke of Lauderdale, and his brother, have, in a most solemn manner, broken the publick faith, that was given in your majesty's name.

One Mitchell being put in prison upon great suspicion of his having attempted to murder the late archbishop of St. Andrews, and there being no evidence against him, warrant was given by the duke of Lauderdale, (then your majesty's commissioner, and your counsel,) to promise him his life, if he would confess: whereupon, he did confess; and yet, some years after, that person (who, indeed, deserved many deaths, if there had been any other evidence against him,) was, upon that confession, convicted of the crime, and the duke of Lauderdale and his brother being put to it by him, did swear, that they never gave, or knew of any assurance of life given him. And when it was objected, that the promise was upon record, in the council-books, the duke of Lauderdale did, in open court (where he was present only as a witness, and so ought to have been silent,) threaten them, if they should proceed to the examination of that act of council, which, as he then said, might infer perjury on them that swore; and so did cut off the proof of that defence, which had been admitted by the court, as good in law, and sufficient to save the prisoner, if proved. Thus was that man hanged upon that confession only, though the promise, that drew it, from him, doth appear upon record, and can be proved by good and clear evidence. And from this your majesty may judge, what credit may be given to such men.

We do not, at present, enlarge on other particulars, though of great importance; such as monopolies, selling places and honours, turning men of known integrity out of their employments, to which they had a good and just right during their lives; the profits of

one of the most considerable of these being sequestered for some time, and applied for the Duchess of Lauderdale's use: the treating about, and receiving of, great bribes by the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale, and the Lord Hatton, and particularly from the towns of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Linlithgow, and many others, for procuring, from your majesty, warrants for illegal impositions within these towns; the manifest and public perverting of justice in the session; besides, the most signal abuses of the mint and copper coin, that are most grievous to all your subjects. But the number of these is so great, and they will require so many witnesses to be brought hither for proving them, that we fear it would too much trouble your majesty now to examine them all; but your majesty shall have a full account of them afterwards.

One thing is humbly offered to your majesty, as the root of these and many other oppressions, which is, that the method of governing that kingdom for several years hath been, that the Lord Hatton and his adherents frame any letter that they desire from your majesty to your council, and send it to the Duke of Lauderdale, who returns it signed; and this is brought to the council: upon which, if at any time a debate ariseth concerning the matter of that letter, as being against, or with law; and when it is proposed, that a representation of that should be made to your majesty; then the Lord Hatton, in his insolent way, calls to have it put to the question: as if it were a crime to have any warrant either debated or represented to your majesty, which is procured by the Duke of Lauderdale, or himself; and this is echoed by his party, and, by his means, any further debating is stopped.

There are some other particulars relating to these heads, that are to be offered to your majesty in other papers, which are not added here, lest your majesty should now be troubled with too long a paper.

A Discourse concerning the Success of former Parliaments.

Imprinted at London, 1642¹.

[Quarto; containing fourteen Pages.]

SIR,

I HAVE, according to my small ability and the shortness of time, fulfilled your command, in sending to you this brief and plain discourse concerning the ancient opinions and esteem of English parliaments (for that was all which you desired) without any reflection upon the proceedings of this present parliament. Accept it only as a plain piece of common talk, which I would have delivered, had I been present with you. Such discourses need no dress of rhetoric.

The constitution of our English monarchy is by wise men esteemed one of the best in Europe, as well for the strength and honour of the prince, as the security and freedom of the people; and the basis, on which both are founded, is the convenience of that great council the high court of parliament.

Without which neither can the prince enjoy that honour and felicity, which Philip de

¹ Vide Oldys's Catalogue of Harleian Pamphlets, No. 28.

Comines, a foreigner, so much admires²; where he delivers what advantages the kings of England have by that representative body of their people, by whose assistance in any action they can neither want means, or lose reputation: nor, on the other side, can the people have any possibility of pleading their own rights and liberties. For, in the interim between parliaments, the people are too scattered and confused a body, to appear in vindication of their proper interests; and by too long absence of such assemblies they would lose all: for (as Junius observes) *Populus auctoritatem suam tacitè non utendo admittit: sic plerumque accidit ut quod omnes curare tenentur curet nemo, quod omnibus commissum est, nemo sibi commendatum putet.* 'The people insensibly lose their power for want of using it: for so it happens, that what all should look after, no man does; what is committed to all, no man thinks his own charge.' And in that interim it happens, that those *optimates regni* (as he speaks) who under the prince are intrusted with government, (meaning counsellors, judges, and other great magistrates,) either through fear, flattery, or private corruption, do often betray the people's rights to the prince.

The state of government standing thus, if distempered times happen to be (as our chronicles have shewed some) where, by dissension between prince and people, the kingdom's ruin hath been endangered; it doth not so much prove that the English government is not the best, as that the best government may be abused. For in every monarchy, how limited soever, the prince's person is invested with so much majesty, that it would seem a mockery in state, if there were no considerable power intrusted into his hands; yea, so much as that, if he be bad or weak, he may endanger the ruin of the kingdom: so necessary is it for all human ordinances, how wise soever, to leave somewhat to chance, and to have always need of recourse to God, for his assisting or curing providence.

And though the kingdom of England, by virtue of the government thereof, will be as hardly brought into a confusion, as any in Europe; yet there is no warrant against the possibility of it. For it was ever heretofore seen, that our parliaments were rather a strength and advantage to an honourable wise prince, than a remedy against a bad or weak one; or, if we change the expression, they were rather an excellent diet to preserve a good reign in strength, than physick to cure a bad one; and therefore have been as much loved by sound and healthy princes, as loathed by them that were out of temper: the latter having thought them a depression of their dignity; as the former have esteemed them an advantage to their strength. So that in such times only, the true convenience of that great council hath been perceived by England, and admired by foreign authors. In the other times it was, that those witty complaints have been in fashion (as Sir Robert Cotton speaks of a bad time) that princes in parliaments are less than they should be, and subjects greater. But on the contrary, that they have been an advantage to kings, the constant series of our history will shew: 1. By those great achievements which they have enabled our wise kings to make, who were most constant in calling them, and consenting to them: 2. That no one prince was ever yet happy without the use of them.

It may therefore seem a paradox, that any prince should disaffect that, which is so high an advantage to him; and a great wonder, that some Kings of England, not vicious in their dispositions, nor very shallow in their understandings, have so much kicked against parliaments. And that such have been; before we shew what reasons may be of it, see the characters of some princes, whose success and fortunes are known to all that read the histories, as they are delivered by Polydore Virgil, who in his sixteenth book speaks thus of Henry the Third: *Fuit ingenio miti, animo magis nobili quàm magno, cultor religionis, adversus inopes liberalis.* 'He was of a gentle nature, a mind rather noble than great, a lover of religion, and liberal to the poor.' In his eighteenth book thus of Edward the Second: *Fuit illi natura bona, ingenium mite, quem primò juvenili errore actum*

² [In memoirs of his own times; which include a period of thirty-four years, commencing from 1464, and comprising the most remarkable actions of the two last Dukes of Burgundy, and of Louis XI. and Charles VIII. Kings of France; as also the most considerable transactions in England, Flanders, Germany, Italy, and Spain, which happened within the same period.]

in leviora vitia incidentem, tandem in graviora malorum consuetudines & consilia traxerunt. Non deerant illi animi vires, si repudiatis malis suasoribus illas justè exercuisset. ‘He was of a good nature and mild disposition, who, first by the errors and rashness of youth falling into small faults, was afterwards drawn into greater, by the society and counsels of wicked men. There was not wanting in him a strength of mind, if, avoiding evil counsel, he could have made a just use of it.’ And in his twentieth book, thus of Richard the Second: *Fuit in illo spiritus non villis, quem consciorum improbitas, & insul-sitas extinxit.* ‘He was of a spirit not low or base, but such as was quite destroyed by the wickedness and folly of unhappy consociates.’

A reason of this accident may be, that their souls, though not vicious, have not been so large, nor their affections so public, as their great calling hath required; but being too much mancipated to private fancies and unhappy favourites, and long flattered in those affections under the specious name of firmness in friendship (not being told that the adequate object of a prince’s love should be the whole people, and that they who receive publick honour, should return a general love and care) they have too much neglected the kingdom, and grow at last afraid to look their faces in so true a glass as a parliament; and, flying the remedy, increase the disease, till it come to that unhappy height, that rather than acknowledge any unjust action, they strive for an unjust power to give it countenance, and so by a long consequence become hardly reconcileable to a parliamentary way.

Such princes (though it may seem strange) have been a greater affliction to this kingdom, than those who have been most wicked, and more incurable, for these reasons: 1. They have not been so conscious to themselves of great crimes; and therefore not so apt to be sensible of what they have been accidentally made to do against their people by evil counsel, whose poison themselves did not perfectly understand. And therefore they are more prone to suspect the people, as unkind to them, than themselves as faulty, and so the more hardly drawn to repent their actions, or meet heartily with a parliament. 2. The second reason is from the people, who naturally look with honour upon the prince, and when they find none, or few personal vices in him (not considering that the true virtues of princes have a larger extent than those of private men) will more hardly be brought to think, though themselves feel, and suffer for it, that he is faulty; and therefore sometimes (which would hardly be believed, if experience had not shewed it) the people have been so rash as that, to maintain for the king an unjust prerogative, which themselves understand not, they have to their own ruin, and the king’s too (as it hath after proved) deserted that great council whom themselves have chosen, and by whom only they could be preserved in their just rights; until too late, for the king’s happiness and their own, they have seen and repented their great folly.

Such a desertion was too sadly seen, at the end of that parliament of Edward the Second, where the two Spencers were banished, and the tragical effects that followed, when the king found so great a party, both of clergy and laity, as enabled him to call home again his banished favourites; and proved fatal to so many parliamentary lords, as the like execution of nobility had never before been seen in England: over whose graves the people afterwards wept, when it was too late, and proceeded farther in their revenge, than became the duty and allegiance of subjects.

It is, therefore, a great misfortune to England, and almost a certain calamity, when the distempers of government have been let grow so long, as that, for their cure, they must need a long parliament: for there are no ways, how just, how moderate soever they be, which that great council can take, if they go far enough, to make the cure, but will provoke, either by the means, or the length of them, the prince’s impatience, or the people’s inconstancy.

For the first, the delinquents must needs be many and great, and those employed, and perchance highly favoured by him; besides, the reflection which is made upon his judgment, by their sufferings; and that will be one reason of his impatience. Another is, that many prerogatives which were not indeed inherent in the crown, but so thought by

the prince; and by him, and his bad counsel, long abused, to the prejudice of the people, with some seeming advantage to him; though, well weighed, they brought none, are then after a long sufferance, called in question. For the people are used to intrust kind princes with many of their own rights and privileges, and never call for them again, till they have been extremely abused. But, at such a time to make all clear, after so long a reckoning (and those long reckonings in state being commonly fatal; for parliaments have seldom been discontinued, but by such princes whose governments, in the interim, have been very illegal) they usually question so much, as that the prince thinks himself hardly dealt withal; such a prince, as we spoke of, who not bad in himself, but long misled by wicked counsel, was not enough sensible of the injuries he had done.

The second obstacle, that such parliaments may find, is the people's inconstancy; and what age is not full of such examples, which before we name, let us consider whether there be any reason for it? This perchance may be one, that the people naturally are lovers of novelty, affecting, with greediness, every change; and again loathing it, when it ceases to be a novelty. Long discontinued and reforming parliaments, seem to carry the face of a change of government; and those things may then happen, which do in the shift of princes, that some people, may, for a while, flatter themselves with new and strange hopes, that prove frustrate; or else with quicker redresses of inconvenience, than the great concurrence of so many weighty businesses can possibly admit; how industrious soever that great council be, distracted with so great a variety; and the people, after some time spent, grow weary again of what before they so long had wished to see. Besides, the people are more and more poisoned daily by the discourses of the friends, kindred, and retainers to so many great delinquents, as must needs be at such a parliament; who, though they be no considerable party, in respect of the whole commonwealth, yet ply their particular interests with more eagerness, than most do the publick. They subtly persuade the people, that whatsoever the parliament does against those great delinquents is aimed against the king's honour, and that he is wounded through their sides. And this opinion is somewhat furthered, when the people see how many prerogatives of the prince, as we said before, are (after long enjoying) called in question. So that, by this means, their inconstancy seems to be grounded upon loyalty to the king; and they, perchance, with honest, but deceived hearts, grow weary of the great council of the land.

Another reason may be, that the prince himself averse from such a parliament, for the reasons aforesaid, can find power enough to retard their proceedings, and keep off the cure of state so long; till the people, tired with expectation of it, have by degrees forgot the sharpness of those diseases, which before required it. By this means at last, accidentally, a miracle hath been wrought after a long parliament; which is, that the people have taken part with the great delinquents against the parliament, for no other reason, than because those delinquents had done them more wrong, than the parliament could suddenly redress: and so the multitude of those great delinquents' crimes hath turned to their own advantage.

But in such reforming parliaments, upon whom so much business lies, not only the inconstancy of the people hath been seen in history, but the unstedfastness of the representative body itself; and the distractions of that assembly, whilst they forsake each other under so great a burthen, have let that burthen fall dishonourably to the ground. The most unhappy instance, in this case, was that parliament of Richard the Second begun at Westminster, and adjourned to Shrewsbury, in the nineteenth year of his reign; a parliament that discharged their trust, the worst of any that I read of, where there was as much need of constancy and magnanimity, as ever was, to redress those great distempers, which were then grown upon the state; and as much mischief ensued by their default, both upon prince and people, which might have been well prevented, and his happiness wrought together with their own (in the judgment of best writers) if they had timely and constantly joined together, in maintaining the true rights of parliament, and resisting the illegal desires of their seduced king. But, being fatally distracted, the major part of lords and bishops wrought upon by the king and the house of commons too far prevailed

with, by Bushy the speaker, and his instruments; they utterly deserted the commonwealth, and, looking only upon the king's present desire, assented to such things, as made the prerogative a thing boundless; that he himself, as the story reports, was heard glorying to say, "That there was no free and absolute monarch in Europe, but himself." Upon which, the same bad counsel, which had before brought him out of love with parliaments, brought him to as great an abuse of that power, which he had now gotten over a parliament. And then followed the blank charters, and other horrid extortions, besides the suffering of some lords, whom the people most loved; and shortly after, by a sad consequence, his own ruin. Nor do we read, that any of those lords, who under colour of loyalty and love (as they called it) to his person, had trodden down the power and privilege of a parliament, under his feet, had afterwards so much loyalty to him, as to defend his crown and person, against the force of an usurper, who, without any resistance or contradiction, unjustly ascended the royal throne; the sad occasion of that miserable and cruel civil war, which, in the following ages, so long afflicted the kingdom of England. This was the worst example of any parliament; but in other times, though bad too, they have proved better physick than any other earthly ways or means could be; yet their greatest virtue and excellency is seen, when they have been used as a diet, by honourable and just princes, such as this nation hath been often blessed with; and such who have thought it no more disparagement or depression of their dignity, to be ruled by the sway of that great council, than a wise guider of a ship would think it, to follow his compass; or any mathematician to be directed by his necessary rules and instruments.

The Arraignment of Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, before the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord High-Steward of England. Also a brief Derivation of the Most Honourable Family of the Howards: with an Account of what Families they are related to by Marriage. Transcribed out of ancient Manuscripts, never before published.

Printed by Nathaniel Thompson, at the Entrance into Old Spring-Garden, near Charing-Cross, 1685¹.

[Quarto; containing thirty-four Pages.]

To the High and Mighty Prince Henry, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England, Earl of Arundel, Surrey, Norfolk, and Norwich; Baron Howard, Mowbray, Segrave, Brewese of Gower, Fitz-Alleyn, Warren, Clunn, Oswaldestre, Maltravers of Cales, Greystock, Furneval of Sheffield, and Howard of Castle-Rising; Constable and Governor of his Majesty's Royal Castle of Windsor, Lord Warden of Windsor-Forest, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Norfolk, Surrey, and Berks, and of the City of

¹ Vide Oldys's Catalogue of Harleian Pamphlets, No. 505. [The account here given of the trial of the Duke of Norfolk is exceedingly imperfect, and incorrect. Those therefore who wish to obtain more ample and accurate information, will refer to Hargrave's valuable edition of the State Trials, vol. i. p. 82.]

Norwich, and County of the said City; and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, &c.

My Lord,

As your grace is the chief of your illustrious family, it would appear as rudely improper, to dedicate this discourse to any other, as perhaps it doth an unbecoming presumption, to present it to the honour of your hands; and since there is no avoiding a crime, the least must be admitted, for which I hope to obtain a pardon with less difficulty, (from that excessive goodness which is your character,) than I have had to collect these scattered papers, slubbered with antiquity, which were long preserved in your family, and hastily thrown into this posture, by

My Lord,

Your Grace's most humble

And most faithful Servant,

J. LACY.

THE names of the lords summoned by Thomas Edwards, serjeant at arms; who, being called, came, and sat down in their places appointed². They that sat on the right-hand of the steward are noted with the letter A, and they that sat on the left hand with the letter B.

Earls.	
Kent A.	Bedford B.
Worcester B.	Pembroke A.
Sussex A.	Hertford B.
Huntington B.	Leicester A.
Warwick A.	
Lords.	
Clinton A.	Mordaunt A.
Howard of Effingham B.	St. John B.
Burghley A.	Rich A.
Grey of Wilton B.	North B.
Mountjoy A.	Chandois A.
Sandes B.	St. John of Bostock B.
Wentworth A.	Buckhurst A.
Bourghrave B.	De la Warre B.

Then was Robert Catlin, Lord Chief Justice of England, commanded to return his precept upon peril; which, being returned, was read; statute issues, and then the lieutenant of the Tower was called to return his precept, and to bring forth his prisoner the Duke of Norfolk. Then was the duke brought to the bar, between Sir Owen Hopton, lieutenant, and Sir Peter Carew; and, next Sir Peter, stood one holding the tower-axe, with the edge from the Duke.

The Duke immediately, at his coming to the bar, perused all the lords, first on the right-hand of the steward, then on the left-hand; and the lieutenant delivered in his precept, *versus Thomas Ducem Norfolk, &c.* And then was proclamation made, every man to keep silence; and Mr. Sands spoke to the prisoner in this manner:

“Thomas Duke of Norfolk, late of Kenning-hall, in Norfolk, hold up thy hand;” which done, he read the indictment, the effect whereof was, ‘That he, the 22d of September, *anno dom.* 1570, did traiterously compose and imagine to put to death our Sovereign lady the queen, to raise rebellion, to subvert the commonwealth, and to stir up

² [i. e. On a large scaffold in Westminster Hall, near the Chancery-court. The trial took place Jan. 16. 1571.]

‘ foreign enemies to invade this realm, and to levy war against the queen; for that he
 ‘ knew Mary late queen of Scots to have claimed the crown of this realm, and to have
 ‘ named herself queen of England, and bore the arms of our queen without difference;
 ‘ did, the 22d of September, *anno prædict*’, before and after, without the consent of our
 ‘ said queen, send divers tokens and letters to the said late Scottish queen, and lent her
 ‘ divers sums of money, and received divers tokens from her, contrary to the commands
 ‘ of the queen, and contrary to his own submission and promise under his hand and seal;
 ‘ and that he knowing the late earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the northerns,
 ‘ Markenfield, and others, which had levied war against the queen, the 16th of No-
 ‘ vember, *anno prædict*’, and had assembled to the number of a thousand persons, and
 ‘ then fled the 12th of December, *anno prædict*’, into Scotland; and there were received
 ‘ by the Duke of Castol, Herald Lord Hunne, and there pursued by the Earl of Sussex.
 ‘ He, on the 7th of August *anno prædict*’, did send, before and after, money unto them,
 ‘ and that he being adherent to the pope³, the queen’s enemy, the 10th of March, 12
 ‘ *anno reginæ*, did consent and consult with Robert Ridolph, merchant-stranger, and the
 ‘ pope’s factor, to have money from the pope, and the Duke of Alva, and that they should
 ‘ send an army to invade the realm, to deliver the said Scottish queen. And further,
 ‘ whereas the said Robert Ridolph had written, in the name of the said duke, three letters,
 ‘ one to the pope, the second to King Philip, and the third to the Duke of Alva; the
 ‘ said duke sent his servant to the ambassador of King Philip, to desire him to certify the
 ‘ pope, King Philip, and the duke, that he allowed of the same letters; and that they
 ‘ should be taken as sent from him, which was so agreed: but the said Robert Ridolph,
 ‘ who delivered the Duke of Norfolk’s cyphers, whereof he carried one copy to Rome,
 ‘ whereby each might certify others, and likewise required of the said duke what time
 ‘ the aid should arrive, that they might be provided: And further, that the said Duke
 ‘ did receive letters from the said pope, with promise of the said aid: and also, that he did
 ‘ send comfort to the Lord Hennis, and other Scots, the Queen’s enemies, &c.’

Which indictment being read, Mr. Sands said to the duke, “ How sayest thou, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, art thou guilty of these treasons, or not guilty?”

Duke. “ The hearing of this indictment gives me occasion to make request, which I did not intend to have done; which is to have counsel assigned me, if the law will permit it.”

Catlin. “ You must have none.”

Duke. “ That is very severe. I was told the indictment was only concerning matters contained in the statute of the 25th Edward III. I have had very short warning; not more than fourteen hours, night and all. I am no lawyer, and there are many circumstances in which I must submit myself to the opinion of the justices. I could not have books to inform myself, and direct, but must fight without weapons: yet I have heard, in the cause of Mr. Humphry Stafford, in the time of Henry VII. in a case of treason, he had counsel assigned him.”

Dyer⁴. “ The case you speak of, was concerning the pleading of a sanctuary by prescription.”

Duke. “ I must submit then to your judgments: I must plead for my life, lands, goods, and children, and for that which I esteem much more dear to me, my honour and honesty: my blood will cry aloud for vengeance, if I am condemned unjustly. One request I make to you, my judges, to tell me, if the indictment be perfect in all, or in part, and in what part, that thereto I may give my answer.”

Catlin. “ The cause being true, the indictment is sufficient.”

Duke. “ I should know whether they are all treasons or no.”

Sands. “ How sayest thou, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, art thou guilty of these treasons, or not guilty?”

Duke. “ Not guilty.”

³ [Pius Quintus.]

⁴ [Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.]

Sands. "How wilt thou be tried?"

Duke. "By God and my peers. I am in a great consternation at the treasons that are imputed against me; but am comforted by the justice of the queen, in giving me that trial which the law alloweth me, and it is such as I require. But this suit I make to the lords, that I may have justice, and not be oppressed with unnecessary diversities; my memory is ill of itself, and rendered much worse by evil usage, since my severe imprisonment: I pray God I may forgive it! And, concerning you, my peers, I hope I may call it my happiness, that I shall be tried by you, in whose hands I must put my life; and I think I dare, into the single hands of a great many of you, who I know profess religion; and, I hope, will not burthen your consciences contrary to law and justice; depending upon the clearness of my innocence, I would not take a needless and cowardly flight: I have what I expected and wished, a trial. I crave it with justice, and must confess I have neglected my duty in matters under treason; I desire those omissions be not imputed as treasons."

Serjeant Barham. "This indictment contains three several matters of treason. First, It is by deprivation of the queen's majesty. The second, is the relief of the rebels in England. The third, the assistance of the Scots, the queen's enemies. To prove the first, there are two matters of fact declared in the said indictment: first, knowing the Scottish queen to have claimed the crown, he hath attempted marriage with her: also, the conspiracy to procure foreign power to invade the realm, doth prove him guilty of the matter."——

The duke, interrupting him, said, "Mr. Serjeant, you begin as I thought you would, in laying the matters of the marriage, and other things, to my charge, which are not treason, to exasperate the matter: you may do your duty, but yet conscientiously; and (then something smiling) I should speak one thing which I had almost forgot: a man suspected is half condemned. I have been charged with an oath, I protest I took the oath, as I shall prove; I pray let it not be laid out to my discredit. They desired it."

Barham. "He, that would marry with one that claimeth the crown, hopeth to aspire to the same. This matter began at such a time as the duke was one of the commissioners for hearing the cause between the late Scottish queen and the lords of Scotland, at which time the duke took an oath to deal therein directly, to weigh indifferently occasions and answers; wherein, notwithstanding, he dealt indirectly, thereby committing perjury, and disclosing the queen's secret counsels: if you deny it, I will prove it."

Duke. "This case hath divers parts, not within the compass of treason."

Barham. "I demand if you know the claim?"

Lord Steward. "Your Grace must answer directly."

After (upon viewing Serjeant Barham and the queen's attorney) the Duke confessed the claim, but not the contrivance, &c.

Barham. "He shewed the contrivance, by her refusal to acknowledge the queen's majesty to be the lawful queen."

Duke. "I did not approve it, but I must defend her doing it; she, having a husband, did it; which, at the request of Throgmorton, was left by the queen; she hath since entered into league with her, professing great friendship, and has christened her child."

Barham. "But she has not yet renounced her claim, and yet you have as far dealt with her as, being the queen's commissioner, to hear the matter, to open to her the accusations. You gave right instructions how she should deal, that matters might not come to light; and conferred with the Bishop of Ross about the same."

For proof whereof, was shewed the examination of the bishop, taken the 6th of November, 1571, declaring that the duke discovered to him all that he knew of that business, and promised what help he could, &c. But he spoke nothing of the marriage, but referred all to Luddington, who had caused the duke to stay the conference, and shewed unto him her good will, and how she was set to accompany the Earl of Murray to convey the queen, where he shewed that the duke did advertise him, that they did go about to degrade the Scottish queen with the people of England, that she might be the less able to

attempt any thing against the Queen of England. And these matters the duke answered at large: the effect was, that Luddington only moved the marriage to him, which he at that time refused: that he only told the Bishop of Ross, he could not condescend to that proposition; and, as her circumstances were stated, it would neither be for her honour, nor his.—He desired the Bishop of Ross might be sent for.

Then was shewed a letter of the bishop's, wherein was contained, That it was appointed the Earl of Murray should be murdered in the north, going into Scotland; but, the duke having discoursed with him at Hampton-court about the marriage, to which he consented, the intended murder was also stopped. There was also a letter to the duke shewed, moving the marriage at that time, and that it should be for the advantage of his family to marry the queen, who proposed her son should also marry the Lady Margaret Howard, the duke's daughter, which argument inclined the duke to it: yet, when it was rumoured that he designed the marriage of the Scottish queen, he appeared much offended, and told the queen of it, and seemed to dislike her for her former marriages; and said, the whole revenues of the Crown of Scotland, the ordinary charges deducted, was not so considerable as his estate in England; and that he thought himself as great a prince in his Bowling-alley at Norwich, as if he were King of Scotland. This was affirmed by Mr. Barham, that he heard the queen's majesty speak it; and, by the duke's own examination, taken the 6th of November, proved plainly. It was further shewed, that at Treachfield he had commandment not to proceed any further in that marriage; and yet it was apparent he had treated about it, though he had declared to Banister an ill opinion of the queen, and said he believed she was privy to the murder of her husband.

Duke. "These are far fetches, Mr. Barham, and come short of proving a deprivation of the queen, and destruction of her person. When the marriage was proposed to me, I made several objections against it, though without any unjust or unbecoming reflections upon that great princess, whose virtue is above calumny. But my Lord of Leicester, who persuaded me to the marriage also, told me of the queen's consent, and advised me to proceed in the treaty, and leave the management to him, who would attend an opportunity to discourse it with the queen, whom he knew he could dispose to it."

Barham. "To come nearer to you, it appears you have gone about to procure it by force, and conspired to have taken the Tower; which, if true, you must grant the destruction of the queen's person: for the jealousy of a kingdom is such, that it will not admit of a rival."

Then some letters of the duke's were read, and several long letters written by the Queen of Scots, from whence it is inferred, the duke did not pursue the marriage for love of the Queen of Scots, but for the ambition of the Crown of England.

Duke. "Your conclusions and inferences are ill applied. It is true, *one* came to me and advised the taking of the Tower, which I refused and disliked."

Barham. "Why then did you consult the Earl of Pembroke about the same?"

Duke. "To tell him what had been proposed to me, was not to consult him."

Gerrard. "You took a knife, and cut down a green vine, with this saying, *Virescit vulnere virtus*."

Duke. "Why, what do you gather from thence?"

Barham. "The use is not to cut vines, whilst they are green, that should grow again."

It was also objected, That when the queen's majesty had demanded of the Queen of Scots certain castles in her possession, which the rebels delivered, the duke advised the contrary; and went about to procure the Queen of Scots her liberty, and that Ross opened the window, and, after he had promised, and given it under his hand, never to treat about the marriage any more, he held correspondence with the Queen of Scots and her friends. Then they shewed him a prophecy by Hickforth, which was this, *In exaltatione lune leo deprimitur, leo leoni conjungitur et semen eorum regnabunt*; which was proved by the examination of Hickforth, to whom the duke had shewed it, terming it a foppish tale."

Duke. "By which you see I did not esteem it."

Then one Candish was brought in, who was sworn. The substance of his evidence was, That being at Southampton with the duke, he advised him to endeavour to obtain the queen's favour and consent to the marriage: he answered, "He would have her, or it should cost him his life."—And, another time, the duke and the Lord Lumley being together at Howard's Palace—

With that the duke, turning towards him, said, "Canst thou accuse me of any thing? I defy thee and the devil." To which he answered: "I can accuse him of nothing, but the marriage; and that at Kenning-hall he did say to him, that there was nothing to undo us but the rising of the northern lords. If they should then rise; I further asked, if the queen was dead, that he may procure my brother Candish to be of his side." All which the duke positively denied, and declared how little credit the same Candish was of; that he had often relieved him and given him money; and that he was one of no estimation, as the business between him and Mr. Christmas did sufficiently testify.

It was also said, that the duke sent one Travers to the earls, desiring them not to rise; for, if they did, they were utterly undone; but this, and much more, was without proof.—There was also a letter produced from the Queen of Scots to the duke, written in cyphers, which was decyphered and read; declaring her sorrow for his disappointments. The duke answered, "That all these things were unlikely; nor would he have thus proceeded, if he had, as he is charged, imagined and contrived the deprivation of the queen; and the chiefest evidence against him was by Ridolph and Bracton, who was not to be credited for a witness." He also said, "That Travers went not the earls with any such message, and that he never offered to fly, which one guilty would have done; nor did he ever esteem those earls so much as to trust them with his life."

Gerrard. "Thus have you heard the attempt of the marriage proved, and to prove the deprivation of the queen, was the dealing with the duke, King Philip, and the Duke of Alva, for the bringing in of foreign power to land here, which God hath revealed most wonderfully, according to that saying, *Nil est tam occultum quod non revelabitur*. At the first opening of the business, it could not be known whom it concerned: then, by opening of a bag of six hundred pounds, sealed with letters in the same, to Sherbury, for fifty pounds, which was opened by some of the council at London. The queen and council understood the whole matter at Easter by the letters directed to Quadrantus and Trantus, but who that signified could not be known till of late; for it appears by Quadrantus is meant the duke, and by Trantus another nobleman; this secret is now found out by cyphers hid in the tiles, and letters described by Hickforth, commanded by the duke to be burned, found under the mats going into the duke's chamber. These matters are to be proved by those that are neither indicted nor convicted of treason."

Duke. "There was not a letter of mine that contained a syllable of treason: and, if the malice of ill men hath contrived any thing that deserves blame, it is fit they should bear their own burden, and not lay crimes upon my shoulders to lessen their load."

Gerrard. "You had conference yourself with *Ridolph*, for bringing in ten thousand men out of Flanders to be landed at *Berwick*⁵, whereof three thousand should be horsemen."

For proof whereof was read the examination of Barker. It was further shewed, that the Bishop of Ross and he had conference together about these matters, and concerning letters sent by the Duke of Norfolk to the Duke of Alva, and the Pope, and King Philip, but the duke had refused to subscribe them. Then it was advised by the Bishop of Ross, that he should send Barker, his man, to the Spanish ambassador, to tell him, the duke was well contented with those letters, and that they should be taken as his own, and that the ambassador should certify so much from him.

Duke. "My memory is too weak to answer to a heap of matters huddled up I know not how, having nothing but truth and ignorance to support me; and you are four of the queen's council, who have notes, and the faculty of flourishing upon them: and it is hard

⁵ [Read Harwich.]

for me to answer all of a sudden, and I may, through the defect of memory, and the surprise of an accused innocence, omit that which might be easily answered. It was very unlikely, and extremely untrue, that I should deal with the Pope: I had rather be drawn in pieces with wild horses, than change from that faith which I was brought up in from my youth; and for landing an army at Harwich, it is well known how impossible it is for an army to march in that country, which is all ditches and woods. If I had designed such a matter, I would have made provision of arms and powder; I have not bestowed ten pounds on any armour these ten years, except it were eight corslets of proof; I have no cullivers in my house, and I am sure not three barrels of powder: and, if I had designed any such thing, I would have been provided otherwise than I was; neither would I have sent Barker of such a message, but rather have trusted my hand to the letters, than to have put words into his mouth, he being one of no credit with me; and, if I would have framed such a message, I would sooner have employed Banister than twenty Barkers."

Then was shewed a letter from the Bishop of Ross to the Scottish queen, about the marriage; there was also a letter from the duke to Ridolph, written with oker, since he was in the Tower, bidding him burn the bag of letters which Barker had put in a certain place, and to lay up Ross's, whom the law could not touch, because he was an ambassador.

Duke. "I had heard that he had accused divers; and, when I perceived there was such searching, I gave that advice for avoiding of trouble, though the letters were insignificant."

There was also a letter from the duke, which expressed, that he could not be charged with any crime; and if he loved his life, he should take heed whom he accused.

Duke. "By which my innocence appears."

Bromley⁶ shewed letters from Ridolph, sent by Bayley, Ross's servant; by which it appeared, that the Duke D'Alva liked the matter, and inquired how far Harwich was from London. Bromley farther said, the whole conspiracy was opened at Antwerp, to the ambassador of a foreign prince; who acquainted his master, who had written the whole discourse to the queen; which, because it concerned others as well as the duke, should only be opened to the lords of the privy-council.

Duke. "This is a mystery that I know not how to reply to, unless that part of it which concerned me were discovered."

Then Mr. Wilbraham made a formal discourse for the credit of the depositions, of the duke and others.

Duke. "I know not how to come after so smooth a tale as the attorney of the Court of Wards has told; yet he reflects nothing, what fear and promised rewards might prevail upon timorous and mercenary minds. But I refer you unto Bracton for discrediting and disproving those witnesses."

Catlin. "In such matters and cases of treason, the depositions of strangers may be taken, and it lies in the breasts of the peers to credit the same as they shall see cause; and to proceed to the second point of treason specified in the indictment, which was, the aiding the rebels after they were fled."

Duke. "There is little danger in a discerned enemy; yet I never relieved any of them."

Catlin. "Then, for the third point of treason contained in the indictment, for assisting the Scottish rebels, the queen's enemies: by letters from the duke to Banister, and from Banister to Luddington, and from Luddington to Ridolph; and, by the examination of Banister, and, by the bag of money delivered to Sherbury, with letters in the same bag, as it was before declared by Mr. Gerrard."

Duke. "I desire the opinion of the judges, if the subjects of another prince, the prince not being in war with the queen, may be accounted the queen's enemies?"

⁶ [The queen's solicitor.]

Catlin. "That might well enough be seen; for the queen might make war with a duke in France, and have peace with the French king."

Shrewsbury. "Have you aught else to say?"

Duke. "I depend upon truth and innocence, which I hope will outweigh the malice and artifice of my enemies; and I also hope my judges will consider the invalidity of the evidence against me, the persons being of no credit nor reputation. And, for the marriage, I treated in it with the queen's consent and appointment; and afterwards suspended it, though several letters and arguments were directed to me concerning it."

Shrewsbury. "Lieutenant of the Tower, withdraw the prisoner a while."

Then was silence proclaimed.

Shrewsbury. "My lords, here you have heard that Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, has been indicted for divers points of treason, and has pleaded 'Not guilty,' and hath put himself upon the trial of God and his peers. You are now to consider, upon the whole evidence which you have heard, whether he be guilty or not guilty, and to speak your minds upon your honours and consciences:" and so bid them withdraw together, and return as soon as they could; which they did to a place for that purpose where the Chancery is now kept; and there consulted in the sight of all. Then, the lords being returned and sat in their places, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord High Steward of England, commanded the Duke to be placed further out of hearing of them; then he asked aloud, first the youngest lord, saying, "What say you, my Lord De la Warre, is Thomas Duke of Norfolk guilty of these treasons, yea or no?" Who standing up, answered, "Guilty." Then the same was asked of all the barons and earls, beginning at the youngest, and so to the eldest in degree; and all said "Guilty." Then the lord high steward commanded the prisoner should be brought to the bar, who being placed, the Earl of Shrewsbury, lord high steward said: "Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, thou hast been accused of divers treasons, and hast pleaded against all 'Not guilty;' and hast put thyself upon God and thy peers, who have all declared thee 'Guilty:' What canst thou say now that judgment may not proceed against thee?"

Duke. "The great God and my own innocence be between me and my false accusers."

Then was there a profound silence a good while, after which the Tower axe was turned towards the Duke.

Barham. "May it please your lordship to understand, that Thomas Howard, late Duke of Norfolk, has been indicted of several treasons, and hath thereunto pleaded 'Not guilty;' and thereupon hath put himself upon the trial of God and his peers, and they have found him guilty: I am therefore to pray your judgment in the behalf of our gracious sovereign lady the queen."

Shrewsbury. "Thou Thomas late Duke of Norfolk, hast been indicted of several treasons, and thereunto hast pleaded 'Not guilty;' and hast put thyself upon the trial of God and thy peers, and hast been by them found 'Guilty.' Therefore our court and the queen doth award, that thou shalt be led from hence to the Tower, and thence to be drawn through the midst of London to Tyburn, and there to be hanged until thou art half dead; thy bowels to be taken out and burnt before thy face, thy head to be cut off, and thy body quartered, and thy head and quarters to be at the queen's will and pleasure, and our Lord have mercy on thy soul."

Duke. "You have said unto me as unto a traitor. God forgive you, and wash my innocent blood from your souls, that it rise not in judgment against you: I condemn not you and yours; I die not a traitor, but a true man both to my queen and country. And since you have put me out of your company, I hope to go where I shall find much better, who will regard that innocence which you have rejected. I am at a point never to beg for mercy where I have no guilt; but the suit I have to you, my lords, is, that you will move the queen to be good to my children and family, and to see the discharge of my debts."

Thus fell that illustrious prince, whose greatness in estate and title was his only crime, for being of an ancient and splendid family; the blood royal of England and France not being out of his veins, and being allied to all the considerable families of England, and

having an estate to support that greatness of a hundred thousand pounds a year, besides the fortunes he obtained by his marriages, which was also very large. All his paternal estate was disposed of by the queen, without regard to the innocence of his children, the hard measure of his accusations, and his obedience, which led him to the pursuit of her commands upon all occurrences: which estate, as it is divided and improved, is valued at five hundred thousand pounds a year. My Lord of Leicester (who was the leading man at that time, and sat with watchful diligence at the helm, which he managed as his interest or passion inspired him) first proposed the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk; which he refused till importuned by the persuasions of those that appeared to be his friends, and assured by a letter under Queen Elizabeth's own hand of her consent; all which ensnared him till the consummation of the marriage; which was made evident by a letter kept long in the family from the hands of the Queen of Scots, in which she subscribed herself, 'Your most obedient wife, Mary of Scotland and Norfolk.' And this great family, thus eclipsed, remained under the cloud of a severe deprivation, till the last king Charles (of blessed memory) restored them to their former titles and dignities: that excellent prince considering their long and silent sufferings; with what forwardness most of them engaged their lives and fortunes in the service of his royal father; there being but two of all that great and numerous family that drew a sword against their king: may those two be buried in the dull ashes of oblivion for ever, and wiped out of our way, as perhaps they are out of the book of life.

A brief Account of the noble Family of the Howards.

THE family of the Howards came into England with the Saxons, being from a vast length of time very considerable in that country, having the title of barons, and the name in that language being Hoffwerd, (as some ancient books there testify,) which signifies the chief office in the court.⁷ William the Conqueror found them in a great condition of estate and quality here, according to the mode and method of those times, bearing distinctions proper to barons. They continued most eminent in their country, and linked themselves into the greatest families in the kingdom, as (with all evidence appears) behold here.

A brief Account of the Descent of the Dukes of Norfolk.

THOMAS of Brotherton, second son of king Edward the First, by Margaret of France his second wife, was earl of Norfolk and high marshal of England, whose daughter and heir, being married to John Lord Segrave, was created Duchess of Norfolk; and Elizabeth their daughter and heir being married to John Lord Mowbrey, mother to Thomas Mowbrey, created Duke of Norfolk by King Richard the Second, in the year 1397, and first earl-marshal of England. Which Thomas, by Elizabeth his wife, sister and heir of Thomas Fitz-Allen, Earl of Arundel, was father of John Mowbrey, second Duke of Norfolk, and of Margaret his eldest daughter, wife to Sir Robert Howard Knight, whose son John Mowbrey, the third Duke of Norfolk, was father of John, the fourth Duke of Nor-

⁷ [Harvey, clarencieux king at arms, in the reign of Elizabeth, has rejected the supposed descent of the Howard family from a Saxon origin, and given another, in which the first person mentioned is Auber, Earl of Passy, in Normandy, whose grandson Roger Fitz-Valerine took up arms to revenge on the Welsh the death of his kinsman William Earl of Gloucester, who was slain at Cardiff. Roger having possessed himself of the castle of Howard in Flintshire, often retired there for safety, on which account it was called his 'denne,' and to this day is called the castle of Howarden. His son William, born in that castle, had the name of William de Howard, from whom was descended Sir William Howard, the celebrated judge. This account is followed by Glover, Somerset, and Philipot; but Edmondson in Baronagium Genealogicum asserts that the patriarch of this illustrious family was Fulco, father of Galfridus, who had two sons, Alan and Humphry. Alan, the eldest son, was father of William of Wiggenhall, who had three sons, the eldest of whom succeeded to the estate of Wiggenhall, and by his wife Lucia, daughter to Germonde, was father of Sir William Howard, the famous judge above-mentioned.—Vide Collins's Peerage, edit. 1767, vol. i. p. 48.]

folk; whose daughter and heir dying without issue in the reign of King Edward the Fourth, the honours and lands of Mowbrey were divided between John Lord Howard, son of Sir Robert Howard and Margaret Mowbrey, who was created Duke of Norfolk by King Richard the Third, and William Lord Berkley, son of Isabella second daughter of Thomas Mowbrey, first Duke of Norfolk. This John Lord Howard, Duke of Norfolk, was slain at the battle of Bosworth in 1485, and attainted, leaving Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, his son; who, in the fifth year of King Henry the Eighth, was restored Duke of Norfolk; and, dying, Thomas Howard his son was Duke of Norfolk, and father of Henry Earl of Surrey, who was beheaded the last of Henry the Eighth; which Henry Earl of Surrey, was father of Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded and attainted for the marriage of the Queen of Scots, the fourteenth year of Queen Elizabeth; whose son Philip (Earl of Arundel in right of his mother) died in the Tower; his son Thomas the great lord-marshal (whose memory is a lasting honour to his family) left his son Henry of unblemished honour and reputation also; whose son Thomas was restored by the last king, Charles the Second, of happy and glorious memory, to the dignity of Duke of Norfolk; whose brother Henry survived him, and left two sons, Henry the present Duke of Norfolk, and the Lord Thomas Howard, who hath issue.

This flourishing family has spread itself into many eminent branches, as the Lord Viscount Stafford, the Earls of Suffolk and Berkshire, the Lord Escrick, the Earl of Carlisle, and the rest of the descendants from the Lord William Howard of Naworth, whose memory is to be preserved as sacred in the family; who, for wisdom, virtue, and honour, was the glory of his time; he was third son of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, whose trial and unfortunate death you have here had a view of; the sons of which Lord William Howard were men of great honour, and served their king with their lives and fortunes: his second son, Sir Francis Howard, having raised a regiment at his own proper charge, and suffered a long imprisonment in the Tower. Colonel Thomas Howard, the fourth son of the Lord William, also raised a regiment for King Charles the First, of sacred memory, and bravely lost his life at the head of it; having refused very advantageous conditions from the King of Portugal, who had invited him into his service; he being a soldier of long experience abroad, and much esteemed for his courage and conduct, and detained here by the commands of his prince, whom his honour, religion, and conscience obliged him to obey: he fell (a willing sacrifice for the service of his prince) to the rage of the rebels.

Here is also an Account of such Families as are descended from the House of Howard, taken in the Year 1660.

By the daughter and heir of Sir John Howard, who was of the same family with the Duke of Norfolk, and married to John Vere, Earl of Oxford; and descended by the heirs of Wingfield, and of Nevil Lord Latimer, (the families of Wingfield now remaining,) Percy Earl of Northumberland; Cecil Earl of Salisbury; Danvers late Earl of Danby, who quarters the arms of Howard; Norris late Earl of Berkshire; the Lord Pawlet of Somersetshire; and many other noble families; namely, the ancient and honourable family of the Lacies.

And from John Howard, first Duke of Norfolk of that name, by his daughter married to Windham; and from them, by Lutterel and Rogers, descended the Marquis of Hertford, the Lord Seymour, and many other ancient families in the West; and by other daughters, the families of Knivet and Corges.

From Lord Edmund Howard, third son of Thomas second Duke of Norfolk, is descended the Lord Arundel of Warder.

From the said Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk, are descended first all those of the house of Nottingham and Effingham; and from them, by daughters the present Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Mulgrave and Peterborough, the Viscount Mordaunt, the Lord Fairfax, and many other eminent families.

By his daughter, married to the Earl of Darby, are descended at this day the Earls of Darby, Bridgewater, the Lord Stourton, Morley, Dudley, Stafford, Chandois, Powis, and many other noble families. By his daughter married to Sir Rice ap Thomas, the Earls of Carbery, and many other noble families in Wales are descended. By his daughter, married to Sir Thomas Bullen, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, are descended the families of Cary, Earls of Dover and Monmouth, and the Viscount Faulkland; and by the daughter of Cary married to the family of Knowles, the Earls of Banbury, Northumberland, Essex, Warwick, Holland, Newport, and the Lord Paget, and many others.

From Thomas Howard third Duke of Norfolk are descended the heirs of the Lord Scroope of Nevil, Earl of Westmorland, the Lord Berkley, and the heirs of the Viscount Binden.

From Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, the present Duke of Norfolk, the Viscount Stafford, the Earls of Suffolk, Berkshire, Carlisle, Lord Howard of Escrick, all the Howards of the North, the Earl of Dorset, the late Duke of Richmond; and by marriage, at present, many other noble families are nearly allied; as, the Earls of Northumberland, Bedford, Salisbury, Devonshire; the Lords Darcy, Sandys, Fairfax of Imolleth, Mac Donell, and many other ancient and honourable families are descended.

This great Duke of Norfolk (whose trial you have read) first married the daughter and heir of Fitz-Allen Earl of Arundel, by whom he had Philip, who was poisoned in the Tower: the duke's second marriage was to the daughter and heir of the Lord Audley, by whom he had Thomas Earl of Suffolk, and the Lord William Howard of Naworth, who was long detained a prisoner in the Tower, after the death of the duke. The duke's third marriage was to the widow of the Lord Dacres of the North, who, by the said Lord Dacres, had two daughters, Anne and Elizabeth, to whom the duke married his two sons, Philip and the Lord William Howard.

Thomas, the great lord-marshal (who is never to be mentioned without the memory of his honour) was the son of Philip, Earl of Arundel, and Anne, the eldest daughter of the Lord Dacres; which Thomas married the Lady Alatheia Talbot, daughter and heir to the Earl of Shrewsbury, by whom he had Henry Lord Matrevers, and William Viscount Stafford; which Henry married the Lady Elizabeth Stuart, daughter to the Duke of Lenox, and the Lord Viscount Stafford married the daughter and heir of the Lord Baron Stafford. This Henry, afterwards Earl of Arundel, left eight sons and two daughters: Thomas, who died at Padua, and was restored to the dukedom; Henry, last Duke of Norfolk; Philip, lord cardinal; Charles, a person of much honour and integrity; Edward, Francis, Bernard, and Esma. Henry, who after the decease of Thomas was Duke of Norfolk, married the Lady Anne Somerset, eldest daughter to the Marquis of Worcester, and sister to the present Duke of Beaufort, by whom he had two sons, Henry, the present Duke of Norfolk, who married the Lady Mary Mordaunt, daughter to the Earl of Peterborough; and the Lord Thomas Howard, who married the daughter and heir of Sir George Savil, of the family of the Marquis of Halifax, by whom he hath issue. Also the said duke had two daughters, the eldest married to the Duke of Gordon of Huntley, the youngest to the Marquis of Waperiso. Charles, the fourth son, married Mary, the eldest daughter and coheir of George Tatershall of Hinshamstead in the county of Berkshire, Esquire, a lady of great virtue and extraordinary parts, of an ancient and honourable family (which came into England with the Saxons, and long retained the title of baron, as is recorded by many authors) by whom he hath a hopeful son, named Henry-Charles Howard; Bernard married to Catharine, the younger daughter of the said George Tatershall, Esq. who hath also issue one son, named Bernard, and three daughters. The Lady Elizabeth-Teresa, the youngest sister of the last Duke of Norfolk, was married to Alexander Mac Donell, eldest son to Sir James Mac Donell, Bart. and nephew to the late Marquis of Antrim, by whom she had one son, named Randal Mac Donell; she was afterwards married to Bartholomew Russel, Esq. of Seaton in the county of Dublin, of the family of the earls of Bedford.

The Lord Thomas Howard, afterwards Earl of Suffolk, second son to Thomas Duke of

Norfolk, (who so unfortunately lost his life for espousing the interest of the Queen of Scots,) married the daughter and heir of Sir Philip Tenevit; whose eldest son was married to the daughter of the Earl of Dunbar; his eldest daughter to the Earl of Salisbury, the second to the earl of Banbury, and the third to the Earl of Somerset. The eldest had many sons and daughters; the Earl of Berkshire, being the second, married the daughter of Cecil Earl of Salisbury; the third, being Sir Robert Howard of Clun, married the daughter of Nevil Lord Abergavenny. The fourth, who was created Lord Howard of Escrick, married the daughter of the Lord Butler. One of the daughters of the said Earl of Suffolk was married to Percy Earl of Northumberland; another to Boyle Earl of Orrery; one to Villiers, and another to Walsingham; all of which had issue.

But to return to Philip, the eldest son of the Lord William Howard of Naworth, who married into the family of the Carols, by whom he left one son called William, who married the daughter of the Lord Evers, by whom he had sons and daughters; Charles the eldest son, late Earl of Carlisle, having married the daughter of the late Lord Escrick Howard; by whom he had Edward, the present Earl of Carlisle, who married the daughter and heir of Sir William Udel; by whom he hath a hopeful offspring. Also two daughters; one married to the Lord Preston, the other to Sir John Fenwick. Sir Philip Howard, brother to the late Earl of Carlisle, married the daughter of Sir William Newton, by whom he hath one son.

Sir Francis Howard, the second son of the Lord William Howard, married the daughter of Sir Henry Widdrington; by whom he had heirs: Francis, his eldest son, married the daughter of Sir William Gerrard, by whom he had two daughters; and after married the daughter of John Townly, of Townly, Esq. by whom he hath issue. William, the youngest son of Sir Francis, married the daughter of George Dawson, Esq. hath issue also: Thomas, the second son, having taken religious orders. His eldest son Thomas, was slain in the late wars.

Sir Charles, the third son of the Lord William, married also the daughter of Sir Henry Widdrington, by whom he had heirs; William, the eldest son, being married to the daughter and heir of George Cuninghame, Esq. by whom he had one son Charles, who married the daughter of John Mear, Esq. Dorothy, the daughter of Sir Charles Howard, married William Salome, of Croxdale in the county of Durham, and hath issue. Another daughter was religious.

Colonel Thomas Howard, the fourth son of the Lord William, who so eminently served his king, and lost his life in that service, married Margaret, daughter to Sir William Evers, second son to the Lord Evers, by whom he had one son named Thomas, and six daughters: Thomas married the daughter and heir of George Heron, of Chip-Chace, Esq. by whom he hath three daughters. Mary the eldest daughter of Colonel Thomas Howard, married Ralph Fetherstonhalgh, of Stanhope, in the county of Durham, of an ancient family in the North; Margaret and Antonia were religious; Catharine married to Nathaniel Lacy, of Deeping, in Lincolnshire, Esq. whose family were formerly earls of Lincoln; and after married to Edward Lacy, of Brewry Castle, in the county of Limerick, Esq. descended from the earls of Ulster, in Ireland. Teresa, the youngest daughter of Colonel Thomas Howard, was married to Ralph Booth, of the county of Durham, Esq. of an ancient family, related to the Lord Delamer, bearing the same name and arms, who hath issue.

Thus hath this illustrious family spread itself over the three kingdoms, and hath acquired so much glory abroad, that in all places where nobility is known and understood, the name of Howard is honoured. Germany claims it by its original, France by alliance, and Italy by respect; having had that object of honour, Thomas, the great lord-marshal among them, whose generous and noble disposition planted such lasting obligations there, that even in these present times some of his descendants have reaped the benefit. Courage has been so essentially due to this great family, that never any was known of that blood, that did not possess an excessive share of that virtue, which they generally employed in the service of their prince, few of them having been in rebellion; and it is wished they may

never sully themselves with so black a crime, and, as they are descended from princes, so they may unite themselves in a true obedience to their sovereign, which is the best defence of families; nothing being so fatal as faction and sedition, which has at all times proved a canker to consume them.

The grand Impostor examined: Or, the Life, Trial, and Examination of James Nayler, the seduced and seducing Quaker; with the Manner of his riding into Bristol.

‘ We have a Law and by our Law he ought to die, because
‘ he made himself the Son of God.’ Joh. xix. 7.

‘ But these are written, that ye might believe, that Jesus is
‘ the Christ, the Son of God; and that, believing, ye might
‘ have Life through his Name.’ Joh. xx. 31.

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[Quarto; containing fifty-six Pages.]

To the READER.

Courteous Reader,

I DO here give thee an account of what passed between James Nayler and his judges, as thinking it a part of my duty, towards God and man; that thereby, thou mayest see and know, there is but one only God, and one only Jesus, which is the Christ, who was crucified by the Jews at Jerusalem; which whosoever denies, let him be accursed.

It hath been the custom, in former times, to immure, stone, or otherways punish with death, such as did falsely style themselves the only sons of the most High God; as thou mayest see in that faithful chronologer, John Speed; who affirmeth, that in the reign of king Henry the Third, there appeared a grand impostor, somewhat in wickedness, resembling this, of whom we are to treat. This man (or rather devil) thinking himself to be somebody, boasted himself to be nobody in the eyes of the world, but as being sent from Heaven; and, having a grave and impudent aspect, pretended himself to be no less than the Saviour of mankind. And, to strike a belief into the easily seduced people, he had wounded his hands, feet, and side; affirming these to be the wounds, which the Jews had given him at Jerusalem. For which blasphemous and horrid doctrine, he was sentenced to be starved to death, between the walls of a strong prison, where he and his doctrine died: even so let all thine enemies perish, O Lord!

Thou wilt, in his examination, discover some difference to be between him and George Fox; but I suppose they are again reconciled.

* Vide Oldys’s Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 483.

I shall not trouble thee with all the many letters, which were conveyed from him to others, or from them to him, lest I make my relation swell too big : I shall only give thee two or three of the chiefest ; out of which if thou canst pick but a little sense, and less truth, thou canst do more than

December 16,
1656.

Thy loving Friend.

READER,

THINKING it a very good foundation to my building, to give you the manner of his progress, before you come to his confession, or before his blasphemy aspires to the stool of repentance, I shall thus begin. James Nayler of Wakefield, in the county of York, a deluded and deluding quaker and impostor, rode October last, through a village called Bedminster, about a mile from Bristol, accompanied with six more ; one whereof, a young man whose head was bare, leading his horse by the bridle, and another uncovered before him, through the dirty way, in which the carts and horses, and none else, usually go. And with them, two men on horseback, with each of them a woman behind him, and one woman walking on the better way or path. In this posture, did they march ; and in such a case, that one George Witherley, noting their condition, asked them to come in the better road, adding that God expected no such extremity. But they continued on their way, not answering in any other notes, but what were musical, singing, ‘ Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth,’ &c. Thus continued they, till by their wandering, they came to the alms-house, within the suburbs of Bristol, where one of the women alighted, and she, with the other of her own sex, lovingly marched on each side of Nayler’s horse. This Witherley saith, he supposes, they could not be less deep in the muddy way, than to the knees ; and, he saith, they sang, but sometimes with such a buzzing melodious noise, that he could not understand what it was. This the said Witherley gave in, upon his oath. Thus did they reach Ratcliff-gate, with Timothy Wedlock of Devon bare-headed, and Martha Symonds with the bridle on one side, and Hannah Stranger, on the other side of the horse ; this Martha Symonds is the wife of Thomas Symonds, of London, book-binder ; and Hannah Stranger is the wife of John Stranger, of London, comb-maker, who sung ‘ Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel.’ Thus did he ride to the high cross in Bristol, and after that, to the White Hart in Broad-street, where there lie two eminent quakers, by name Dennis Hollister and Henry Row ; of which the magistrates hearing, they were apprehended and committed to prison.

Long it had not been, after their confinement in the gaol at Exeter, from whence, passing through Wells and Glassenbury, this party bestrewed the way with their garments. But, to be short, they were searched, and letters were found about them, infinitely filled with profane nonsensical language ; which letters I shall not trouble you with, only some of the chief, lest your patience should be too much cloyed. We shall haste now to their examinations ; and, because Nayler was the chief actor, it is fit he have the pre-eminence of leading the way in their examinations : we shall therefore give you a full account of what passed between the magistrate and him, which take as followeth :

The Examination of James Nayler, and others.

BEING asked his name, or whether he was not called James Nayler, he replied, “ The men of this world call me James Nayler.”

Quest. “ Art not thou the man that rid on horse-back into Bristol, a woman leading thy horse, and others singing before thee, ‘ Holy, holy, holy, Hosannah,’ &c. ?

Ans. “ I did ride into a town, but what its name was I know not ; and, by the spirit, a woman was commanded to hold my horse’s bridle, and some there were that cast down clothes, and sang praises to the Lord, such songs as the Lord put into their hearts ; and it is like it might be the song of ‘ Holy, holy, holy,’ &c.

Quest. “ Whether or no didst thou reprove those women ?”

Answ. "Nay; but I bade them take heed, that they sang nothing but what they were moved to by the Lord."

Quest. "Dost thou own this letter (whereupon a letter was shewed him) which Hannah Stranger sent unto thee?"

Answ. "Yea, I do own that letter."

Quest. "Art thou (according to that letter) the fairest of ten-thousand?"

Answ. "As to the visible, I deny any such attribute to be due unto me; but if, as to that which the Father has begotten in me, I shall own it."

But now, reader, before I pass further, I hold it not impertinent to deliver you the words of the same letter, with another, which were these:

A Letter to James Nayler at Exeter, by Hannah Stranger.

J. N.

IN the pure fear and power of God, my soul salutes thee; thou everlasting son of righteousness and prince of peace. Oh! how my soul travelleth to see this day, which Abraham did, and was glad, and so shall all that are of faithful Abraham: Oh! suffer me to speak what the Lord hath moved. There is one temptation near, the like unto the first, and is like the wisdom of God; but it is not, and therefore it must be destroyed. Oh! it defileth and hateth the innocent. I beseech thee wait; my soul travelleth to see a pure image brought forth, and the enemy strives to destroy it, that he may keep me always sorrowing, and ever seeking, and never satisfied, nor never rejoicing: but he in whom I have believed, will shortly tread Satan under our feet; and then shalt thou and thine return to Zion with everlasting rejoicings and praises. But, till then, better is the house of mourning than rejoicing; for he that was made a perfect example, when he had fasted the appointed time of his father, was tempted to eat, and to shew a miracle, to prove himself to be the Son of God: but man lives not by bread, said he; and now no more by that wisdom shall he live, on which he hath long fed, as on bread; and, as his food hath been, so must his fast be, and then, at the end, temptation to as low a thing as a stone; that, if it were possible, the humility and the miracles would deceive the elect, innocent, and righteous branch of holiness. But be his wills never so many, the time comes he shall leave thee; for he is faithful, who hath promised he will not leave the throne of David without a man to sit thereon, which shall judge the poor with righteousness, and the world with equity. This shall shortly come to pass; and then shall the vision speak, and not lie. O! let innocency be thy beloved, and righteousness thy spouse, that thy father's lambs may rejoice in thy pure and clear unspotted image of holiness and purity, which my soul believeth I shall see, and so in the faith rest. I am in patience, wait, and the power will preserve from subtlety; though under never so zealous a pretence of innocent wisdom it be, yet shall the Lord not suffer his holy one to see corruption, nor his soul to lie in hell; but will cause the mountains to melt at his presence, and the little hills to bring him peace. O! I am ready to fear as a servant, and to obey as a child. If I have spoken words too high, love hath constrained me, which is as strong as death; and with the same spirit cover them as they are spoken with, and then shall the spirit of David be witnessed, who refused not words, though from his servant's mouth; if they were in the fear, I am his servant, and he my master, whom I love and fear, and trust I shall do unto the end.

From London, 16th day of
the 7th month.

HANNAH STRANGER.

Another of the same.

OH! thou fairest of ten-thousand, thou only begotten Son of God, how my heart panteth after thee! O stay me with flaggons, and comfort me with wine. My beloved, thou art like a roe, or young hart, upon the mountains of spices, where thy beloved

spouse hath long been calling thee to come away, but hath been but lately heard of thee. Now it lies something upon me, that thou mindest to see her, for the spirit and power of God is with her; and there is given to her much of excellent and innocent wisdom arisen, and arising in her, which will make all the honest-hearted to praise the Lord alone, and no more set up self. And therefore let not my lord and master have any jealousy again of her, for she is highly beloved of the Lord, and that shall all see who come to know the Lord. And now he doth bless them that bless his, and curse them that curse his; for this hath the Lord shewed me, that her portion is exceeding large in the Lord; and, as her sorrow hath been much, so shall her joy be much more; which rejoiceth my heart, to see her walk so valiantly and so faithfully in the work of the Lord, in this time of so great trials as hath been laid upon her especially.

And I am,

HANNAH STRANGER.

The Postscript.

Remember my dear love to thy master. Thy name is no more to be called James but
Jesus. JOHN STRANGER.

(This John Stranger is husband to this Hannah Stranger; and this was added as a postscript by him to his wife's letter, as is acknowledged.)

Remember my love to those friends with thee. The seventeenth day of the eighth month, superscribed this to the hands of James Nayler.

We shall now return to his examination.

Quest. "Art thou the only Son of God?"

Answ. "I am the Son of God; but I have many brethren."

Quest. "Have any called thee by the name of Jesus?"

Answ. "Not as unto the visible, but as Jesus, the Christ that is in me."

Quest. "Dost thou own the name of the king of Israel?"

Answ. "Not as a creature; but if they give it Christ within, I own it, and have a kingdom, but not of this world; my kingdom is of another world, of which thou wotst not."

Quest. "Whether or no art thou the prophet of the Most High?"

Answ. "Thou hast said, I am a prophet."

Quest. "Dost thou own that attribute, the Judge of Israel?"

Answ. "The judge is but one, and is witnessed in me, and is the Christ; there must not be any joined with him. If they speak of the spirit in me, I own it only as God is manifest in the flesh, according as God dwelleth in me, and judgeth there himself."

Quest. "By whom were you sent?"

Answ. "By him who hath sent the spirit of his son in me to try, not as to carnal matters, but belonging to the kingdom of God, by the indwelling of the father and the son, to judge of all spirits, to be guided by none."

Quest. "Is not the written word of God the guide?"

Answ. "The written word declares of it, and what is not according to that is not true."

Quest. "Whether art thou more sent than others, or whether others be not sent in that measure?"

Answ. "As to that, I have nothing at present given me of my father to answer."

Quest. "Was your birth mortal or immortal?"

Answ. "Not according to the natural birth, but according to the spiritual birth, born of the immortal seed."

Quest. "Wert thou ever called the Lamb of God?"

Answ. "I look not back to things behind, but there might be some such thing in the letter; I am a lamb, and have sought it long before I could witness it."

Quest. "Who is thy mother, or whether or no is she a virgin?"

Answ. "Nay; according to the natural birth."

Quest. "Who is thy mother according to thy spiritual birth?"

Answ. "No carnal creature."

Quest. "Who then?"

Answ. —To this he refused to answer.

Quest. "Is the hope of Israel in thee?"

Answ. "The hope is in Christ, and, as Christ is in me, so far the hope of Israel stands; Christ is in me the hope of glory."

Quest. "What more hope is there in thee than in others?"

Answ. "None can know but them of Israel, and Israel must give an account."

Quest. "Art thou the everlasting Son of God?"

Answ. "Where God is manifest in the flesh, there is the Everlasting Son, and I do witness God in the flesh; I am the Son of God, and the Son of God is but one."

Quest. "Art thou the Prince of Peace?"

Answ. "The Prince of Everlasting Peace is begotten in me."

Quest. "Why dost thou not reprove those that give thee these attributes?"

Answ. "I have said nothing unto them but such things are written."

Quest. "Is thy name Jesus?"

Answ. —Here he was silent.

Quest. "For what space of time hast thou been so called?"

Answ. —And here.

Quest. "Is there no other Jesus besides thee?"

Answ. These questions he forbore either to confirm or to contradict them.

Quest. "Art thou the Everlasting Son of God, the King of Righteousness?"

Answ. "I am; and the Everlasting Righteousness is wrought in me; if ye were acquainted with the Father, ye would also be acquainted with me."

Quest. "Did any kiss thy feet?"

Answ. "It might be they did, but I minded them not."

Quest. "When thou wast called the king of Israel, didst thou not answer, thou sayest it?"

Answ. "Yea."

Quest. "How dost thou provide for a livelihood?"

Answ. "As do the lillies without care, being maintained by my father."

Quest. "Whom dost thou call thy father?"

Answ. "He whom thou callest God."

Quest. "What business hadst thou at Bristol, or that way?"

Answ. "I was guided and directed by my father."

Quest. "Why wast thou called a judge to try the cause of Israel?"

Answ. —Here he answered nothing.

Quest. "Are any of these sayings blasphemy or not?"

Answ. "What is received of the Lord is truth."

Quest. "Whose letter was that which was writ to thee, signed T. S.?"

Answ. "It was sent to me to Exeter-goal by one the world calls Tho. Symonds."

Quest. "Didst thou not say, if ye had known me, ye had known the Father?"

Answ. "Yea; for the Father is my life."

Quest. "Where wert thou born?"

Answ. "At Anderslow in Yorkshire."

Quest. "Where lives thy wife?"

Answ. "She, whom thou callest my wife, lives in Wakefield."

Quest. "Why dost thou not live with her?"

Answ. "I did, till I was called to the army."

Quest. "Under whose command didst thou serve in the army?"

Answ. "First, under him they call Lord Fairfax."

Quest. "Who then?"

Answ. "Afterwards, under that man called Col. Lambert. And then I went into Scotland, where I was a quarter-master; and returned sick to my earthly habitation, and was called into the North."

Quest. "What wentest thou for to Exeter?"

Answ. "I went to Lawson, to see the brethren."

Quest. "What estate hast thou?"

Answ. "I take no care for that."

Quest. "Doth God in an extraordinary manner sustain thee, without any corporal food?"

Answ. "Man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Father. The same life is mine that is in the Father; but not in the same measure."

Quest. "How art thou clothed?"

Answ. "I know not."

Quest. "Dost thou live without bread?"

Answ. "As long as my heavenly Father will. I have tasted of that bread, of which he that eateth shall never die."

Quest. "How long hast thou lived without any corporal sustenance, having perfect health?"

Answ. "Some fifteen or sixteen days, sustained without any other food except the word of God."

Quest. "Was Dorcas Erbury dead two days in Exeter, and didst thou raise her?"

Answ. "I can do nothing of myself: the scripture beareth witness to the power in me which is everlasting; it is the same power we read of in the scripture. The Lord hath made me a sign of his coming: and that honour that belongeth to Christ Jesus, in whom I am revealed, may be given to him, as when on earth at Jerusalem, according to the measure."

Quest. "Art thou the unspotted lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world?"

Answ. "Were I not a lamb, wolves would not seek to devour me."

Quest. "Art thou not guilty of horrid blasphemy, by thy own words?"

Answ. "Who made thee a judge over them?"

Quest. "Wherefore camest thou in such an unusual posture, as, two women leading thy horse; others singing 'Holy, holy,' &c. with another before thee bare-headed, knee-deep in the highway-mud, when thou mightest have gone in the causey; and at such a time, that, it raining, thy companions received the rain at their necks, and vented it at their hose and breeches?"

Answ. "It tended to my Father's praise and glory; and I ought not to slight any thing which the spirit of the Lord moves."

Quest. "Dost thou think the spirit of the Lord moved, or commanded them?"

Answ. "Yea."

Quest. "Whom meant they by 'Holy, holy, holy,' &c.?"

Answ. "Let them answer for themselves; they are at age."

Quest. "Did not some spread their clothes on the ground before thee, when thou riddest through Glastonbury and Wells?"

Answ. "I think they did."

Quest. "Wherefore didst thou call Martha Symonds mother, as George Fox affirms?"

Answ. "George Fox is a liar and a firebrand of hell; for neither I, nor any with me, called her so."

Quest. "Thou hast a wife at this time?"

Answ. "A woman I have, who by the world is called my wife; and some children I have, which according to the flesh are mine."

Quest. "Those books which thou hast writ, wilt thou maintain them, and affirm what is therein?"

Answ. "Yea, with my dearest blood."

Martha Symonds's Examination.

She confesseth, she knew James Nayler formerly; for he is now no more James Nayler, but refined to a more excellent substance; and so she saith she came with him from Bristol to Exeter.

Quest. "WHAT made thee lead his horse into Bristol, and sing 'Holy, holy, holy,' &c.? And to spread thy garments before him?"

Answ. "I was forced thereto by the power of the Lord."

Quest. "He is styled, in Hannah Stranger's letter, 'The fairest of ten-thousand, the hope of Israel, and the only begotten Son of God:' dost thou so esteem him?"

Answ. "That James Nayler, of whom thou speakest, is buried in me, and he hath promised to come again."

Quest. "Dost thou like of that attribute, as given to him?"

Answ. "I cannot tell; I judge them not."

Quest. "Whether didst thou kneel before him?"

Answ. "What I did was in obedience to a power above."

Quest. "Dost thou own him to be the Prince of Peace?"

Answ. "He is a perfect man; and he, that is a perfect man, is the Prince of Peace."

Quest. "Hast thou a husband?"

Answ. "I have a man, which thou callest my husband."

Quest. "What made thee to leave him, and to follow James Nayler in such a manner?"

Answ. "It is our life to praise the Lord; and the Lord, my strength, (who filleth heaven and earth,) is manifest in James Nayler."

Quest. "Oughtest thou to worship James Nayler, upon the knees?"

Answ. "Yea, I ought so to do."

Quest. "Why oughtest thou so to do?"

Answ. "He is the Son of Righteousness; and the new man within him is the Everlasting Son of Righteousness; and James Nayler will be Jesus, when the new life is born in him."

Quest. "By what name callest thou him?"

Answ. "Lord."

Quest. "Why dost thou call him Lord?"

Answ. "Because he is the Prince of Peace, and Lord of Righteousness."

Quest. "What reason canst thou shew for thy calling him king of Israel?"

Answ. "He is so anointed."

Quest. "Who hath anointed him?"

Answ. "A prophet."

Quest. "What prophet was that?"

Answ. "I will not tell thee."

Quest. "Thou confessest that thou didst spread thy clothes?"

Answ. "Yea, I did."

Quest. "Tell me; doth that spirit of Jesus, which thou sayest is in Nayler, make him a sufficient Jesus to others?"

Answ. "I tell thee, there is seed born in him, which above all men I shall (and every one ought to) honour."

Quest. "Is he the king of Israel, as thy husband saith?"

Answ. "If he saith so, thy testimony is double."

Hannah Stranger's Examination.

She saith, she came from Bristol to Exeter with James Nayler; and that she flung her handkerchief before him, because commanded so of the Lord; and that she sung 'Holy,' &c. and that the Lord is risen in him.

Quest. "WHEREFORE didst thou sing before James Nayler?"

Answ. "I must not be mute when I am commanded of the Lord."

Quest. "Wherefore didst thou sing to him?"

Answ. "My conscience tells me I have not offended any law."

Quest. "Was that letter thine: and didst thou spread thy garments before him?"

Answ. "Yea, and my blood will maintain it."

Quest. "Dost thou own him for the Prince of Peace?"

Answ. "Yea, he is so."

Quest. "What dost thou call his name?"

Answ. "It hath been said already; I have told of his name."

Quest. "Dost thou not know it to be blasphemy, to give him such and such attributes?"

Answ. "If I have offended any law," &c.

Quest. "Didst thou send him that letter wherein he was called the Son of God?"

Answ. "Yea, I do own the whole letter."

Quest. "Didst thou call him Jesus?"

Answ. ————She would not answer.

Quest. "Didst thou kiss his feet?"

Answ. "Yea."

Thomas Stranger's Examination.

HE owneth the postscript of the letter, in which he calleth James Nayler Jesus; but could not be got to answer to any more questions, any further, than, "If I have offended any law." He confesseth "he called James Nayler Jesus;" and saith, "he was thereto moved of the Lord."

Timothy Wedlock's Examination.

Quest. "DOST thou own James Nayler to be the only Son of God?"

Answ. "I do own him to be the Son of God."

Quest. "Wherefore didst thou and the rest sing before him, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel?'"

Answ. "I do own the songs of Sion."

Quest. "Thou wilt go through a great rain bare-headed, why then wilt thou not be uncovered to a magistrate?"

Answ. "What I did, was as the Lord commanded."

Quest. "What is your opinion concerning religion?"

Answ. "I own no opinions, nor any judgments."

Quest. "Wherefore didst thou honour him in towns, and not elsewhere?"

Answ. "We did as well in commons; but in both, as the spirit of the Lord directed us."

Quest. "Wherefore didst thou kneel before him?"

Answ. "The truth."

Dorcas Erbury, the Widow of William Erbury, once a Minister, but a seducing Quaker, her Examination.

Quest. "WHERE dost thou live?"

Answ. "With Margaret Thomas."

Quest. "Wherefore didst thou sing 'Holy,' &c.?"

Answ. "I did not at that time; but those that sang, did it in discharging of their duty."

Quest. "Dost thou own him that rode on horse-back to be the Holy One of Israel?"

Answ. "Yea, I do; and with my blood will seal it."

Quest. "And dost thou own him for the Son of God?"

Answ. "He is the only begotten Son of God."

Quest. "Wherefore didst thou pull off his stockings, and lay thy clothes beneath his feet?"

Answ. "He is worthy of it; for he is the holy Lord of Israel."

Quest. "Knewest thou no other Jesus, the only begotten Son of God?"

Answ. "I know no other Saviour."

Quest. "Dost thou believe in James Nayler?"

Answ. "Yea, in him whom thou callest so, I do."

Quest. "By what name dost thou use to call him?"

Answ. "The Son of God: but I am to serve him, and to call him Lord and Master."

Quest. "Jesus was crucified; but this man, you call the Son of God, is alive."

Answ. "He hath shook off his carnal body."

Quest. "Why, what body hath he then?"

Answ. "Say not the Scriptures, thy natural body I will change, and it shall be spiritual?"

Quest. "Hath a spirit flesh and bones?"

Answ. "His flesh and bones are new."

Quest. "Christ raised those that had been dead; so did not he."

Answ. "He raised me."

Quest. "In what manner?"

Answ. "He laid his hand on my head, after I had been dead two days, and said, 'Dorcas, arise;' and I arose, and live as thou seest."

Quest. "Where did he this?"

Answ. "At the gaol in Exeter."

Quest. "What witness hast thou for this?"

Answ. "My mother, who was present."

Quest. "His power being so much, wherefore opened he not the prison doors, and escaped?"

Answ. "The doors shall open, when the Lord's work is done."

Quest. "What apostles hath he?"

Answ. "They are scattered, but some are here."

Quest. "Jesus Christ doth sit at the right-hand of the Father, where the world shall be judged by him."

Answ. "He, whom thou callest Nayler, shall sit at the right-hand of the Father, and shall judge the world with equity."

Here followeth a Relation concerning one of his Companions.

ONE of James Nayler's disciples, having attained to some knowledge in the French tongue, went over into France to a city called Bourdeaux, where, after entering into a congregation of the protestants, he began, after his wonted manner here in England, to cry out, in the open congregation, against the minister, calling him 'Conjurer, liar, impos-

tor, deceiver ;' and the elders and people being astonished at the novelty, and reputing him a madman, came and told him, " That they had laws in France to protect the congregations, either of papists or protestants, from any disturbance ;" and thrust him forth of their church.

Upon which, he went into the church-yard, and, upon a stone, continued his discourse, which drew the whole congregation out of the church, after him, and caused the minister to give over ; and the elders, coming again to him, told him, " That, he being a stranger, they were willing to favour him ; but, seeing he did continue his disturbance, they would commit him to justice." He told them, justice was never in that place until his appearance.

Upon that, they took him away to the governor ; where, being brought, with his hat on, he asked the governor what he was ? who told him, he was the governor of that place under the king of France. He said, that he would not answer him as governor, his government being carnal. And a certain bishop being with the governor, who was a papist, desiring that he might question him, and demanding what he was, he told him, " He was an Englishman, and sent of the Lord to prepare his way." He demanded of the bishop what he was ? who told him, " He was a bishop : " whereupon he replied, " That against him he was sent, who was one of the locusts that was sent forth of the bottomless pit ; and that the weapons he had with him were fitted to destroy him and the whole kingdom of antichrist, who was held in darkness and blindness ; and that he was to pour out vials of the Father's wrath upon him." The governor of Bourdeaux, perceiving several of the people to be infected with his doctrine, demanded if there was any ship ready to sail for England ; which being informed of, he therein shipped him, being not willing to use extremity to a stranger, but caused some six or seven, who had been infected with his doctrine, to be whipped through the streets.

A Relation concerning some others of the same Tribe.

SEVEN or eight others went over in a vessel to New-England, where, being arrived, they began to spread themselves : but the governor, having notice caused them to be clapped up close in a castle, and would not suffer any to come to see them under penalty of five pounds. In the mean time, he sent for the master of the ship that brought them, and commanded him immediately to carry them back to old England ; which, he refusing, was also clapped up close prisoner, until he consented, and took them a-board again.

Now, Reader, I shall close up all with a word or two of his Life and Actions.

JAMES NAYLER is a man of so erroneous and unsanctified a disposition, that it is hard to say, whether heresy or impudency beareth the greater rule in him ; as will appear :

First, In what he testifieth before sufficient witnesses ; (see the ' Brief Relation of the Northern Quakers,' page 22,) that he, was as holy, just, and good, as God himself. And,

Secondly, That he, in a letter to one in Lancaster, expressly saith, that, he that expected to be saved by Jesus Christ that died at Jerusalem, shall be deceived. (See Mr. Billingsly's Defence of the Scriptures, page 16. The Perfect Pharisee, page 8.) And so said another of that sect : he was not such a fool, as to hope to be saved by Jesus Christ that died at Jerusalem sixteen-hundred years ago : (see Mr. Farmer's Mystery of Godliness and Ungodliness.) Thus they glory in their ignorance, and count that foolishness which is the true wisdom.

Thirdly, In a letter I had in my possession, but now lent to a friend, subscribed by the pastor, and other members of that congregation in the North, (whereof Nayler once was a member, till, for his apostasy, he was excommunicated,) it is offered to be proved, and

by them testified to be true, that one Mrs. Roper, her husband being gone, on some occasion from her, a long voyage, this Nayler frequented her company, and was seen to dandle her upon his knee, and kiss her lasciviously; and in that time of his society with her, she was brought to bed of a child, when her husband had been absent seven and forty weeks, to a day, from her; and, on a time, he was seen to dance her in a private room; and, having kissed her very often, she took occasion to say, "Now, James, what would the world say if they should see us in this posture?" To which he said somewhat; but he was so low, that it could not be heard. This was objected against him, but he denied to answer it before the said church; objecting, "That he would not speak to them, that spoke not immediately by the spirit."

Fourthly, In that, when I had discourse with him concerning perfect perfection, at the Bull and Mouth, he said, "I was a liar to say he owned it." Then I proved it from his own writings, as that he said, 'They that say they have faith, and their life is not the life of Christ, and them that say they have faith, and yet they cannot be saved from their sins but in part in this world, them and their faith I deny;' &c. to which he hypocritically said, "That I was a liar to say that he owned it in himself, though he disowned it in others." And when I had objected any thing against what he said, he would deny it as soon as he had spoke it; which, to convince the people of his lying deceits, I desired them that stood by me, to remember that he said, "All that are in the world are of the world, in direct opposition to that saying of Christ, John xvii. 'I pray not, holy Father, that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but preserve them from the evil of the world;' which I presently accused him with, for which he called me a liar; for he said, "He said not so." I then desired them that heard him, to testify to the truth, against the liar and his deceit, which they did: but his seared impudence was such, that he said, "Should a thousand say so, they were all liars:" with much more to the like effect.

For his Character.

HE is a man of a ruddy complexion, brown hair, and slank, hanging a little below his jaw-bones; of an indifferent height; not very long visaged, nor very round; close shaven; a sad down look, and melancholy countenance; a little band, close to his collar, with no band-strings; his hat hanging over his brows; his nose neither high nor low, but rising a little in the middle.

Something concerning some others of them also.

DISBOROUGH, not much inferior to Nayler himself, attempting to lie with one Rebecca (who was first seduced to be, and then was of their heresy) she asked him, "What his wife would say, if she should know what he attempted?" Disborough replied, "That he gave her the same liberty that he took himself:" (that was to be a whore, as he was a whoremaster) but, in short, he having obtained his desire of her, she asked him, "How if she should prove with child?" He answered, "She must be content to be numbered with the transgressors, and to make her grave with the wicked:" (so that he followed not that light which is pure, but sinned against knowledge) as she, the said Rebecca, as bewailing her sin, confessed unto one Mr. White, a Lincolnshire gentleman, to whom she added, "That Nayler attempted to defile her also:" so that, instead of perfect saints, they are rather perfect sophisters.

This relation under the said gentleman's hand, and the aforementioned letter from the church, whereof Nayler was once a member, were offered to be proved and made good, in the public meeting at the Bull and Mouth to Nayler's face, more than once or twice; who was unable to say aught unto it, but left his standing, and sat down silent. They, that offered it so to public trial, were one Mr. Persivall, and Mr. John Deacon, author of the Public Discovery of their secret Deceit.

Some of their Opinions are these:

1. **T**HEY deny the Scriptures are the Word of God.
2. They esteem their own speakings to be of as great authority.
3. They hold it unlawful to expound or interpret the Scriptures.
4. They say, that he that preaches by a text of Scripture, is a conjurer.
5. That the holy letter is carnal.
6. That the Bible ought to be burned.
7. That Jesus Christ inhabits in their flesh as man.
8. Some have said, that Christ never ascended into Heaven.
9. That to pray that their sins may be pardoned, is needless.
10. They believe not that there is another world.
11. Some of them deny the resurrection.
12. That they cannot sin, but that they are perfect.
13. They make no distinction of persons.

A friend of mine being desirous to be resolved of a doubt; as, Whether that which was reported, of that heretical sect, were more than they erred in, or less than they erroneously maintained contrary to the truth? He went unto their Meeting, within Aldersgate, where he had no sooner entered that synagogue of Satan, but the then speaker (namely, George Fox) cried out, but on what occasion, he knoweth not, "Quakers, Quakers, earth is above God;" in the open house, before hundreds then present. At which, my friend wondered, and pressing forwards a little into the multitude, he saw some disputing upon the same words; who demanding what was the matter, one answered, "That George Fox said, earth is above God:" and here is one saith, that whatsoever George Fox should do or say, he would maintain (pointing to a young man then standing by) to whom, my friend replied, "He had undertaken a harder task, than he was able to perform: for God was the creator of the earth, and all things else; and therefore above the earth, and not the earth above him, that created it; forasmuch as the workman is above his work. For, although an artificer shall by art compose any thing, that is never so excellent, yet it can claim no equality with the maker; in regard that what is excellent in it, is the maker's excellency, and not its own: for, destroy the work, and the workman can make the like; but destroy the workman with the work, and both perish." To which he replied, "He did not mean the earth under our feet, but earthly sin in man." To which my friend replied, "That now his blasphemy was worse than it was before; for take the earth simply in itself, it hath no prejudice towards God; but sin is that, which seeks God's destruction, and therefore he was not to be conversed with, being of so diabolical an opinion."

One Stephens of London, being on a time at their meetings, with an intent to oppose what he should there hear, not agreeing with truth, which, at his first coming, he did for a short time, till one of them, taking him by the hand, and rubbing his wrist very hard, which put him to very sore pain, and so altered his resolution, that he was so transformed by their enchantments, that he since confessed, that should any one whatsoever have dared to oppose or resist them, as he just before did, he would have stabbed them to the heart, whatsoever had come of it.

There is one Stephens (and it is supposed, the same) a quaker, that now lieth stark mad, and hath so been a pretty while, through the disturbances of that spirit, which ruleth in the old quakers.

JOHN DEACON.

The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossorie in
Irelande, his Persecucions in the same, and finall Delyver-
aunce¹.

‘ God hath delivered me from the Snare of the Hunter, and from
‘ the noysome Pestilence.’ Psal. xci.

‘ If I must nedes rejoyce, I will rejoyce of myne Infirmytees.’
2 Cor. xi.

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The PREFACE.

Johan Bale to the Followers of Christes Gospell.

FOR thre consyderacyons chefely (dere bretherne) have I put fourth thys treatyse of
my vocacyon to the churche of Ossorye in Irelande, of my harde chaunces therein, and
of my fynall deliveraunce by the great goodnesse of God. The first of them is, for that
men shulde wele knowe, that the office of a Christen byshop is not to loyter in blasphemous

¹ [John Bale was born the 21st of November, 1495, at Cove, a small village in Suffolk, near Dunwich. His parents being encumbered with a large family, young Bale was entered, at twelve years of age, in the monastery of Carmelites at Norwich ; and from thence was sent to Jesus-College, Oxford. He was educated in the Romish religion, but afterwards, at the instigation of Lord Wentworth, turned protestant. Of this conversion he has given us an account himself, in *Script. Brit. Cent. viii. c. ult.* It exposed him to the persecution of the Romish clergy, against whom he was protected by Lord Cromwell, the favourite of Henry VIII. But that lord being dead, Bale was forced to retire into the Low Countries, where he resided eight years ; during which time he wrote several pieces in the English tongue. He was recalled into England by Edward VI. and obtained the living of Bishop's Stocke, in the county of Southampton. The 15th of August, 1552, he was nominated by King Edward to the see of Ossory, of which advancement we have a very particular account in the piece now before us, as well as of the persecutions which induced him to withdraw. Vide Biog. Brit. edit. Kippis.

Leland, in his History of Ireland, has given an account of this transaction so different from that now before us, that it would be injustice to the reader to withhold it. ‘ John Bale, the violent and acrimonious impugner of popery, was nominated to the see of Ossory. His rigid and uncomplying spirit appeared immediately on his consecration. Lockwood, Dean of Christ Church, proposed that the Romish ritual should be observed on this occasion ; as the people were disinclined to the reformed liturgy, and the new order of consecration had not been established by a parliament in Ireland. All the clergy, and even Goodacre, the new prelate of Armagh, seemed disposed to acquiesce. But Bale was a determined enemy to all such condescensions. He had come with no very exalted idea of the authority of an Irish parliament, but fully possessed with the dignity and power, and confident in the favour of his royal master, who had granted him his promotion unsought and unexpected. He obstinately refused to be consecrated according to any other but the reformed ritual ; and by his firmness prevailed, and even terrified the clergy into a compliance. He saw the wafer or stamped cake prepared for the communion. He suspended the whole office, until it was removed, and common bread placed on the table. Even the weak among the new reformed were terrified, and the Romish party held this spirited and turbulent enemy in the utmost abhorrence. His learning, which was stupendous, compared with that of his Irish brethren promised to do considerable service to the cause of reformation ; and even the vehemence of his temper seemed well suited to the place and circumstances of his mission. But the truth is,

mouse papistrie, but purely to preache the Gospell of God, to his christened² flocke. The seconde is, that they shulde also understande, that contynuall persecucyons, and no bodyly welthe, doeth folowe the same most godly office, in them which truly executeth it. The thirde is, that they myght beholde how graciously our most merciful God wyth hys power wayteth upon them, and fynally delyvereth them in most depe daungers.

These 3. thynges notable, concerninge the electe membres of God's congregacyon in thys life, comprehendeth muche matter in the Scriptures of both Testamentes, with abundance of examples from Abel the First to Johan the Evangylist, which was the last lyver in the same.

The examples also therof are both lyvely and innumerable, in the first propagacion and longe contynuance of the Christen church from hys tyme to thys our tyme, as the chronycles and hystories most abundantly specifieth.

First, as concernynge the examples of holye Scripture. Jesus, the eternall sonne of the everlastynge father, in the godhede preached to Adam in Paradyse terrestre, and constytute hym so wele an instructour as a father over hys posterityte. He proved him also after he had sinned, by dyverse afflyctyons, and fynally promysed, both to hym and to hys, deliveraunce in the sede of the woman; which at the lattre, in hys own persone, he lovingly perfourmed. Christe, the seyde Sonne of God, contynually still taught, by the mouthes of the fathers and prophetes, tyll suche tyme as he hymselfe came in the fleshe.

Than was he above all others, of hys heavenly father appoynted a universall doctor over all the worlde, and commaunded to be hearde, Math. iii. He followed hys vocacyon in most ample wyse, very cruelly was he of the clergie than persecuted, and gloriously delyvered in hys resurrectyon from deathe. The members of hys true church, the prophetes and apostles, were in case like as he their head was, first called, than afflicted, and graciously alwayes in the ende delyvered. He that shall marke the laborious proceedings of Abraham, Joseph, and Moyses, of David, Helyas, and Daniel, with the other olde fathers and prophetes, shall fynde it no lesse. He lykewyse that shall dyscretely searche the doynge of Peter, James, and Johan, with the other of the apostles and disciples, shall wele perceyve the same.

Hieremye for the olde lawe, Paule for the newe lawe, and Johan Baptyst betwixt them both, were called from their mothers' wombe to that heavenly offyce of preachynge. Hier. i. Luce. i. Gala. i. yea, they suffered extreme persecucyons undre tyrauntes, and fynally were delivered, in this lyfe from parelouse³ daungers, and in deathe from synne, helle, and dampnacyon. To rehearse the examples of the primatyve church, and of the ages followynge, concernynge these matters, it wolde requyre much tyme, they are so manye; and therfor at thys present I omit them. Thus am I not alone in these 3. matters of vocacion, persecucion, and deliveraunce, but have on my syde an infynite nombre of examples: which maketh me the more a great dele to rejoyce, like as I wishe them to do, which have in these troublouse dayes the lyke. Neyther am I ashamed to tell my bretherne, what God hath most graciously done for me; nomor⁴ than S. Paule was for hymselfe in hys owne epistles, and Luke in the Actes for Saint Peter, though I be farre unlyke them. For I fare lyke the byrde which is delivered from the snare of the catcher. He flyeth to a bough, and rejoyceth in his delyveraunce; and even so do I.

² that the business of a religious reformation in Ireland had hitherto been nothing more than the impositions of English government on a prejudiced and bigotted people, not sufficiently obedient to that government, not sufficiently impressed with fear, or reconciled by kindness. Bale insulted the prejudices of his flock without reserve or caution. They were provoked; and not so restrained or awed by the civil power, as to dissemble their resentments. During the short period of his residence in Ireland, he lived in a continual state of fear and persecution. On his first preaching of the reformed doctrines, his clergy forsook him or opposed him; and to such violence were the populace spirited against him, that five of his domestics were slain before his face, and his own life saved only by the vigorous interposition of the civil magistrate. These outrages are pathetically related; but we are not informed what imprudences provoked them, or what was the intemperate conduct which his adversaries retorted with such shocking barbarity.

Leland's Hist. of Ireland, 1773. 4to. vol. ii. p. 200.]

² [*i. e.* Christian.]

³ [*i. e.* Perilous.]

⁴ [*i. e.* No more.]

In the which rejoyce, I make not only my selfe merye, but also all my lovinge frindes. And as for my cruel enemyes the Papistes, if I make them sorye in the rehearsal of my delyveraunce, I am not yll apayde therof. For it is better (they saye in Northfolke) that younge Lyddernes wepe, than olde men. I call them yonge and not olde; for God is oldar than Sathan, if age may be attributed to his eternyte, as Daniel sayeth it maye, and Christe oldar than the Devyl's vycar at Rome, their ungracyouse father.

As we are in most thinges contrarie to these Papistes, so have we rejoyces contrary to theirs. They rejoyce in helthe, prosperite, riches, and worldly pleasures, for their bellies sake: we in our infirmytees, afflictions, losses, and sorowfull crostes⁵, for Christe's veritees sake. And thus maye we wele do, and boast of it also without offence; for so ded the forenamed S. Paule. 2. Cor. 11. and earnestly willed us to be his folowers. Phil. 3. First he boasted of his vocacyon, and sayde, 'God sorted me out and appointed me from my mother's wombe; and also he called me by his grace, to preache his lively Gospell amonge the heathen.' Gal. 1. What if I shoulde in like case boaste, that he by his grace had also called me in this age, to preache the same Gospell to the Irishe heathens, which never hearde of it afore, to knowledge? I shulde not do otherwise than the truthe is. For I was put to it against my wille, by a most christen kynge, and of his owne mere mocion only, without sute of fryndes, mede, labour, expensis, or any other sinistre meane els. By his regall power and authorite, which both were of God, Ro. 13. was I both allowed and confirmed, and not all unjoyfully received of the people, which causeth me in conscience to judge my vocacyon just. Yet was not my rejoyce so muche in the dignite therof, as in doinge, for the time, the office thereunto belonginge. But now is it most of all in the leavinge of that bishopricke; the Gospell being so unthankefully of the prestes⁶ received, I so terribly of them persecuted, and my servauntes so cruelly slayne.

Moreover, Saint Paule boasted much of his persecucions, and described them at large; concluding thus in the ende, 'Very gladly (saith he) will I rejoyce of my weaknesse, that the strength of Christe maye dwell in me. Therefore have I dilectacion in infirmitees, in rebukes, in nedes, in persecucion, and anguyshe, for Christe's sake.' 2. Cor. 12. If I have lykewyse felte a great manye of the same afflictions, as I have done in dede; maye not I also with him rejoyce in them? Maye I not be glad, that I am, in sorowes for the Gospell, lyke fashioned to him, and not pranked up in pompe and pleasures, lyke the wanton babes of this worlde? As at this daye is lecherouse Weston, which is more practised in the arte of breche burninge, than all the whores of the stues, to the great infamy of his virginnall ordre. The truthe of it is, that sens⁷ I toke that wayghtie office in hande, I have bene syke⁸ to the very deathe, I have been greved with the untowardnesse of ministers. I have been in journayes and labours, in injuryes and losses, in peines and in penuries. I have bene in strifes and contencions, in rebukynge and slaunderynges, and in great daunger of poysenings and killinges. I have bene in parell of the heathen, in parell of wicked prestes, in parell of false justyces, in parell of trayterouse tenauntes, in parell of cursed tyrauntes, in parell of cruell kearnes and galloglasses. I have been in parell of the sea, in parell of shypwrack, in parell of throwynge over the boorde, in parell of false bretherne, in parell of curiouse searchers, in parell of pirates, robbers, and murtherers; and a great sort more.

Sanct Paule also rejoyced, that God had so miraculously delyvered him from so manye daungerouse jeopardyes, and spareth not so to report them. 2. Cor. 11. and 12. Whie shulde I than shrinke or be ashamed to do the lyke, 'havige at God's hande the lyke miraculouse deliverance? Are they not left to us for example, that we shulde do the lyke whan we fele the lyke? 'Whatsoever thinges are written aforetyme (sayth he) they are written for our learninge, that we through pacyence and confort of the Scriptures might have hope.' Rom. xv. He, in the cytie of Damascon, beinge layde waite for, by the liefe-tenaunt of Kinge Aretha, was lete downe at a windowe in a basket, and so escaped his handes. Acts ix. I, in the cytie of Dubline, being assaulted of Papistes, was

⁵ [*i. e.* Crosses.]

⁶ [Papists?]

⁷ [Since.]

⁸ [Sick.]

convayed awaye in the nyght in mariner's apparell, and so escaped that daunger by God's helpe. Whan Paule's death was sought by certayne Jews at Jerusalem, the upper capitaine there commaunded ii. under capitaines, in the nyght to convey him to Cesarea with 200. souldyers, 70. horsmen, and 200. spearmen, and so to delyver him. Actes 23. In lycke case, whan the prestes with Barnabe Bolgar and other had sought my death at Holmes Court, and had slayne v. of my howsholde servauntes by their hyred kearnes, the good suffren⁹ of Kylkennie with an hundred horsemen, and 300. fotemen, brought me thyder in the night, and so delivered me that tyme.

As Paule, against his wylle, was put into a shippe of Adramitium, coupled with other prisoners of Jewrie, convaied fourth into Italie, and there safely delivered. Act. 27. and 28. So was I and my companyon Thomas, against our willes, taken into a shippe of Zelande, coupled with Frenche prisoners, convayed fourth into Flanders; and so, at the lattre, safely there delivered. As their shippe was caught betwixt Candia and Melita, and coulde not resyste the wyndes; so was ours betwixt Mylforde Haven and Waterforde. As they had an excedyngte tempeste upon the sea; so had we lykewyse. At they were without hope of savegarde; so were we also. As they feared Syrtes, or daungerouse sandy places and rockes, so ded we. As they were almost famyshed and drowned, so were we. As God comforted them, so did he us. As they were in conclusion cast into an ylande, so were we into S. Ives in Cornewale. As the peopled shewed them kyndness at Melita, so ded they us at the seyd St. Ives. As Paule gave thankes and brake breade amongst them, so ded we also. As the captayne Julius courteously intreated hym, and gave hym lyberte to go unto hys fryndes at Sydon, and to refreshe hym, so ded our captayne Cornelis use us very gentilly with all favour and lyberte; whât though he had so currishely and cruelly intreated us afore. As Paule was stonge of a bytyng Vyper and not hurte, so was I of that viperous Walter; being most unjustly accused of treason afore the justices ther, and yet through God's deliveraunce not hurte. As he appealed to Cesar, so ded I to the throne of God.

As great dyspycyons¹⁰ were among the Jewes at Rome concerning Paule, so were there afterwarde amonge the shypers in our returne to their shippe concerning us. As the souldyers gave counsell to kille the prisoners, so were there some of our men that gave counsell to have drowned us for our moneye, and of some to have delyvered us up to the counsayll of Englande, in hope of great rewardes. As Publius gentilly received Paule, and by hym was healed of all hys dyseases; so ded myne host Lambert receyve me also gentilly, and by me was delyvered from hys vayne beleve of purgatorye, and of other popysh peltryes. As the people reported Paule to be a murtherer, and after changed their myndes, and sayde he was a God; so our wycked maryners reported me to be a most haynous traytour, and yet afterwarde in my delyveraunce called me the servaunt of God. As he was for the hope of Israel ledde into captivite, and at the last delivered; so was I also for the same captived, and in fyne delivered into Germanie. As the bretherne met Paule with rejoyce at Appii Forum; so ded they me in diverse partes of Duchelande, and lawded God for my so miraculouse deliveraunce. As he sayde that he had committed nothyng against the lawe of his fathers, so saye I also that I have in this acte committed nothyng against the apostles and prophetes doctryne; I thanke my Lord God thereof. Thus had I in my troublous journaye from Irelande into Germanye all those chaunces in a manner that S. Paul had in his journaie of no lesse trouble, from Jerusalem to Rome, saving that we lost not our shippe by the waye.

If Helias, that whetherdryven runnegate, remayne now in a foren lande in penurie with the Sareptysh wydowe, whyls Baal's chatteringe chaplaynes and sorcerouse sacrificers do dwell styl at home flourishing in prosperouse welth, lecherouse ydelnesse, and lordely dignite, marvele not of it, for so hath he done afore. I speake not thys for myne owne part only, nether utterly exclude I my selfe; but I uttre it also for my exyled bretherne, of whom a great nombre is at this tyme in Germanie, Denmarcke, and Geneva.

⁹ [Sovereign.]

¹⁰ [Disputacions.]

The true church of God had never sumptuous hospitalles any longe tyme together, but very simple cottages and caves, if ye marke the sacred hystories and auncient cronicles. The pleasaunt possessions, and gorgeous dwelling places, have evermore remained to the glorious epicures, the very enemies alwayes of Christe's Gospell. We are not now to lerne how to take these our present afflictions in good part, for we knowe them aforehande, and have had them long tyme, as it were in an exercise. Nether are we all barayne of friendly receptacles, for the heavenly doctrynes sake, though our adversaries in Englande with violence throwe stones at us, and seke utterly to destroye us. They are truly much deceived which thinketh the Christen Church to be a politicall commonwelthe, as of Rome and Constantinople, mayntayned by humayne polycyes, and not by the only worde of God. Suche are they which now have the doynges in these present controversies, and oppresse the most manifest verite. God amende it.

I write not this rude treatise, for that I woulde receyve praise therof, but that I wolde God to have all the prayse, which hath bene a moste wonderfull wurker therin. For I am but a clodde of corruption, felinge in my self, as of my self, nothing els but sinne and wickednesse. I have done it also, to declare my most earnest rejoyce in the same God, which by grace hath called me, by persecucion hath tried me, and of favour, benivolence, and mercye, hath most wonderfully delivered me. 'Lete hym that rejoyceth (saith S. Paule) rejoyce in the Lorde. For he that prayseth himselfe, is not allowed; but he whome the Lorde prayseth.' 2 Corint. 10. Moreover, I have done it, for that my persecuted bretherne might in lyke maner have their rejoyce in that heavenly Lorde, whiche mightelye hath wrought in them their salvacion, by his graciouse callinge of them from wicked papisme to true christianyte, and now tryeth their paciencies by continual afflictions; and finally will delyver them, either from tyrannouse molestacions, as he hath done me, eyther els into martirdome for his truthe's sake. For God will be knowne by none other doctryne, that he hath sent hyther by hys Sonne, whom he so earnestly commaunded to be heard. He will also be worshipped by those rules only, which he hath to hys church proponed by hys prophetes and apostles. I besiche that everlastyng God for hys dere Sonne's sake, in the Holy Ghost to rule us, and alwayes to augment and preserve hys true church confessing his only name. Amen.

'I called uppon the Lorde in my trouble, and the Lorde hearde me at large. The Lorde is my helper, I will not feare what man doeth unto me.' Psalm. 118.

Veritas Domini manet in æternum. Psalm. 116.

Novit Dominus viam justorum, & iter impiorum peribit. Psalm. 1.

'O Lorde thou God of truthe, I have hated them that hold of superstitious vanitees, and my trust hath bene in the.'

'I will be glad and rejoyce in thy mercye, for thou hast considered my trouble, and hast knowne my sowle in adversitees.'

'Thou hast not shut me up into the hande of the enemye, but hast set my feet in a large rowme.' Psalm. xxxi.

'Stand by (O Lorde God of Hostes) thou God of Israel, to vyset all heathen; and be not mercifull to them that offende of malycyouse wickednesse.' Psalm. lix.

God is my helper.

IN the Olde and Newe Testament is it not expressed, that any just or faythfull man ever yet toke upon hym the adminystracyon of the heavenly doctryne, in teachyng the true worshippinges of God, and in persuadyng men to repentaunce, or amendement of their former lyfe, without the vocacyon and speciall election of God? No truly: Balaam,

² [Who?]

3 L

the notable sothsayer, coulde neyther curse, nor yet blesse, without God's permission; as he apertly confessed, Num. 22. And to beginne with the formest examples: Adam, our first progenitour, whiche had receyved most helthsome instructions of God's eternall Sonne in Paradyse, and the fathers; him succeding in the righteous lyne befor the general floude, never had taken that high office upon them, had not he therunto both called them, and alowed them. Noe, God's true servaunt, at his most graciouse appointment also, by the space of an C. yeares and xx. earnestly preached to the people of that age, exhorting them to cease from the abhominacions than used, as thei wold avoide the universall destruccion whiche folowed. After the seyd floude, by vertue of the selfe same precepte and autoryte of God, Noe taught the people, than growne to an increase againe by longe continuance; so ded Melchisedech in Salem, Job in Arabia, Abraham in Chaldie, Jacob in Mesopotamy, and Joseph in Ægypte; Helias, with the other prophetes, in Israel; Jonas in Ninyve, Daniel in Babylon, Zorobabel in Persie, and Johan Baptist in Jewrye: Marke the open places of the Scripture concerning vocacyon and election.

And, as towchyng Christe in our manhode, he was called of God his eternall Father, as was Aaron, to be our everlasting preste, 'accordinge to the ordre of Melchisedech;' Hebre. 7. He was also, by his owne godlie mouthe, to the worlde declared, 'that wele beloved Sonne of his, in whom he was most highly both pleased and pacified.' Finally, he was, by hys most heavenly ordinaunce, constituted oure universall doctour; and of him commaunded, as a most perfight¹² maistre, of all men to be most diligently hearde and obeyed. From the shippe, from the customehowse, and from other homely ministerys called he not the stought, sturdye, and heady sort of men, but the lowly harted, simple, and beggarly ydiotes: them he elected most graciously, and they not him, to be the ministers of his holy Gospell, Johan 15. Them chose he out from the world, 'to gyve knowlege of salvacion to hys people, for the remission of their synnes,' Mat. 10. Luce 2. 'Those (sayth S. Paule) whom the Lorde appointed before, those hath he also called; and those whom he hath called, those hath he lykewise justified, or made mete for that heavenly offyce, Rom. 8. For, 'How shuld they have preached (sayth he) unlesse they had been sent,' Rom. 10. Peter was to him an elect apostle, affirminge hys doctrine to be the wurdes of eternall lyfe, Johan 6. Johan was his derely beloved disciple, and became a most mightie thunderer out of the same, Act. 4. Paul was a peculiar chosen vessel unto him, to manifest hys name before the Gentyles, Kynges, and Chyldren of Israel; Act. 9.

The idolatour, the tyraunt, and the whoremongar, are no mete mynisters for hym, though they be never so gorgyously mytered, coped, and typpted, or never so fynely forced, pylyoned, and scarletted. 'The deceytfull prophetes (sayth the Lorde) made 'spedy haste, but I appoynted them not; they ranne a great pace, but I sent them not; 'they prophecyed fast, but not out of my spret.' Hier. 23. 'To the wicked doar the Lorde 'hath spoken it, (sayth David,) Whie doest thou so unjustly presume to talke of my 'righteousnesses? And, with thy polluted mouthe, of my eternall Testament whie makest 'thou relacion?' Psal. 50. After the Apostles, immediately succeded in the primitive churche Tymotheus, Ignatius, Policarpus, Irenæus, Paphnutius, Athanasius, Lactantius, and other true ministers of the Gospell. These loytered not in the vineyarde of the Lorde, as our ydell masmongers doe, but faithfully they laboured in sekinge God's glorie and the sowle's helthe of the people: but, whan great Constantine, the emperour, had gyven peace to the Christen Churche, that all persecucion ceased, than came in ceremonie upon ceremonie, and none ende was of them; every yeare entered one poyson or other, as mannes fyckle nature, in this frayle lyfe, is never without vice.

So that S. Augustine, in his tyme, very muche lamented, that so many supersticions were than crepte in, confessinge the servitude of the Christen Churche to be more grevouse in those daies, than it was to the people undre Moyses. And so muche the more he lamented the case, that, beinge but one man, he coulde not reforme it; neither was

¹² [Perfect.]

he able in everye pointe to resist that evill, beinge with heretykes so sore tossed on every syde. But what wolde he have sayde, if he had seane the abhominable ydolatries of our time without nombre? Specially the worshippinge of breade and of wyne, which are only the servauntes of our bellies, and corrupt in the same; yea, whan they are at the best and holiest: for, whan they have done their office, beinge Sacramentes of Christe's bodie and bloude, that is to saye, preached the Lorde's deathe till he come, and declared us, of manie members, to be one misticall bodie in Christe, they ascende not into heaven, but, beinge eaten and digested, they are immediatly resolved into corruption; yea, Christ sayth, that they 'descende downe into the bellie, and are cast out into the draught;' Math. 15. which declareth them unmete to be worshipped.

This write I, not in unreverencinge the Sacrament, but in detestacion of the abhominable ydolatries therin most bestially committed. And, brevely to saye sumwhat of the Christen Church of our realme, in those dayes called Britaine, and now named Englande: what originall it had, and from whens; what continuance, what darkenings, what decayes, what falle, and what rayse againe.

To fatche this thinge from the first foundation, for that lande lyke as for other landes. By the eternall Sonne of God in Paradyse receyved Adam the first promise of salvacion, in the woman's sede. This acknowledged Abel, in his first offeringe up of the firstlinges of his flocke, and fatt of the same, beinge so instructed by that religiouse father of his, Gene. 4. By faithe in his plentuous sacrifice, sayth S. Paule, 'obtained abel witnesse, 'that he was righteouse;' Heb. 11. This, with the right invocacion of the name of God, taught by Seth and Enos, was continued by the chosen of that line, to remayne styll in remembraunce to their posteritees, and was renued after the floude by righteouse Noe; Gene. 8. To S. Paule also in Revelacion was this misterie shewed, 'That the Gentiles 'likewyse were partakers of the promyse;' Ephe. 3. Wherunto S. Johan sayth, that the Lambe was slayne from the 'worlde's beginnunge;' Apo. 13. that is to saye, in promyse, in faithe, and in misterie of their sacrifices. Applied is it also to those Gentiles, in the seyd Revelacion of S. Johan (who now, amonge other, includeth our lande) that they, from that tyme, have cryed with a lowde voyce, seyng, 'Helthe be to him that sitteth upon 'the seate of our God, and unto the Lambe;' Apo. 7. and therupon Gildas, in *Excidio Britannie*, concludeth, that the inhabitours of our realme have alwayes had knowlege of God, almost sens the worlde's beginnunge.

This rule of sacrifice and invocacion helde Japheth after the floude also, the father of Europa, containinge our lande amonge others, accordinge to the prayer of his righteouse father Noe, that he might dwell in the tentes of Sem. Gen. 9. or in faithe of the promised sede, which is Christe; Gala. 3. So perfyght was Melchisedech, or the forenamed Sem, a father than of the Gentiles, for that his kindrede (sayth Paule) is not reckened amonge the tribes; that he toke tithes of Abraham, and blessed him that had the promyses; Hebre. 7, and Gene. 14. For so muche as God (sayth Luther upon Genesis) established the kingedomes of the ilandes,¹⁴ whan they were divided, by the chosen fathers; it semeth wele that they helde his true worshippinges, received a fore of them. To these holy fathers in the Gentilite for that realme, by course succeded (as Berosus, Plinius, Strabo, Cæsar, and other authors writeth,) the Samothees, Sarronites, Druydes, Bardes, Sybylles, Eubages or Vates, Flamines, and suche other, till the comminge of Jesus, God's Sonne in the fleshe. Which all acknowledged but one God, what though it were by the diversité of rytes and doctrines. This have I written here, to declare what church was in our lande afore Christe's cominge. I speake nothyng of them which folowed straunge worshippinges, or manifeste ydolatries of the Heathen; as the Papistes do in thys age. If it be reasoned, how they coulde heare? S. Paule answereth it out of David, that the heavens peached to them, all the worlde hearyng it, if none had done it els; Rom. 10, and Psal. 19, besyde the Lawe of Nature, which was also their leader.

In the 63. yere after Christe's Incarnacion, to resort to my purpose, was Joseph, an

¹⁴ [Gentills.]

Hebrue and disparsed disciple, thydre sent with hys companyons, by Philippp the apostle, than preachynge in Fraunce, as Freculphus, in the seconde part of hys Chronycle, and Isidorus also, *de vita & obitu sanctorum patrum*, rehearseth. He published there amonge them that Gospell of Salvacion which Christe first of all, and afterwarde hys apostles, had taught at Jerusalem: untruly, therefore, are we reported of the Italyane writers, and of the subtylle devysers of sanctes legendes, that we shulde have our first faythe from Rome, and our Christen Doctryne, from their unchristen byshoppes. From the schole of Christe hymselfe, have we receyved the documentes of our faythe: from Jerusalem, and not from Rome; whom both Peter, and also Christe, hath called Babylon, for that she so aptely therunto agreeth in ministryng confusion to the world. And this wele accordeth with the wurdes of the prophete, that the Lawe of the Gospell shulde come from Sion, and the Wurde of God from Hierusalem, Esa. 2. S. Paule also, which had been christenly familiar at Rome, with Claudia Rufina, a Britayne borne; and with Aulus Pudens, her husbände; of whome he maketh mencion, 2 Timoth. 4. shulde seeme, in his owne persone, to have preached in that nacion of ours, by this sainge of his in the same epistle and chaptre: 'The Lorde assisted me, and strengthened me, at my first answer-
' inge, that by me the preachinge shulde be fulfilled to the uttermost, and that all the Gen-
' tiles shulde heare.' That clause, 'all the Gentiles,' includeth somewhat concerninge the Britaines; if they were than Gentiles, and in the west part of the worlde, as we can saye none other of them.

Bartholomeus Tridentinus, and Petrus Calo, reporteth, (in their bookes of the Lives of Sanctes,) that Timothe, S. Paule's disciple, by his preachinge in Britaine, converted Kinge Lucius, and him baptised, in confirmation of that is said afore. Nurrished, brought up, and continued, was this British Church in the doctrine of faithe, without menne's tradiciones, by the wurthie doctours of that age, Eluanus, Meduinus, Melanius, Amphibalus, and suche other like, till the time of Diocleciane, the tirannouse emperour; which, by his wicked ministers, made havock of the Christen flocke there, as testifieth Gildas. Though the kings of Britaine in that age, Aruiragus, Marius, Coillus, Lucius, and Severus, with others, were not all christened, yet were they no cruell persecutors of Christe's congregation, that we reade of. In the generall quyetnesse provided to the Church by the fore-named Constantine, Arrius, Pelagius, Leporius, and one Tymothé, partly by subtile allegories, and partly by open heresies, greatly obscured the glory thereof.

Anon after there folowed a certen kind of monkery, with an heap of ceremonies, but yet without blasphemouse supersticions, till Antichrist had fashioned them to his execrable use. In that age were Fastidius, Ninianus, Patritius, Bachiarius, Dubricius, Congellus, Kentigernus, Iltutus, David, Daniel, Sampson, Eluodugus, Asaphus, Gildas, Beulanus, Elbodus, Dionotus, Samuel, Nennius, and a great sort more, by Christen doctrine, the upholders of the Brittish Church, the cyvyle governours for the time, beinge dissolute and carelesse; as the forseyd Gildas, very sharply, doth laie it to their charge.

Consequently, whan the barbarouse nations had subdued the Christen regions of Europa, specially here in this realme; the Heathenish Saxons, the Christen Britaines, for not obeyenge and folowinge God's Wurde that time faithfully preached: than entered in an other swarme of monkes, much worse than the other. For they had their beginninge of those solitary bretherne, which had fled to the wilderness in the tyme of persecucion: these, lyke laysye locustes, sprange fourth of the pytt bottomlesse. They served God in lyberte, and were fedde of their owne true labours: these served Antichrist in bondage, and devoured up the labours of other. They were sumwhat ceremonious; but these, alto-
gyther supersticiouse. Of this lattre swarme, after the first enterance of Augustine the Romish monke, was Egbert, Egwine, Boniface, Wilfride, Dunstane, Oswolde, Lanfranck, Anselme, and suche other, without nombre, by whom the sincere faithe of the English Church decayed. These were bytter stingars in Antichriste's cause; yea, terrible accusers, and suppressers of kinges, and of other Christen magistrates. These caused the sunne, which is the clere verite of the Lorde, to apere as sackeclothe made of heare; Apo. 6. placinge, in the rowme therof, their own fantastical doctrines,

vaine tradicions, and supersticiouse ordinaunces. So that they made God's heavenly Wurde to seme to the people darke, rough, harde, and unpleasaunt, for their ydle bellyes sake.

Yet denye I it not, but some godly men were amonge them in those dayes: as Beda, Johan of Buerlé, Alcuinus, Neotus, Hucarius, Serlo, Achardus, Ealredus, Alexander Neckam, Negellus, Seuallus, and suche other. Which though they than erred in many thinges, yet was not their errour of obstinacie and malice. Than folowed the schole doctours with the iiij. ordres of friers, very wicked kindes of men; and they, with their sophisticall sorceryes, poysened up altogyther, clerely overthrowinge the Christen Church, and settinge up in her place the most filthye sinagoge of Sathan.

In that malignaunt assemblye were false wurshippinges commaunded for God's holy service; and monstrouse buggery, for a professed virginite, in our consecrate clergie admitted. Thus were the people nusled up from their yowth, in callinge upon dead men and ymages; the preastes and religiouse, in the meane time, occupied in all beastly wurkes of the flesh. I have the Registre of the Visitacions of the Cloysters of Englande, and therfor I know it to their confusion. The Monkes, afore their time, ded no more but mixe the Christen religion with the Paganes supersticions; but these fowle lecherouse locustes have banished the Christen religion altogyther. They have taken upon them a power by vertu of transsubstanciacion, farre above God's power; as of corruptible creatures to make goddes to be worshipped, bearing them a broade with Persical pompes, as it were, in their gaddinge and gagginge processions, fit for wanton gossippes, to shewe their selves in their holy daye apparelinges.

Yet were there alwayes some in that miste of palpable darknesse, that smelled out their mischefes, and in part maintained the syncere doctrine; as Mathew Parys, Oclyf, Wickleff, Thorpe, White, Purveye, Pateshulle, Paine, Gower, Chaucer, Gascoigne, Ive; and now in our time, William Tindale, Johan Fri h, Bilneye, Barnes, Lambert, and a great sort more. Now, truly, in this lattre age and ende of the worlde, God, shewing great mercy to his elected heritage, hath gathered them togyther from the pannels of perdition, by the voyce of his holy Gospell. Yea, like as by Hieremie the prophete, before that exile into Babylon, by Johan Baptist, Christe, and his Apostles, before the destruction of Hierusalem, and by the Apostles followers, before the division and first ruyne, and the Romish empire he called his disparsed remnaunt; so doth he now agayne, before hys generall comminge to Judgement, call together hys church of true belevers, by the godly preachers of thys age. That wonderfull wurke of God, that noble prince, Kynge Henrye the 8, within thys realme by his royall power assysted, after that he had given an overthrowe to the great Goliath of Rome; oure most godly soverayne Kynge Edward the 6, for his tyme perfourmyng the same. The fyrst, with noble Kynge David, prepared thys buyldinge of the Lorde; but thys other, with the wyse King Salomon, to hys power made all thinges very perfyght. And though now, after hys death, a Hieroboam, paraventure, is risen, which will sett up the golden calves in Samaria, or mayntayne the popysh religyon agayne, in ymages, aulters, ydle ceremonyes, and blasphemouse supersticions: yet doubt I it not, but a faythfull Asa shall folowe, eyther els a Josaphat, a Ezechias, or a myghtye Josias, which will dissolve those ydolatries agayne. And, as concerning the fornamed Kynge Edward, I will recite here what hys wurthinesse ded for me his most unwurthie subject, that I shuld, among others, be a collectour, or a caller togyther of the Christen flocke in thys age.

Upon the 15. daye of August, in the yere from Christe's incarnation, 1552, being the first daye of my deliverance (as God wolde) from a mortall ague, which had holde me longe afore. In rejoyce that his majestie was come in progresse to Southampton; whiche was 5. myle from my personage of Byshoppes Stoke, within the same countye: I toke my horse about 10 of the clocke, for very weaknesse scant able to sytt him, and so came thydre. Betwixt 2. and 3. of the clocke, the same day, I drew towardes the place where as his majestie was, and stode in the open strete ryght against the gallerye. Anon, my frinde, Johan Fylpot, a gentylman, and one of hys previe chambre, called unto him 2. more of hys companyons, which, in moving their heades towardes me, shewed me most

friendly countenaunces. By one of these 3. the kynge havynge informacion that I was there in the strete, he marveled therof, for so much as it had bene tolde hym a lytle afore, that I was bothe dead and buried. With that hys grace came to the wyndowe, and earnestly behelde me a poore weake creature, as though he had had upon me, so symple a subject, an earnest regard, or rather a very fatherly care. In the very same instaunt, (as I have bene sens that tyme credibly infourmed,) hys grace called unto him the lordes of his most honourable counsel, so manye as were than present, willinge them to appoint me to the bishoprick of Ossorie, in Irelande. Whereunto they all agreeably consentinge, commaunded the letters of my first callinge thereunto, by and by to be written and sent me. The next daye following, which was the xvi. day of August, the lettre beinge written by B. Hamptone, a clarke of the counsell, they very favourably subscribed to the same, in maner as hereafter foloweth:

The Coppie of the seyd Lettre.

‘ To our very lovinge friende, Doctour Bale.

‘ **A**FTER our hartye commendacyons. For as muche as the kinge’s majestie is minded, in consideracyon of your learninge, wysdome, and other vertuose qualities, to bestow upon yow the bishopricke of Ossorie, in Irelande, presently voyde; we have thought mete, both to give yow knowledge thereof, and therewithall to lete you understande, that his majestie wolde ye made your repayre hyther to the courte, as soon as conveniently ye may; to thende, that if ye be enclined to embrace this charge, his highnesse maye, at your commynge, gyve suche ordre for the farther procedings with yow herin, as shall be convenient. And thus we bid yow hartely farewell. From Southampton, the xvi. daye of August, 1552.

‘ Your lovinge Friendes,

‘ W. Winchester,	‘ T. Darcy,
‘ J. Bedford,	‘ T. Cheine,
‘ H. Suffolke,	‘ Johan Gate,
‘ W. Northampton,	‘ W. Cecill.’

And to conclude, thus was I called, in a maner from deathe, to this office, without my expectacion, or yet knowlege thereof. And thus have ye my vocacyon to the bishoprick of Ossorie, in Irelande. I passe over my earnest refusall therof, a moneth after that, in the kinge’s majestie’s returne to Winchester; where, as I alleged (as I than thought) my lawfull impedimentes, of poverty, age, and syckenesse, within the bishope’s howse there: but they were not accepted. Than resorted I to the court at London within vi. wekes after, accordinge to the tenure of the forseyd lettre; and within vi. dayes had all thinges perfourmed pertaininge to my election and full confirmacion, frely, without any maner of charges or expenses, whereof I muche marvelled. On the xix. daye of Decembre, I toke my journeye from Byshoppes Stoke with my bokes and stuffe towards Bristowe; where as I tarried xxvi. dayes for passage, and diverse times preached in that worshipfull cytie, at the instaunt desyre of the cytiezens. Upon the xxi. daye of January we entred into the shippe; I, my wyfe, and one servaunt; and being but ii. nyghtes and ii. dayes upon the sea, we arryved most prosperously at Waterforde, in the coldest time of the yeare; so mercifull was the Lorde unto us.

In beholdynge the face and ordre of that citie, I see many abhominable ydolatries maintained by the epicurysh prestes, for their wicked bellies sake. The communion, or supper of the Lorde, was there altogither used lyke a popysh masse, with the olde apysh toyes of Antichrist, in bowynges and bekynges, knelinges and knockinges; the Lorde’s death, after S. Paule’s doctrine, neyther preached nor yet spoken of. There wawled they over the dead, with prodigyouse howlynges and patterynges, as though their sowles had not bene quyeted in Christe and redemed by hys passion; but that they must come after and help at a pinche with *requiem eternam*, to delyver them out of helle by their sorrowfull sorceryes. Whan I had beholden these heathnysh behavers, I seyd unto a senatour

of that cytie, that I wele perceyved that Christe had there no bishop, neyther yet the kynge's majestie of England any faythfull officer of the mayer, in suffering so horryble blasphemies. The next daye after I rode towards Dublyne, and rested the night folowing in a towne called Knocktouer, in the howse of Maister Adam Walshe, my generall commissarye for the whole dyocese of Ossorie.

At supper, the parish prest, called Syr Philypp, was very serviceable, and, in familyar talke, described unto me the howse of the White Fryres, which sumtyme was in that towne; concluding in the ende, that the last prior thereof, called Wyllyam, was his naturall father. I axed him, "If that were in marriage?" He made me answer, "No. For that was (he sayd) against his profession." Than counselled I hym, that he never shulde boast of it more. "Whie, (sayth he) it is an honour, in this lande, to have a spirituall man, as a bishop, an abbot, a monke, a fryre, or a prest, to father." With that I greatly marveled, not so much of his unshamefast talke, as I ded, that adultery, forbidden of God, and of all honest men detested, shulde there have both prayse and preferment, thinking in processe, for my part, to refourme it.

I came at the last to Dublyne, wher as I founde my companyon Maistre Hugh Goodaker, that archebishop of Armach elected; and my olde frende, M. David Coper, parson of Calan. Much of the people ded greatly rejoyce of our cominge thidre; thinkinge, by our preachinges, the Pope's supersticions wolde diminish, and the true Christen religion increace.

Upon the Purificacion daye of our Ladye¹⁵, the lorde chancellour of Irelande, Sir Thomas Cusake, our special good lorde and earnest ayder in all our procedinges, appoynted us to be invested or consecrated (as they call it) by George, the archebishop of Dublyne, Thomas, the bishop of Kyldare, and Urbane, the bishop of Duno¹⁶, assistinge him. I will not here describe at large the subtile conveyance of that greate epicure the archebishop, how he went about to diffarre the daye of our consecracion, that he might by that meanes have prevented me, in takinge up the proxyes of my bishoprick to his owne glottonouse use, and in so deprivinge me of more than halfe my lyvinge for that yeare. As we were comminge fourth, to have receyved the imposicion of handes, accordynge to the ceremonye, Thomas Lockwode (*Blockheade* he myght wel be called) the deane of the cathedrall church there, desired the lord-chauncellour very instauntly, that he woulde in no wise permyt that observacion to be done after that boke of consecratinge bishoppes, which was last set fourth in Englande by acte of parlement; aleginge that it wolde be both an occasion of tumulte, and also that it was not as yet consented to by acte of their parlement in Irelande. For whie; he muche feared the newe changed ordre of the communion therin, to hindre his kychin and bellye. The lorde chauncellour proponed this matter unto us. The archebishop consented thereunto, so ded the other ii. bishoppes. Maistre Goodaker wolde gladly it might have bene otherwise, but he wolde not at that time contende there with them.

When I see none other waye, I stepped fourth, and sayde, "If Englande and Irelande be undre one kinge, they are both bounde to the obedience of one lawe undre him. And as for us, we came hyther as true subjectes of his, sworne to obeye that ordinaunce. It was but a bishopprick (I sayde) that I came thydre to receive that daye; which I coulde be better contented to treade undre my fote there, than to breake from that promyse or othe that I had made. I bad them, in the ende, sett all their heartes at rest; for, came I ones to the church of Ossorie, I wolde execute nothings for my part there, but accordynge to the rules of that lattre boke." With that the lorde chauncellour right honourably commaunded the ceremonie to be done after the boke. Than went the asseheaded deane awaie, more than halfe confused: neyther folowed there any tumulte amonge the people, but every man, savinge the prestes, was wele contented. Than went the archebishop about that observacion, very unsauerly, and as one not muche exercised in that kinde of doynge, specially in the administracion of the Lorde's holy supper. In the ende, the lorde

¹⁵ [25th of March.]

¹⁶ [Down.]

chauncellour made to us and to our frendes a most frendly diner, to save us from exceeding charges, which otherwise we had bene at that day.

Within ii. dayes after was I sycke agayn, so egerly, that no man thought I shulde have lyved; which malladie helde me till after Eastre. Yet, in the meane tyme, I founde a waye to be brought to Kylkennie, where as I preached every Sondaye and holy daye in Lent, tyll the Sondaye after Eastre was fully past; never felinge any maner of grefe of my sycknesse, for the tyme I was in the pulpet; whereat many men, and my selfe also, greatly marveled. Neyther had I, for all that tyme space, any minde to call for any temporall profites; which was afterwarde to my no small hynderaunce. From that daye of our consecracion, I traded with myselfe, by all possybyltye, to set fourth that doctrine, which God charged his Church with, ever sens the beginnynge; and thought therewith in my minde also, that I had rather that Aethna ded swallowe me up, than to mainteine those wayes in religion, which might corrupte the same. For my daily desire is, in that everlasting schole, to beholde the eternall Sonne of God, both here and after this lyfe: and not only to see the fathers, prophetes and apostles therein; but also, for love of that doctrine, to enjoye their blessid feliship hereafter. And so muche the rather I traded thus with myselfe, that I see than the kinge's majestie, the archebishopp of Canterbury, and the honourable lordes of the counsell, so fervently bent that waye, as to seke the people's helthe in the same. I thought it, therupon, no lesse than my bounde dewtie, to shewe my selfe faithful, studiouse, and diligent, in that so chargefull a function.

My first procedinges, in that doynge, were these: I earnestly exhorted the people to repentaunce for sinne, and required them to give credite to the Gospell of salvacion. To acknowledge and believe that there was but one God, and him alone, without any other, sincerely to worship. To confesse one Christe for an only Saver and Redemer, and to truste in none other mannis praiers, merites, nor yet deservinges, but in his alone, for salvacion. I treated at large both of the heavenly and politicall state of the Christen Church; and helpars I found none amonge my prebendaries and clergy, but adversaries a great nombre. I preached the Gospell of the knowledge and right invocacion of God; I mayntened the politicall ordre by doctrine, and moved the commensalwayes to obeye their magistrates. But, whan I ones sought to destroye the ydolatries, and dissolve the hypocrites yokes; than folowed angers, slaunders, conspiricyes, and, in the ende, the slaughter of men. Much a-do I had with the prestes; for that I had sayd amonge other, that the whyte goddes of their makeinge, such as they offered to the people to be worshipped, were no gods, but ydoles; and that their prayers for the dead procured no redempcion to the sowles departed; redempcion of sowles beinge only in Christe, of Christ, and by Christe. I added, that their office, by Christe's strayght commaundement, was chifely to preache, and instruct the people in the doctrine and wayes of God; and not to occupie so muche of the tyme in chaunttynge, pypyng, and synginge.

Muche were the prestes offended also, for that I had, in my preachinges, willed them to have wives of their owne; and to leave the unshamefast occupieng of other menne's wives, doughters, and servauntes. But heare what answere they made me alwayes; yea, the most viciouse men amonge them: "What shulde we marrie (sayd they) for halfe a yeare, and so loose our livynges?" Thinke ye not that these men were ghostly inspired? Eyther yet had knowledge of some secrete mischefe wurkinge in Englande? I, for my part, have not a little, sens that time, marveled, whan it hath fallen to my remembraunce. Well, the truthe is, I coulde never yet, by any godly or honest persuasion, bringe any of them to mariage; neither yet cause them, whiche were knowne for unshamefast whore-keepers, to leave that fylthie and abhominable occupieng, what though I most earnestly laboured it. But, sens that tyme, I have considered, by the jugement of the Scriptures, that the impenytent ydolatour must therewith be also a fylthie adulterer or most detestable sodomite. It is his just plage, Rom. 1. we can not stoppe it. Lyke wyse the dissembling hypocrite, in contemning God's truthe, must nedes folowe errorrs and lyes in the doctrine of devyls, 1 Timot. 4, to have in the ende the greater confusion. 'Lete him that is wicked, (sayth that angell to S. Johan,) become more wicked; and he that is fylthie,

' become more fylthye; that hys damnacion maye be the depar, and his sorowes extremier.' Apoca. 22.

The Lord, therfor, of his mercie, sende discipline with doctrine, into his church! For doctrine without discipline, and restraint of vices, maketh dissolute hearers. And, on the other syde, discipline without doctrine maketh eyther hypocrites, or els desperate doars. I have not written this in dispraise of all the prestes of Kylkennye, or there about; for my hope is, that some of them, by thys tyme, are fallen to repentaunce, though they be not manye. An other thinge was there, that mucche had dyspleased the prebendaries, and other prestes: I had earnestly, ever sens my first comminge, requyred them to observe and folowe that only boke of Commen Prayer, whych the kynge and hys counsell had that yeare put fourth by acte of parlement. But that wolde they at no hande obeye; allegynge, for their vayne and ydle excuse, the lewde example of the archebishop of Dublyne, which was alwayes slacke in thynges perteyninge to God's glorie; alleginge also the want of bokes, and that their owne justices and lawers had not yet consented therunto: as though it had bene lawfull for their justices to have denyed the same; or, as though they had rather have hanged upon them, than upon the kinge's autoritie, and commaundement of his counsell.

In the weke after Eastre, whan I had ones preached xii sermons amonge them, and established the people, as I thought, in the doctrine of repentaunce, and necessarie beleve of the Gospell; in the true worshypppynges of one God, our eternall Father, and no more; and in that hope of one Redemer, Jesus Christe, and no more: I departed from Kylkennie to an other place of myne, v myles of, called Holmes Court; where as I remained tyll the Assension Daye. In the meane time, came sorowfull newes unto me, that M. Hugh Goodacker, the archebishop of Armach, that godly preacher, and virtuouse learned man, was poysoned at Dublyne; by procurement of certen prestes of his diocese, for preachinge God's verite, and rebukinge their comen vices. And letters by and by were directed unto me, by my speciall frendes from thens, to be ware of the like in my diocese of Ossorie; which made me paraventure more circumspect than I shulde have bene. Upon the Assension Daye, I preached again at Kylkennie; likewyse on Trinite Sondag, and on S. Peter's Daye at Midsomer than folowinge.

On the xxv daye of July, the prestes were as pleasauntly disposed as might be, and went by heapes from taverne to taverne, to seke the best rob daye and *aqua vitæ*, which are their speciall drinckes there. Thei cawsed all their cuppes to be filled in, with *gaudeamus in dolio*; the misterie therof only knowne to them, and, at that time, to none other els. Which was, that Kynge Edward was dead, and that they were in hope to have up their maskynge masses againe; as we have in S. Johan's revelacion, 'That they which dwell on the yearth (as do our earthly minded mas-mongers) shuld rejoyce and be glad, whan God's true witnesses were ones taken awaye; and shulde send gyftes one to an other for gladnesse, because they rebuked them of theyr wycked doyngs,' Apoca. xi. For ye must consydre, that the prestes are comenly the first that receive suche newes. The next day folowinge, a very wicked justice called Thomas Hothe, with the Lorde Mountgarret, resorted to the cathedrall church, requyringe to have a communion, in the honour of S. Anne. Marke the blasphemouse blyndenesse and wylfull obstinacye of thys beastly papyst. The prestes made hym answere, "That I had forbydden them that celebracion, savyng only upon the Sondages:" as I had, in dede; for the abhominable ydolatries that I had seane therein. "I discharge you (sayth he) of obedience to your bishop in this point, and commaunde yow to do as ye have done heretofore;" which was, to make of Christe's holy communion an ydolatrouse masse, and to suffre it to serve for the dead, cleane contrarye to the christen use of the same.

Thus was the wicked justice not only a vyolatour of Christe's institucion, but also a contempner of his prince's earnest commaundement, and a provoker of the people, by his ungraciouse example, to do the lyke. Thys coulde he do, with other mischefes more, by his longe beyng there by a whole monthe's space: but for murthers, theftes, ydolatries, and abhominable whoredomes, (wherwith all that nacion habundeth,) for that time he

sought no redresse, neyther appointed any correction. The prestes thus rejoycing that the kinge was dead, and that they had bene that daye confirmed in their supersticiouse obstinacie, resorted to the forseyd false justice the same night at supper, to gratifye him with rob daye and *aqua vite*; for that he had bene so frendly unto them, and that he might styll continue in the same. The next daye after was the Ladye Jane Gylforde proclaimed their quene, with solemnite of processions, bonefyres, and banquettes: the seyd justice, as I was informed, sore blamyng me for my absence that daye; for, in dede, I muche doubted that matter.

So sone as it was there rumoured abroad, that the kynge was departed from this lyfe; the ruffianess of that wilde nacyon, not only rebelled against the English captaines, (as their lewde custome, in suche chaunges, hath bene alwayes,) chefely no English deputye beinge within the lande; but also they conspired into the very deathes of so many English men and women, as were left therin alyve; mindinge, as they than stoughtly boasted it, to have set up a kinge of their owne. And to cause their wilde people to beare the more hate to our nacion; very subtilly, but yet falsely, they caused it to be noysed over-all, that the yonge Earle of Ormonde, and Barnabe, the Barne of Upper Ossorie's sonne, were both slaine in the court at London.

Upon this wylfe practise of myschefe, they raged, without ordre, in all places, and assaulted the English fortes every where. And at one of them, by a subtile trayne, they got out ix of our men, and slewe them.

On the xiii daye of August, a gentill woman, the wyfe of Mathew Kinge, havynge a castell not farre of, (her husband than beinge at London, fledde with her familie and goodes, in cartes, towardes the forseid Kylkennie; and, in the hyghwaye, was spoyled of all, to her very petycote, by the kearnes and galoglasses of the forenamed Barne of Upper Ossorie, Michell Patricke, and of the Lorde Mountgarret, which ought rather to have defended her. In this outrage had she, after longe conflicte with those enemyes, iiii of her companie slain, besides other mischefes more.

On the xx. daye of August, was the Ladye Marye with us at Kylkennye proclaimed quenē of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, with the greatest solempnyte, that there coulde be devysed, of processions, musters, and disgysinges; all the noble captaynes and gentilmen there about beinge present. What a-do I had that daye with the prebendaryes and prestes abought wearinge the cope, croser, and myter, in procession, it were to muche to write. I tolde them earnestly, whan they wolde have compelled me therunto, that "I was not Moyses' minister, but Christe's; I desyred them not to compell me to his denyall, whiche is, S. Paule sayth, in the repetinge of Moyses' sacramentes and ceremoniall shadowes;" Gal. v. With that I toke Christe's Testament in my hande, and went to the Market Crosse; the people in great nombre folowinge. There toke I the xiii. chap. of S. Paule to the Romanes, declaringe to them brevely what the autoritie was of the worldly powers and magistrates, what reverence and obedience were due to the same. In the meane tyme, had the prelates goten ii. disgysed prestes, one to beare the myter afore me, and an other the croser, makinge iii. procession pageauntes of one. The yonge men, in the forenone, played a tragedye of 'God's Promyses'¹⁷ in the olde lawe, at the Market Crosse, with organe, plainges, and songes very aptely. In the afternone agayne they played a commedie of 'Sanct Johan Baptiste's Preachinges,'¹⁸ of Christe's baptisyng, and of his temptacion in the wilderness; to the small contentacion of the prestes and other papistes there.

On the Thursdaye next folowinge, which was S. Bartylmewe's Daye, I preached agayne amonge them; bycause the prebendaryes and other prestes there had made their boast, that I shulde be compelled to recante all that I had preached afore; and, as I was entered into the pulpit, I toke this sainge of S. Paule for my thema: *Non erubesco Evangelium; Virtus enim Dei est in salutem omni credenti*, &c. 'I am not ashamed of the Gospell. And whie? For it is the power of God unto salvacion, to all them that beleve it;' Rom. 1.

¹⁷ [Written in 1538, and printed in Dodsley's collection of old plays, vol. i.]

¹⁸ [See the present publication, vol. i. p. 101.]

Than declared I unto them all that I had taught there, sens my first comming thydre, (the justice Hothe beinge present) as, That our God was but one God, and ought alone to be worshipped; and that our Christe was but one Christe, and ought alone to be trusted to for redempcion of sinne. I earnestly charged the people to rest upon these ii. principles firmly, as upon the chiefe staves of their salvacion, as they wolde answere it at the dredefull daye, and not to suffre themselves to be led, by a contrariouse doctrine of de-ceytfull teachers, into any other beleve, from thens fourth. *Item*, concerninge the sacramente of Christe's bodye and bloude, (wherin they had bene most prodigiously abused, through the unsaciabie covetousnesse of the prestes,) I required them very reverently to take it, as a sacramente only of Christe's deathe, wherby we are redemed, and made innocent membres of hys mysticall bodye, and not to worship it as their God, as they had done, to the utter derogacion of hys heavenly honour. And, as I came in the usuall prayer to remembraunce of the dead, I willed them to gyve harty thanks to God for their redempcion in Christe, largely declaringe, that the sowles of the righteouse were in the hande of his mercye, without cruell torment, Sap. 3. and that the prestes, with all their masses and funerall exequies, coulde nothings adde to their redempcion, if they had bene otherwise bestowed.

After the prayer, I toke the Gospell of the daye, *Beati oculi, qui vident quæ vos videntis*, &c. *Luce 10.* wherein I was occasioned to speake of certen degrees of men; as of kinges, prophetes, lawers, justiciaries, and so fourth: As, that the kinges were desierouse to see Christe, the prophetes to embrace him, the swellinge lawers to rise up againste him and to tempte him, and the ambiciouse justiciaries to toye with him and to mocke him: the wounded man to have nede of him, the preste to shewe no compassion, the levite to minstre no mercye; and, last of all, the contemptuouse Samaritane to exercise all the offices of pitye, love, benivolence, and liberall mercye, upon the same wounded creature: as, to resort to him, favourably to see him, with layser to behold him, to have compassion on him, to bynde up his woundes, to poure in oyle and wyne, to sett him on his owne beaste, to brynge him to a place of comfort; finally, to socour him, and to paye his whole charges. All these matters I declared there at large, which were now to muche to repete here againe.

The same daye, I dined with the mayer of the towne, whom they name their Suffren,¹⁹ called Robert Shea, a man sober, wise, and godly; which is a rare thinge in that lande. In the end of our dyner certen prestes resorted, and began very hotely to dispute with me concerninge their purgatorye and suffrages for the dead: and as I had alleged the scriptures proving Christe's sufficiencie for the sowle's discharge afore God, without their dirtie deservings; they brought fourth, as semed to them, contrary allegacions, that there shulde apere no truthe in those scriptures. As S. Paule prophecied of them, *Rom. 1.* That suche as they were, 'shulde seke to turne the veryte of God into a lye.' And whan I had ones deprehended them in that theuerie, and agreed both our alleged scriptures, to the mayntenaunce of my first princyple, to their manifest reproche: I demaunded of them, "What a christenmanny's office was, whan suche a scripture was uttered, as neyther man nor angell was able to denie any truth therof?" But they made me no answer. Than sayde I unto them, "Ye have set me fourth a newe lesson, and taught me this daye to knowe a good man from an hipocrite, and to discern a true christiane from a wicked papist. The good man (said I) beleveth a truthe in the Scriptures, the Hipocrite denieth it, the Christian embraceth it, the Papist doubteth and disputeth against it; as ded the Devill in the Wildernesse with Christe, whan he sought by one scripture to confounde an other."

The next daye I departed from thence, and went home with my cumpanye to Holmes Court agayne. Where as I had knowledge the next daye folowinge, that the prestes of my diocese, specially one Sir Richard Routhe, treasurer of the churche of Kylkennie; and one Sir James Joys, a familiar chaplaine of mine; by the helpe of one Barnabe Bolgar, my next neibour and my tenaunt, at the seyd Holmes Court, had hired certen kearns of

¹⁹ [i. e. Sovereign.]

the Lorde Mountgarret, and of the Barne of Upper Ossorie, whom they knew to be most desperate theves and murtherers, to slea me. And I am in full beleve, that this was not all without their knowleges also: for so muche as they were so desierouse of my landes in diverse quarters, and coulde neyther obtaine them by their owne importunate sutes, nor yet by the frendeshipp of others.

As for the Lorde Mountgarret, I suspect him by this: An horse grome of his, with an other of his brechelesse gallautes besides, came into my court one daye, and made a stought bragge among my servautes, that he wolde both steele my horses, (as it is there reckened not great faulte to steel,) and also that he wolde have my heade, if I came abroad. I sent my servaunt unto him, not as one desierouse to be revenged, but to knowe what cause his grome had, to uttre so much malice. Yea, I afterwarde complayned therof my selfe, to his owne persone, and had but a slendre answer, with no redresse at all. The Barne of Upper Ossorie molested my pore tenautes in the quarter wher as he dwelte, most maliciously; and Barnabe Bolgar maryed his yonge doughter to one of those murthurers, called Grace Gracelesse, to helpe the matter forward: for he thought by that meanes to have the full occupieng of Holmes Court yet ones agayne.

On the Thursdaye after, which was the last daye of August, I beinge absent, the clergie of Kylkennie, by procurement of that wicked justice Hothe, blasphemously resumed agayne the whole Papisme, or heape of supersticions of the bishop of Rome; to the utter contempte of Christe and his holy wurde, of the kinge and counsell of Englande, and of all ecclesiasticall and politike ordre, without eyther statute or yet proclamacion. They ronge all the belles in that cathedrall, minstre, and parish churches: they flonge up their cappes to the battlement of the great temple, with smylinges and laughinges most dissolutely, the justice himselfe beinge therwith offended: they brought fourth their coopes, candelstickes, holy waterstocke, crosse, and sensers: they mustered fourth in generall procession most gorgeously, all the towne over, with *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, and the reest of the Latine Letanie: they chattered it, they chaunted it, with great noise and devotion: they banketted all the daie after, for that they were delivered from the grace of God into a warme sunne. For they maye, now from thens fourth, againe deceive the people, as they ded afore tyme, with their Latine momblings, and make marchaundice of them, 2 Petre ii. They maye make the witlesse sort believe, that they can make every daye newe goddes of their lyttle whyte cakes, and that they can fatche their frendes sowles from flaminge purgatory, if nede be, with other great miracles els. They maye now, without checke, have other mennes wives in occupieng, or kepe whores in their chambers; or els playe the buggery knaves, as they have done alwayes, and be at an utter defiance with mariage, though it be the institucion of God, honourable, holye, righteouse, and perfight.

I wryte not this without a cause; for whie, there were some amonge them, which boasted both of this and muche more, to vayne to be tolde. And, whan they were demaunded, How they wolde, afore God, be discharged? They made answer, "That eare confession was able to burnish them agayne, and to make them so white as snowe, though they thus offended never so oft." And one of them, for example, was the dronken bishop of Galwaye; which, besides these uncomly bragges, furiously boasted, in the howse of one Martine, (a faithfull Italiane and servaunt to the Earle of Ormonde,) and in other howses more, that the bishop of Rome was the heade supreme of the Christen Church in earthe, and shulde so be proclamed in Irelande; the said Martine, as God's true frende, rebukinge him for it. The exercise of this beastly bishop is none other, but to gadde from towne to towne over the English part, confirminge yonge children for ii. pence a pece, without examinacion of their Christen Beleve, contrary to the Christen Ordinaunces of Englande; and at night to drinke all at rob dauye and *aqua vite*, like a man. To whome, for a mocke now of late, a galoglasse of the lande brought hys dogge, wrapped in a sheet, with ii. pens about his necke, to have him confirmed, among neybers children. In this he noted this beastly bishop more fit to confirme dogges, than christen menne's children.

On the Frydaye next followinge, which was the eyt daye of Septembre v. of my hows-holde servauntes, Rycharde Foster, a deacon, Rycharde Headley, Johan Cage, an Irish horsegrome, a yonge mayde of xvi. yeares of age, went out to make haye abought halfe a myle of betwixt viii. and ix. of the clocke; after they had served God according to the daye. And, as they were come to the entraunce of that medowe, the cruell murtherers, to the nombre of more than a score, leaped out of their lurkyng bussches, with sweardes and with dartes, they cowardly slewe them all unarmed and unweaponed, without mercy. This ded they, in their wicked furye, as it was reported, for that they had watched so long afore, yea, an whole month space they saye, and sped not of their purpose concerninge me. They felonously also robbed me of all my horses, and of all Maistre Cooper's horses, which that time sojourned with me for savegarde of hys lyfe, to the nombre of vii. dryvynge them afore them. In the afternoone, abought iii. of the clocke, the good suffren of Kylkenne, havinge knowledge therof, resorted to me, with an hondred horsemen, and iii. hondred fotemen, and so with great strengthe brought me that nyght to the towne; the yonge men syngynge psalmes and other godly songes all the way, in rejoyce of my deliveraunce.

As we were come to the towne, the people, in great nombre, stode on both sydes of the waye, both within the gates and without, with candels lyghted in their handes, shoughing out prayses to God for deliverynge me from the handes of these murtherers. The prestes the next daye, to colour their myschefe, caused it to be noysed all the cuntry over, that it was by the hande of God that my servauntes were slain; for that "they had broken (they sayde) the great holy daye of our Ladye's Nativitie." But I wolde fayne know what holy dayes those bloudthurstye hypocrites and malyciouse murtherers kepte, which had hyred their cruel kearnes to do that myschefe? O! abhoymynable traytours, both to God and to all godly ordre. Ye here commende murther undre a colour of false religyon, to hyde your owne myschefes to the eyes of the people; but the eyes of God ye cannot deceyve. Youre horrible slaughter must now be God's doynge, and yet was it the Devyll that sett ye a wurke. Ye prate here of the observacion of the holy daye, which never yet kepte the holy daye as it shulde be kepte. For ye never yet preached the Wurde of God truly, neither mynystred the sacramentes ryghtly, neyther yet taught the people to honour God purely, and to keepe his commaundementes inviolably; which are the only kepinges of the holy dayes.

But on those dayes, more than on any other, ye pampre them up in all supersticions, false worshippynge and ydolatries, to the utter deflyng both of the dayes and of them. Ye are much offended that a good wurke shulde be done on the Sabboth daye, as were your forefathers the Pharisees; but, with whoredome, ydolatrie, dronkennesse, and slaughter of men, ye are nothings at all offended, but wickedly ye do mainteine them; as I am able to prove, by a thousande of your lewde examples. The Nativitie of our Ladye was at that daye a feast abrogated, by autoritie of a christen kynge, and his whole parlement; and yet you saye the holy daye is broken; whan it is no holy daye at all, but as all other dayes are holy to them only which are holy, through their true obedience to God's most holy Wurde. Ye had kepte the daye much holyar, in my opinyon, if ye had, in the fear of God, obeyed the commaundement of your christen kynge; where as, in disobeyng the same, ye have resisted the holy ordinaunce of God for a supersticion, procuring thereby to your selves damnacion; Roma. 1. Christe, our heavenly Maistre and Redemer, was wele contented that his most holy nativitie gave place to an heathnysh emperour's obedience, Luc. 2. And yow disdain that daye to obeye a most christen kynge, counsell, and parlement; and yet ye are not ashamed to boast it, that ye kepte the daie holy. O! right Antichristes. On the daye next followinge, which was Saturdaye in the afternoone, the forseid treasurer, a man unlearned, and therwith an outragiouse whorekepar, resorted to me with a nombre of prestes, to tempte me, like as Sathan ded Christe in the wilderness; saving, that Sathan to Christe offered stones, and that temptinge treasurer both apples and wyne. And as they had than compassed me in rounde about, the seid treasurer proponed unto me, that they were all fully minded to have solempne

exequies for Kynge Edward, lately departed; lyke as the quene's highnesse had had them in Englande. I axed them, how that was? They made me answer, "with a *requiem masse* and *dirige*." Than asked I of them agayne, "Who shulde singe the masse?" And they answered me, "That it was my bounde dewtie to do it, beinge their bishop." Than sayde I unto them, "Massinge is an office appointed of that Antichriste, the Bishop of Rome, to whom I owe no obedience, neither will I owe him any so longe as I shall lyve. But if ye will have me there, to do that office, which Christe, the Sonne of God, hath earnestly commaunded, which is to preach hys holy Gospell, I will do it with all my heart." "No, (sayde they,) we will have a solempne masse; for so had the quene." "By my trouthe, (sayde I,) than must ye go seke out some other chaplayne; for, truly, of all generacions, I am no masse-mongar; for, of all occupacions, me thinke, it is most foolish: for there standeth the preste disgysed, lyke one that wolde shewe some conveyance or juglyng playe. He turneth his back to the people, and telleth a tale to the walle, in a foren language. If he turn his face to them, it is eyther to receyve the offering, eyther to desyre them to give him a good wurde, with *orate pro me fratres*, for he is a poore brother of theirs; eyther to bid them God spede, with *Dominus vobiscum*, for they get no part of his banket; eyther els to blesse them with the bottom of the cuppe, with *benedictio Dei*, whan all the brekefast is done. And of these feates (said I) can I now lyttle skille." With that the treasurer, beinge in hys fustene fumes, stoughtely demaunded a determinate answer, as though he came not thydre without autoritie. Than suspected I somewhat the wickednesse of justice Hothe, and such other; notwithstandinge, I axed him ones again, "What profygth he thought the kynge's sowle to have of those funerall exequies?" Than answered one of the prestes, "That God knewe wel enough what he had to do." "Yet yow must appoint him;" sayde I. "If these poure suffrages be a waye for him to heaven, and that he cannot go thydre without them; ye are much to blame, that ye have diffarred them so long. Ye had (sayde I) a commaundement, the last Saterdaye, of the Justice Hothe, to have solempnised them that nyght, and the next daye after. But the Devyll, which that daye daunsed at Thomas-Towne (for they had a procession with pageauntes) and the *aqua vita*, and rob davie withall, wolde not suffre ye than to do them. I desire yow, considering that the last Sondaye ye diffared them to see the Devyll daunse at Thomas-Towne, that ye will also this Sondaye differre them, tyll such tyme as I sende to the quene's commissioners at Dublyne, to knowe how to be discharged of the othe which I made to the kynge and his counsell for abolysment of that popish masse; for I am loth to incurre the daunger of perjurie." With that, after a few wurdcs more, they semed content, and so departed. The next daye came thydre a proclamacion, that they which wolde heare masses, shulde be suffered so to do; and they that wold not, shulde not thereunto be compelled.

Thus was that buyldynge clearly overthrowne, and that practyse of blasphemye wolde not take at that tyme, as God wolde.

And, as I had continued there certen dayes, I chaunced to heare of manye secrete mutteringes, that the prestes wolde not so leave me, but were styll conspiring my deathe. It was also noysed abroad, by the Bishop of Galwaye, and others; that the Antichrist of Rome shulde be taken agayne for the supreme heade of the church of Irelande. And, to declare a contemptuouse chaunge from religion to supersticion againe, the prestes had sodainly set up all the aulters and ymages in the cathedrall church.

Beholdinge therfor so many inconveniencs to ensewe, and so many daungers towarde, havinge also (which was worst of all) no English deputie or governour within the lande to complaine to for remedie, I shoke the dust of my fete against those wicked colligyners and prestes, accordinge to Christe's commaundement, Math. 10, that it might stande against them as a witnesse at the daye of judgment. The next daye, early in the morninge, by helpe of frendes, I convayed my selfe awaye to the castell of Lechline, and so fourth to the cytie of Dublin, where as I, for a certen time, amonge frendes remayned.

As the epicurouse archebishop had knowledge of my beinge there, he made boast upon his ale-benche, with the cuppe in his hande, (as I hearde the tale tolde,) that I shulde,

for no mannis pleasure, preache in that cytie of his. But this neded not; for I thought nothing lesse at that time, than to poure out the precieuse pearles of the Gospell afore so brockish a swine as he was; becominge than, of a dissemblinge proselite, a very pernicious papist. And as towchinge learninge, wherof he muche boasted amonge his cuppes, I knowe none that he hath so perfightly exercised as he hath the knowne practises of Sardinapalus: for his preachinges twise in the yeare, of the ploughman in winter, by *exit qui seminat*; and of the shepeherde in somer, by *ego sum pastor bonus*; are now so wele knowne by rott, of every gossipp in Dublyne, that afore he cometh up into the pulpet, they can tell his sermon. And as for his wife, if the mariage of prestes endureth not, he hath already provided his olde shifte of conveyance, by one of his servauntes. But I wolde wishe, that, amonge other studies, he remembred old Debethes at London, for surgerie; for y wys there is yet some moneie to be paied, and an Irish hobby also by promyse.

About thre yeares a-go, he made interpellacyon to the kynge, in his Lente sermon, for his doughter Irelande: but now he commaundeth her to go a whoringe againe, and to folowe the same devyll that she folowed afore; for that he ded than, was but only to serve the time. He neded lyttle than to have accused Sir Antony Sellenger of treason, if ye marke him wele now; but that he thought, by such conveyance, to winne estimacion, and to obtayne the high primacie of Irelande, from the archebisshoprycke of Armach, as he ded in dede. Full wele bestowed. Suche dissemblinge gluttons, and swynysh papistes, are a sore plage to that lande, which, for their wicked bellyes, make the people beleve, that sower is swete, and darkenesse lighte; with their aulters, masses, and ymages. And that causeth me to write this to his shame.

'The salte (sayth Christe) that is become unsaverie, is from thens fourth good for no-thinge, but to be cast out at the dores, and troden undre mennes fete;' Math. 5. After certen dayes within my hoste's howse, a yonge man of Estsexe, called Thomas, was comminge and goynge; which, for his maister's affayres into Scotlande, had hyred a small ship, there called a pyckarde. I rejoyced at the chaunce, as one that had founde a great treasure; and thought it a thinge provided of God, for my savegarde and deliveraunce at that present. Anon, I covenanted with him, to paye the halfe charges of that shippe, that I might passe thydre with him; and delivered to him out of hande the more part therof.

I thought at all tymes by him, and by an other whom I there had also herde of, havinge their continuall occupyenges thydre, to have, from tyme to tyme, knowledge of the deputies comminge over into Irelande, and so to resort againe to myne owne, in case all thinges were to my minde: as that the tirannouse Bishop of Rome had not his primacye and old doynges there againe, as it had bene boasted he shulde; and that the Christen Religion gave not place to blasphemouse Papistrie. And as he and I were togyther in the shippe, there tarrienge upon the tyde for passage; an Irish pirate, (yea, rather a cruell tiraunte of helle,) called Walter, beinge pylate, as they call them, or loades man in a Flemmish shippe of warre, made the covetouse captaine therof to beleve that I was a Frenche man, and that I had about me innumerable treasure. The captaine, hearinge of this, with an excedinge fearcenesse, invaded our poore shippe, and removed both the yonge man Thomas and me from thens into his great shippe of warre: where as he searched us both to the very skinnes, and toke from us al that we had in moneye, bokes, and apparell. He toke also from the maistre of our pickarde, or lyttle shippe, v. ponde, which I and the seyd Thomas had given to him in part of payement, with all his beere and vitayles; notwithstandinge that he perfightly knewe us to be Englishe men, and no Frenche men.

In the ende I loked fourth of the captaine's cabyne, and behelde a fayre howse, as it had bene a mile from us, and axed of the yonge man, whose howse that was? He made mé answeare, that it was the howse of one Mr. Parker, the searcher there. I instauntly desired of the captayne to be delivered to him: but in no wise wolde he graunt it. I required anon after, as I beheld a-farre of, the citye of Dublyne, to be brought thydre

for my honest tryall (for they had accused me of treason); but it might not be allowed. The next daye after, we came into the haven of Waterforde, where as also, for my tryall, I desired to go a-lande; but in no wyse wolde it be graunted. After that we passed more than the halfe seas over, towardes Cornewale; and were driven backe againe with so feerce and terrible a tempest, that the whole seas, to our syght and feling, went over us: and, as we were come yet ones againe into the haven of Waterforde, I sayde unto the captaine, "God hath with violence brought us hyther, againe, (I perceyve it) that I shulde trye my innocencye. I desyre yow (sayd I) as I have done heretofore, to deliver me into the cytie of Waterforde, where as I am wele knowne." He refused utterly so to do, and, after certen other talk, he desiered me to content myselfe, and "I shulde (he sayde) in the shippe have all thinges to my mynde." "Whie, (sayde I,) ye go not my waye; neither is it fit for me to seke for pryses, and to go a roavinge as yow do, but to sattle myselfe sumwhere." "Sens ye came to our shippe, (sayde he,) I hearde yow wishe yourselfe in Duchelande; and I promise yow, we will honestly brynge yow thydre, and not longe tarry by the waye." My chaunce was, in dede, to fynde there amonge them an Hollander, called Leonarde, which knewe me in Nortwick, with Maistre Johan Sartorius. To him, in familiar talke, I had wished myselfe there at that present: "But how will ye leade me, (sayde I to the captaine,) as ye have done hytherto, lyke a captive prisoner, or lyke a free passenger?" "No, (sayde he,) I take ye now for no prisoner, but for a man of worshipp, and for a most honest passenger; and so will I deliver yow there." But all this time he had my moneye in his owne kepinge. Within ii dayes after, we were driven into St. Ives in Cornewale by extremitie of wether; where as the forseid wicked pyrate Walter got him a-lande afore us so fast as ever he coulde, and accused me there for an haynouse traitour; yea, for such a one as for that cause had fledde out of Irelande. And, to bringe his wicked purpose to passe, of winninge sumwhat by me (for he thought than to have halfe my moneye which was in the captaine's hand,) he fatched thydre one Downinges from vii myles of, by the counsell of the mariners of that towne, which was noysed to be the most cruell termagaunt of that shire; yea, suche a one as had bene a begynnar of the last commocion there, both to examine me and apprehende me.

And, as I was comen to that examinacion before one of the baylyfes, the constables, and other officers, I desiered the seyd baylyfe, appearinge to me a very sober man, (as he was in dede,) to axe of the seyd Walter, "How longe he had knowne me, and what treason I had done, sens that tyme of his knowledge?" He answered, "That he never saw me, neyther yet had hearde of me, afore I came into that shippe of warre a iiij or v dayes afore." Than sayde the baylyfe, "What treason hast thou knowne by this honest gentelman sens? For I promise the, he semeth to be an honest man?" "Mary, (sayde he,) he wolde have fledde into Scotlande." "Whie, (saith the baylyfe,) and knowest thou any impediment, wherefor he ought not to have gone into Scotlande.?" "No, (sayde the fellawe,) but he was goinge towardes Scotlande." "If it be a treason (sayth the baylyfe) to go towardes Scotlande, a man havinge businesse to do there, it is more than I knewe afore; and truly (sayth he) than are there manie traitours abroad in the worlde. Good fellawe, (sayde he,) take hede that thy grounde be good in accusinge this man, els art thou worthie to suffre due ponnishment for it; for thou doest it els upon some other affection, than desire of right." With that he stode still, and was able to saye nothinge; for he was as dronke as an ape, in hope of a *bone viage*.

Than came in the captaine and his purser, and reviled the seyd Walter; reportinge him to be a very noughtye fellawe, and a comen dronkarde, and that I was a very honest man. For they feared, at that tyme, the discharge of my moneye out of their handes: I offeringe myselfe, for my tryall against him, to be brought to the sessions, which were than not farre of. Than sayde the forseid Downinges in great displeasure, "God's sowle, what do I here? This is but a dronken matter, by the masse;" and so went his waye in a fume, and for anger wolde not ones drinke with us; so that I went clere awaye in this prodygiouse conflict. The next daye, beinge Sondaye, I resorted to

the Temple, to see the fashions there. As the peales were all ended, they sange matens, houres, holy-water makinge, and masse; all in Latine. Nothinge was there in Englishe but the poore Letanie, which the preste, a stought sturdie lubber, sayde with the least devocion of all; muche of the people lamentinge to beholde so miserable a mutation, and saienge, "Afore time might we have learned sumwhat by our comminge to the churche, but now nothinge at all to our understandyng: alas! what shall become of us?"

After dyner, that preste resorted unto us, as bolde as great Hercules; and, after a little talke, fell to flat raylinge of good Myles Coverdale, their bishop, after this sort: "Where is that heretyke knave now, (sayth he) and other of his companions, vagabondes, apostates, and runnegates?" With other uncomly wurdes. And, as I was bent to have made him an answeare, a gentilman of the countrey therabout rubbed me on the elbowe, and bad me, in mine eare, to lete him alone, and I shulde heare wonders. And the seyde gentilman brought him into an other talke of olde familiaritees: wherin he confessed, that he had, in one daye, bygetten ii mennis wyves, of that parishe, with childe; to encrease the churches profyght in crisyms and offeringes, where as their husbundes were not able to do it. "Yea, mary Sir James, (sayth the gentleman,) and ye have done more miracles than that: went ye not one day a fishing?" sayth he. "Yes, by the masse ded I, (sayde the preste againe) and made the fyshes more holye, than ever the whoresons were afore: for I sent out my maker amonge them, whome I had that daye receyed at the aulter. By the masse, (quoth he) I was able to holde him no longar. Sens that daye, I am sure, (quoth he,) that our fyshars hath had better lucke than ever they had afore."

Thus whan he had raged by the space of more than an hour, the last peale calling him thens to evensonge, the gentilman sayd unto me, "These are the ghostly fathers, which now are permitted to be our spirituall gydes. Are not we (sayth he,) wele apoynted, thynke yow? The Lorde be mercyfull to us; for it is sure a plague for our unthaukefulness, whils we had the truthe. Such lewde bawdie prestes as this is, (sayde he,) doth wonderfully now rejoyce; not for any vertue they loke for, but in hope to be mainteined in libertie of all wickednesse, more than of late dayes." Whan supper was done, certen of the mariners resorted to us, declaringe what an uncomly part the preste had played with their pypar, as that he pyssed in his mouthe, beinge gapinge a-slepe in the churche after evensonge. This is the bewteouse face of our Irishe and English churches at this present: the poore people are not taught, but mocked of their mynysters, their servautes abused, their wives and daughters defyled, and all Christen order confounded.

As the wether waxed fayre, the captaine went awaye with the shippe, and was more than ii miles on his waie; mindinge, as it apeared, to have gone awaye with all that I had, moneye, apparell, and bokes, if the winde had served him wele. The costomers servaunt, an Irishe man also, beinge admonished by his countreyman Walter, of my moneye in the captaine's handes, came to my lodginge in the morninge, and tolde me therof; thinkinge, as I had bene in possession therof, if I had come to lande agayne therewith, to have raysed newe rumours upon me, and so to have deprived me therof: for he shewed himself very servisable in providinge me a boate, and in bringinge me to the shippe. but whan he ones perceived, that I wolde not demaunde my moneye of the captaine, and returne agayne with him, (though I gave him a crowne for his boate and paynes,) yet went he awaye in great displeasure, with no small reproches. And, at that present, was the forseid Walter bannished the shippe for his only troublinge of me, so benivolouse that houre was the captaine unto me.

The next daye after, I demaunded my moneye of the captaine, and it was very honestly delivered me; all scysmes, as I thought, pacified. Howbeit, that wretched mammon most strongly wrought in the unquietouse harte of the captaine; so that, continually after that tyme he threttened to sett us on lande; and marvele it was, that he threwe us not both over the borde. Alwayes were we wele contented to have gone to lande, but yet still he drove it of till we came into Dover roade; I not understandinge the misterie

concerning the seyde moneye, as that it was in my hande and not in the captaine's; which marred all the whole matter.

In the mean tyme they went a roavinge by a whole weke's space and more. And first they take an Englishe shippe of Totnes going towards Britaine, and loaden with tinne, and that they spoiled both of ware and moneye under the colour of Frenche mennis goodes. The next daye in the afternoone, behelde they ii English shippes more, whom they chaced all that night longe, and the nexte daye also till x of the clocke; and of them they toke one, by reason that his topsaile brake, and that was a shippe of Lynne. In this had they nothinge but apples, for he went for his loadinge. After that, traced they the seas over more than halfe a weke, and found none there but their owne countrey men; beinge men of warre and sea-robbers as they were.

At the last they came to Dover Roade, and there wolde the captaine nedes to lande with his purser. My companion Thomas and I, takinge ourselves for free passengers, desiered to go a-lande with them: but that might not be, he sayde, till he had bene there afore. "Yes, (sayth Thomas,) I will go a-lande if any man go; for I have nothing to do here." "Thou shalt not go, (sayth the captaine,) but I will laye thee fast by the fete, if thou prate any more." With that one Cornelis stode fourth, and sayde, "We are muche to blame, that we have not dispatched him ere this, and throwne him over the borde." Than doubted I some myschefe in wurkinge amonge them; for one Martin, an English pyrate, but yet a French man borne, (beinge sumtyme Tompson's man, and after that Stranguyshe's man, and now one of their unthriftie nombre,) had made them beleve, that I was he which not only had put downe the masse in Englande; but also I had caused doctour Gardiner, the Bishopp of Winchestre, to be kepte so longe in the Tower, and that also I had poy-sened (whome I loved and revered above all mortall men) the kinge; with many other most prodigious lyes.

So went the captaine and his purser with all these newes a-lande, havinge also with them my bishoppe's seale, and ii. epistles sent me from Conradus Gesnerus and Alexander Alesius, with commendacions from Pellicanus, Pomeranus, Philippus Melancthon, Joachimus Camerarius, Mathias Flacius, and other learned men, desierouse of the Englishe churches antiquytees and doctrines; which letters I had receyved at Dublyme, the daye afore I came to the shippe, and not yet answered them. These epistles and seale, with an other letter sent to me from the counsell of Englande, (concerninge my first callinge to that pastorall office,) they had taken out of my male, unknowinge to me. For that they had seane the kinge's armes in my seale, as the maner is of byshoppe's seales, they layde to my charge the counterfettinge of the kinge's seale, upon the ii. epistles, heresie, and upon the counsel's letter, conspiracie against the quene: so wele were they overseane in that malice for moneye. In Dover, amonge all his cuppes, this captaine discovered these matters; as what a man he had gotten into the borders of Irelande, suspiciously passage over from thens towards Scotlande, with all the reest. And, as he had perceived some of the hearers desierouse of that praie, he called a great pece of his tale backe againe, and sayde, that he had sett us a-lande at Southampton, and so letten us go. His minde was to have solde me, if any man wolde have offered him a good somme of moneye.

After midnyght, he returned agayne to the shippe, pratinge amonge his company, what he had done a-lande, and how he had almost lost all, by his busye talke. "But he had hearde of me (he sayde) muche more than he knewe afore; and he trusted that I shulde be to him, and to all the shippe, a profitable prise." The next daye in the morn. inge, after his first slepe, he arose; and, with stought countenance, boasted that he wolde strayght to London, with his most daungerouse carryage, which were we ii. poore innocent sowles, that had done ill to no man, savinge that we coude not beare with the blasphemies of the Papistes against God and his Christe. Muche to and fro was amonge them about that passage. In the ende, they all concluded, that better it was to tarry still there with the shippe, whils one or ii of them went to the counsell of Englande, in

massage, and came againe, than thyrde to travaile with shippe and all. To lande goeth the purser and an other besides, to hyre their horses towards London; "for mountaines of golde wolde be gotten that wayes," they sayde.

As I behelde this madnesse, though I little than cared for my life, yet sayde I to the captaine, "Maistre captaine, what do yow meane by these strange turmoilinges? Thinke ye, there is no God? Neither yet a reckeninge to be made, at the lattre day, of these mad procedinges? The time hath bene sens our first metinge, that ye have taken me for an honest passenger, and defended my innocencie against that cruel pyrate Walter. How standeth it with equity than, that ye now proclaime me so haynouse a traitor? I am sure that ye knowe now no more by me, than ye ded afore. Your allegacions, that I had put downe the masse, emprisoned Doctour Gardiner, and poysened the kinge, are most false, as all the worlde knoweth. My seale, and my other letters, are plaine argumentes of my truthe and honest estimacion, and might be to your confusion, if I chaunced to have righteouse hearers. I praie yow therfor in conscience, that ye tell me what euyll ye knowe els by me, that ye make here so terrible doynges?" "I can not see, (sayth the captaine,) that ye will be ordered after anye good sort." My only misordre was than, that my moneye was in my purse, and not in his. Whereunto I answered, with an hart full of dolour and heavinesse, to beholde mennis so dampnable practises of myschefe for fylthie lucre's sake. "I am contented, maistre captaine, (sayd I,) to be ordered as ye will reasonably have me." "What will ye gyve than, (sayde the captaine,) to be delivered into Flaunders; and our purser to be called againe?" I answered, "That I wolde gyve as his selfe wolde, with reason and conscience require." "If ye had told us so much yester night (sayde he,) this matter had bene at a point, and we by this tyme had bene in Zelande." Than was all the rable of the shippe, hag, tag, and rag, called to the reckeninge, rushelinge together as they had bene the cookes of helle, with their great Cerberus; and an whole hundred pounce demaunded for my deliveraunce.

In the ende it was concluded, that no lesse might aswage that hungrye heate, than fiftie pounce at the least; with this proviso, that all the moneye, which I had in my purse, with part of my garmentes also, shulde be out of hande devyded amonge them and the captaine; whiche was xxi. pounce in the whole. I instantly desiered, that it might be receyved in part of payment of the other somme. They cried all, with one voice, "Naye, we will none of that." Than I besought them, that I might have, at least, an honest porcion thereof, for payment of my charges, whils I shulde be providinge of so great a raunsome, as they had layde to me.

In fine, they assented, that I shulde have vi crownes of myne owne moneye allowed me for my costes, till I had founde out my frendes. Than caused the captaine a pece of ordinaunce to be fiered, and a gunne to be lete, to call backe the purser and his companion; in whose returne there was muche to and fro; for some wolde nedes to London, thinkinge that waye to winne more, than to bringe me into Flaunders. And of them which wolde into Flaunders, some wolde to lande for a barrell of drinke; for in the shippe, at that time, was neither breade, befe, nor beere. Some feared the comminge of the mayre and captaine of the castell for searchinge their shippe; so that our captaine commaunded them at the last to hoise up the sayles, and spedily to passe towards Flaunders. In the mean tyme was I, poore sowle, compelled to set my hande to a false bylle of their devisinge, as, That I had hyred their shippe in Irelande, for fiftie pounce, to bringe me, without delaye or tarriance, into Zelande: Which I never ded, as the Almighty Lord wele knoweth, but came from thens with them against my will, and was tossed to and fro upon the seas, by the space of xxiiii. dayes, in folowinge prises, as they call their roberies; and I was, by that time, so full of lyce, as I coulde swarme.

As we came ones thydre, they brought me into the howse of one of the iiii. owners of the shippe, which was a man fearinge God; and his wyfe, a woman of muche godlynesse also; which was to me a carefull creature, a singular comfort provided of God. The next daye were all the iiii. owners called to the reckeninge, and a Latyne interpretour wyth them, to knowe howe, where, and whan this raunsome of fiftie pounce shulde be payde; and

more than xxvi. dayes of layser for the payment therof might not be graunted. I desiered to have had libertie to go abroade to seke my frindes, but that coulde I not obtaine; though it were in my formar couvenaunt, whan the vi crownes were delivered me. In the afternoone was it noysed abroade, by the dronken mariners all over, that they had brought suche a one with them out of Irelande, as payed halfe an hundred pounce for his passage, to the wonderinge of all the towne; so that my hoste was fayne to kepe me close in his howse, and to saye, both to the mariners and others, that I was gone to Andwerpe; the people there resorted so fast to see me: they reported there also, in their dronkenesse, that I was he which had put downe the masse in Englande, and had throwne Doctour Gardiner into the Tower, wyth a great sort of lyes and slaunders more.

Thus continued I there, as a prisoner, by the space of iii. wekes, sumtyme threttened to be throwne in their commen jayle, sumtyme to be brought afore the magistrates, sumtyme to be left to the examinacion of the clergie, sumtyme to be sent to London, or els to be delivered to the quene's embassadours at Brucels; but alwayes (by God's provysyon) I had myne hoste and hostesse to frendes. And, beholde a most wondrefull wurke of God! The persone of the towne, a most cruell monke, a maistre of Louayne, and an inquisitor of heretykes, as they call those rabyes, the next daye after my comminge sore syckened, and never came out of his bedde, so longe as I was there; which was greatly marked of some of the inhabitauntes, beinge godly affected. At the last, in deliberatinge the matter, that they requyred so muche moneye of me, and wolde not suffre me to go abroade to seke it, mine hoste bad the captaine and mariners considre how farre they had ronne beyonde the limites of their commission, in mysusynge the Englishe nacion, with whome they had no warre. "It may chaunce herafter (sayth he) depely to be layde to your charges; therefore, by my assent, ye shall agree with this good man for lesse moneye." Than were they contented to receyve xxx. pounce, as I shulde be able to paye it; and so to discharge me.

Thus hathe my Lorde God most miraculously delivered me from all those daungerouse pannels, and from the gredye mouthes of devourynge lions, into the wurthie lande of Germanye yet ones againe; I hope to the glorie of his most holie name; everlastinge praise be to him for it. Amen.²⁰

Here have ye, dere frendes, a most lyvely and wondrefull example of God's chastenynges, and of his most gracyouse deliveraunces agayne; for no chosen chylde receyveth he to enherytaunce, without muche correction, Hebre. 12. The mercyfull Lorde throweth down into helle, and bringeth from thens agayne, 1 Reg. 2. Though Sathan be suffred, as whete, to syfte us for a time, yet faileth not our fayth, through Christe's ayde, but that we are at all tymes readye to confirme the faythe of our weake bretherne, Luce 22. I thought my selfe now of late, for the cares of this lyfe, wele setteled in the bishopricke of Ossorie in Irelande, and also wele quieted in the peceable possession of the pleasaunt Euphrates; I confesse it: but the Lorde of his mercye wolde not there leave me: what though, for the small tyme, I was in his vyneyarde not at all an ydell wurkeman? But he hath provyded me, I perceyve it, to taste of a farre other cuppe.

By vyolence hath he yet ones agayne, (as ye in this treatise have redde,) driven me out of that gloryouse Babylon, that I shulde not taste to muche of her wanton pleasures; but, with his most derely beloved disciples, to have my inwarde rejoyce in the crosse of his Sonne Jesus Christ; the glorie of whose church (I see it wele) standeth not in the harmoniouse sounde of belles and organes, nor yet in the glitterynge of miters and coopes; neither in the shyninge of gylte ymages and lyghtes, as the blinde bludderinge papistes do judge it, but in continuall labours and dayly afflyctions for his name's sake. God, at this present, in Englande, hath his fanne in hande, and, after his great harvest there, is

²⁰ [On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Bale returned to England, but not to his bishopric in Ireland; contenting himself with a prebend in the cathedral church of Canterbury, to which he was promoted the 15th of January, 1560. He died in November, 1563, in the 68th year of his age, at Canterbury; and was buried in the cathedral. Biog. Brit. Kippi's edit. Vol. I. p. 533.]

now syfinge the corne from the chaffe: blessed shall they be, which persever in faythe to the ende! In case, without doubt, is Englande now, as was Jewrie, after the heavenly doctryne was there plentuously sowne by Christe and by his Apostles, the true mynisters of his wurde beinge partly enprisoned, and partly dispersed, as they were: God of his great mercye preserve it from that plague of destruction, which not only Hierusalem, but also that whole lande, tasted, for their wylfull contempte of that massage of their salvation. Amen.

I wryte this unto the, thou sorrowfull Church of Englande, that in the middes of thy afflictions thou shuldest not despayre. Beholde how graciously, (yea, if I maye so speake it,) how miraculously and gloriously, the heavenly Lorde hath delyvered me, his most unworthie servaunt of all men, and an excedinge great sinner. He called me of grace to that office in his vyneyarde; by sore persecucions he proved me of love, and at the lattre of mercye and goodnesse he preserved me from the deadly furye of most fearce enemies. Thy callinge to the Gospell is not unknowne to the, thou carefull congregacion. Now suffrest thou persecucions diversly, for not regardinge the time of thy visitacion. Repent yet in the ende, and doubtlesse thou shalt have a most prosperouse delyveraunce. They are no noblemen, that do vexe the at this present. They are but pilde peltinge prestes, knightes of the dongehill, though they be sir swepestretes, maistre doctours, and lorde bishoppes. Loke upon their faces, though thou measure not them by their frutes, and thou shalt sone knowe their vertues. They are fierye, hawtie, and lecherouse as gootes, the chastest amonge them. But that shall other mennis wyves knowe, and not thou. A wele papped pygion of Paules is wholsome (they saye) for a tippetted gentelman of the pope's spialte, in a darke eveninge, to coole the contagiouse heates of a coltish confessour.

No noblemen are they, which trouble the in this age, as I told the afore: for true nobylitie never yet hated the truthe of God, but hath advaunced it by all ages. Examples we have in Adam, Noe, Abraham, Moyses, David, Josias, Nycodeme, Joseph, Kyng Lucius, Constantine, Justinyane, Theodosysius, King Arthour, Alphrede, Ethelstane, Henry the Seconde, Edward the Thirde, and now last of all, the virgine Kinge Edward the vi. which never was defyled with the pope's ydolatries. Immortall fame, and note of renowne, remayneth yet to them for it. 'Such men (sayth the Lord) as worshipp me, 'will I make worshipfull; and they, that despise me, shall become ignoble or wretched;' i. Reg. 2. These will not take awaye the keye of knowlege from God's people, as do the hypocrites; Math. 23. and as the wicked lawers do also; Luce 11. wo to them for it. But as the noble David requireth, they will open the gates that the kinge of glorie maie entre. Open the gates, (sayth he,) O ye noblemen; lete the everlastinge dores be opened, that the kinge of glorie may come in, Ps. 24.

If any be wicked in this behalfe, which beare the name of noblemen and women, lete them wele weygh with themselves, how Pharo, Antiochus, Herode, and suche other, whome God by princely autoritie had made noble, by only tirannie against his manifest truthe, are now become more vile, than any kichine slave or yet lazar. *Felix* (sayth Horace) *quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum*: 'Happie is he, whome an other mannish misfortune maketh wyse.'

Over the now triumpheth the bishoppes, the pharisees, the prestes, and the covetouse lawers. At thy late soden fall, rejoyceth the hypocrites, the epicures, the ydolatours, and the wicked papistes. What shall I saye more? Johan Baptist is now derided in the prison. Jesus, the Sonne of God, is grenned at upon the crosse. Paule now in Athens is hyssed at. The poore Apostles are sliely laughed to scorne. Naye, shall I yet saye more: Mycheas is smitten on the face, whils Sedechias plaieth the false harlot; 2 Paral. 18. Helias is driven into the wilderness, whils Baal's chaplaines are banketinge amonge ladies; 3 Reg. 18. Esaye is contempned whils the prestes are given to ydolatrie and drunkennesse; Esa. 28. Hieremie is sore afflicted, while Semeias perverteth the truthe of the Lorde; Hiere. 29. Daniel is throwne into the lyons denne, whils myschefes aie in wurkinge amonge the wicked; Dan. 6. Peter is accused of the bishoppes wenche, whils Cayphas sitteth in consistorie, condemninge the innocent; Math. 26. Steven is called to a

reckeninge, whils the prestes and wicked lawers are bannishinge the Gospell; Acto. 6. Antipas (they saye) is now slaine at Pergamos, whils Simon Magus triumpheth in Samaria; Apo. 2. And Johan-Zebede is sent into Pathmos, whils Cerinthus, Menander and Hebion playe the heretike knaves at home; Apo. 1. well, lete them plye it a pace. It maye chaunce to cost theyr poluted Hierusalem a fowle overthrowe, for so persecutyng the servauntes of God, in her whoredome; Esa. 1. yea, servauntes I say; for they served faithfully in the paynefull office of the gospell.

Those ydell mercenaries not only loyter in the vineyarde, but also like cruell wolves they ravishe and destroye; Joan. 10. Of that which God hath expressly forbidden, they make nowe a solempne religion, both in the refusall of mariage, and in the prodygyouse veneracyon of ymages, sayinge yea, to his nay; and naye, to his yea. God sayth, it is not good for man to be alone, without an helpe, which is a wife in mariage; Gene. 2. They saye contrariously, that it is more than good; for it is holy, religiouse, and prest-like, to have no wives of their owne, whatsoever they have of other mennis, besides buggery boyes. I trowe Doctour Weston will saye none other at this daye; what though not longe ago he brent a beggar in S. Botolphes parishe without Bishopsgate, gevinge her no worse than he had received afore of that religiouse occupieng. The same Weston proponed to another woman of his parishe, which was a mannis wife, that her husbände being a slepe, she might lawfully occupie with him, by vertue of this texte, *Mulier, dormiente viro, a lege soluta est.* 1 Cor. 7. If this Scripture were not religiously applyed, lete them tell me which knowe the right handelinge of them. Whils this priapustick prelate is prolocutor in the convocation-howse, I trust we shall lacke no good lawes for religion, the man is so religiouse. O abhominacion! though they now are busily spisinge and paintinge of a toorde (the ydolatrouse masse) yet will a toorde be but a stinkinge toorde, both in smelle and syght; pepper him and bawme him, garnish him and gilde him, as wele as they can, all the packe of them. To conclude:—Now are their most filthie buggeries in the darke, with their other prodigiouse whoredomes, holden a most pure state of livinge; holy mariage disgraced, contempned, and bannished.

God sayth, 'Thou shalt make no graven ymage to worshipp.' They say, 'Ye shall not only make ymages, but ye shall also gylde them, sense them, worshipp them, and axe helpe of them; for whie, they are the layemennis gospell.' In dede Porphirius the blasphemouse heretike, and troubler of the Christen Church, (as Eusebius reporteth him,) was the first that called them the layemennis calender. And though S. Gregorie the Great, cominge after, confirmed the same calender; yet shall it remaine an horrible blasphemie, bycause God hath in paine of dampnacion forbidden it. Epiphanius, that worthie father of the Church, nombreth the worshippinge of our Ladye's image among heresies.

If we be of his opinion, we must judge yow no lesse than most pernicious heretikes. Moreover, it is now become a religion agayne in Englande, to call upon dead men, with *Sancte Petre ora pro nobis.* This also is fatched from the olde paganes sorceries; for holde hath it none of the Scriptures canonicall. How howlinge and jabberinge in a foren language shulde become God's service, that can I not tell. But wele I wrote that S. Paule's doctrine doth utterly condempne it, as supersticiouse beggerie; bycause it is but an ydell noise and nothings to edificacion. 1 Cor. 14.

Some men peraventure will marvele, that I, utteringe matters of Irelande, shulde omitt, in this treatise, to write of coyne and lyverie: which are so cruell pillages and oppressions of the poor commens there, as are no where els in this whole earthe, neither undre wicked Saracene nor yet cruell Turke, besides all prodigiouse kindes of lecherie and other abhominacions therin committed. Thre causes there are, which hath moved me not to expresse them here. One is, for so muche as they pertaine nothings to the tyttle of this boke, which all concerneth religion. An other is for that the matter is so large, as requireth a muche larger volume. The third cause is, for that I have known ii worthie men, (whome I will not nowe name) to have done that thinge so exactly, as no man (I suppose) therein can amende them. But this will I utter brevely, that the Irishe lordes and their undre

captaines, supportinge the same, are not only companions with theves, as the prophete reporteth, Esa. 1, but also they are their wicked maisters and maintainers. So that they both coupled togyther, the murtherer with his maistre, and the thefe with his maintener, leyve nothinge undevoured behinde them in that fertile region; no more than ded the devouringe locustes of Egypt, Exo. 10. Anon after their harvestes are ended there, the kearnes, the galloglasses, and the other brechelesse souldiers, with horses and their horse-gromes, sumtyme iii waitinge upon one jade, enter into the villages with much crueltie and fearcenesse; they continue there in great ravine and spoyle; and, whan they go thens, they leave nothinge else behinde them for payment, but lice, lecherye, and intollerable penurie for all the yeare after. Yet set the rulers therupon a very fayre colour, that it is for defence of the Englishe pale. I besiche God to sende such protection a shorte ende, and their lordes and captaines also, if they see it not sone amended. For it is the utter confusyon of that lande, and a maintenaunce to all vices.

Thre peoples are in Irelande in these dayes, prestes, lawers, and kearnes, which will not suffre faythe, truthe, and honestye, to dwell there; and all these have but one God, their bellye, and glory in that wicked feate to their shame, whose ende is dampnation; Phil. 3. I speake only of those which are bredde and borne there, and yet not of them all. These, for the more part, are sworne bretherne togyther in myschefe; one to maintaine an others maliciouse cause, by murther previly procured. And, to bringe their conceyved wickednesse to passe, they can do great miracles in this age, by vertue of transubstanciacion belyke; for therin are they very conninge: for they can very wittely make of a tame Irishe, a wilde Irishe for nede; so that they shall serve their turne so wele as though they were of the wilde Irish in dede. Lyke as they ded properly and fynely, in the most shamefull and cruell slaughter of my v. servauntes, by the Lorde Mountgarrette's kearnes, and the Barne of Upper Ossorye's farye knyghtes. By suche fyne conveniaunce of accusinge the wilde Irishe, and colour of the holy daye broken, (as is written afore,) they can alwayes apere to have fayre white handes, and to be innocent maydes, what murther so ever is by them committed. But I axe of the prestes, chiefely of Richard Routhe the treasurer, and of Sir James Joys, his companion, what they ment by their so oft rydinge to that Barne of Upper Ossorie, whan I was dwellinge at Holmes Court: whome they neverthelesse to me reported, to be the most errande thefe and mercilesse murtherer of all the lande? And what they have ment also, to be so familiar with the furiose famelye of Mountgarrett? Commenly resortinge in the endes of all those journayes to the howse of Barnabe Bolgar. As I suspected the matter than, so have I sens that time proved it effectually true. Moreover, I myght axe of the lawers, why they seke to have so many theves and murtherers perdoned; specially whan they have slaine Englishe men, and done their robberies within the English pale? But at this time I leave them, and returne again to my purpose.

Now must I saye sumwhat to the, thou carefull Church of Englande, concerninge thy misbehave against thy most lovinge Creatour. God chose the for his elect vyneyarde; yea, he plenteously poured and prepared the. 'But, whan thou shuldest have brought hym fourth frute; for grapes thou gavest him thornes;' Esa. 7. He looked to have had at thy handes, after the Gospell preachinge there, faythe, knowledge, feare, love, repentaunce, obedience, true invocacion, and hartie thanks for his manifolde giftes, with such other wholesome frutes of lyfe. And, in stede of them, thou hast brought fourth ydolatrie, blindenesse, impenitencie, frowardnesse, crueltie, pride, fornication, unclennesse, covetousnesse, ingratefull contempte of the truthe, and hate of the faithfull preachers therof; with other sower crabbes of dampnation.

Thou woldest fain be like the malignaunt Church of the Papistes, prosperouse and welthe in worldly affaires, and therwith sumwhat gloriouse; but thy eternal Father in Heaven will not so have the, but by persecucions transfourmeth the into the very similitude of his derely beloved Sonne, to whome he hath espoused the, to reign with him at the lattre in eternal glorie.

God hath sufficiently declared in the Scripture, what his Church is in this worlde; as that it is an afflicted and sorowfull congregacion, forsaken in a maner, and destitute of all humaine confort in this lyfe. It maye right wele be compared to a flocke of orphanes, which, beinge destitute of father and mother, are in this worlde subject to manye sorowfull calamitees and miseryes: but, because that poore Church shulde not utterly discourage, in her extreme adversitees; the Sonne of God hath taken her to his spowse, and hath promised her protection, helpe, and confort in all her afflictions and pears: so that she maye at all tymes confort herselfe with this verse of David, 'Though my father and mother hath left me, yet hath the Lorde taken me up for his;' Psalm 26. In the first promyse was she taken to grace after transgression, and assured of delyveraunce from sinne, deathe, helle, and the devyl: for, if God had not most wonderfully collected her togyther, preserved her, saved her, and defended her; it had not bene possible for her to have escaped in so horrible daungers, as were in the universall floude, in the burninge of Sodome and Gomer, undre the tirannie of Pharaos, in the journeie through the Red Sea, in the captivite of Babylon, and destruction of Jerusalem, and in so manye wonderfull alteracyons and terribyle ruynes of the Romane empyre; so manye devyls, paganes, Mahumetes, Turkes, Jewes, epicures, heretykes, popes, byshoppes, monkes, prestes, and tyrauntes reigne.

A perpetuall and unplacable enemye is Sathan, and evermore hath bene to that poore congregacion; sekinge not only to disfigure her, but also to spoyle her and destroye her utterlye. Like as it is sayed, Gen. 3. 'That he shulde treade Christe on the heele.' This excedinge great benefight of the goodnesse of God ought to be remembred, that he, after the sinne of our first parentes, not only received this Church to grace, but also hath ever sens both preserved and defended it: but alac! great is the untowardnesse, and muche is the hardenesse of mannis harte, that he neglecteth so high a benefight as is also the patefaction of Christe in the Gospel, by whome we are redemed, and so remayne unthankfull for the same. A most swete voyce is it unto us, from the Son of God, Jesus Christ, that he will not leave us as orphanes, or fatherlesse and motherlesse children, without confort, but will come unto us; Joan. 14. That is, like a gentill and mercifull Lorde he will continually stande by his church, assistinge, helpinge, and scouringe it alwaies. 'I will be with yow (saith he) to the end of the worlde;' Math. 28. Lete this be thy confort, thou sorowfull Church of Englande; and staie thy selfe in him which was incarnate, lyved, wrought, taught, and dyed for thy sinne; yea, he arose from the deathe, and ascended to heaven for thy justificacion, Rom. 4. Cleave thou fast to him; repent thy folyes past, and take heede to thy doynges from hensfourth. Praye and fast busily, for this frantyeck kinde of devyls is never taken awaye, but in prayer and fastinge; Math. 17. So shalt thou be restored plenteously, and florish in vertues hereafter fruitfully, to the prayse of one God eternal, which liveth and reigneth worlde without ende. Amen.

The Character of a Coffee-House, with the Symptoms of a
Town-Wit. With Allowance, April 11th, 1673.

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A COFFEE-HOUSE is a lay-conventicle, good-fellowship turned puritan, ill-husbandry in masquerade; whither people come, after toping all day, to purchase, at the expense of their last penny, the repute of sober companions: a rota-room, that, like Noah's ark, receives animals of every sort, from the precise diminutive band, to the hec-toring cravat and cuffs in folio; a nursery for training up the smaller fry of virtuosi in confident tattling, or a cabal of kittling criticks that have only learned to spit and mew; a mint of intelligence, that, to make each man his penny-worth, draws out into petty parcels, what the merchant receives in bullion. He, that comes often, saves two-pence a week in Gazettes, and has his news and his coffee for the same charge, as at a three-penny ordinary they give in broth to your chop of mutton; it is an exchange where haberdashers of political small-wares meet, and mutually abuse each other, and the publick, with bottomless stories, and headless notions; the rendezvous of idle pamphlets, and persons more idly employed to read them; a high court of justice, where every little fellow in a camlet cloke takes upon him to transpose affairs both in church and state, to shew reasons against acts of parliament, and condemn the decrees of general councils. It is impossible to describe it better than the most ingenious of the Latin poets¹ has done it to our hand, and that so excellently, we cannot but transcribe it:

*Unde, quod est usquam quamvis regionibus absit
Inspicitur, penetrátque cavas vox omnis ad aures:
Nocte, diéque patent, tota est ex ære sonanti,
Tota fremit, vocésque refert, iterátque quod audit.
Nulla quies intus; nulláque silentia parte,
Nec tamen est clamor, sed parvæ murmura vocis:
Qualia de pelagi (si quis procul audiat) undis
Esse solent, qualemve sonum cùm Jupiter atras
Increpuit nubes, extrema tonitrua reddunt;
Atria turba tenent, veniunt leve vulgus, euntque;
Mistáque cum veris passim commenta vagantur,
Millia rumorum, confusáque verba volutant:
E quibus hi vacuas implent sermonibus aures,
Hi narrata ferunt aliò, mensuráque ficti
Crescit, & auditis aliquid novus adjicit auctor.
Illic credulitas, illic temerarius error,
Vanáque lætitia est, consternatique timores,
Seditiòque recens, dubiòque auctore susurri.
Ipsa quid in cælo rerum, pelagóque geratur
Et tellure videt, tomúmque inquirat in orbem.*

¹ [Ovid, vide Metamorph. lib. xii. 41.]

Thus strictly Englished :

Here all that's done, though far remote, appears,
 And in close whispers penetrates our ears ;
 As built of brass, the house throughout resounds,
 Reports things heard, and every word rebounds.
 No rest within, nor silence, yet the noise
 Not loud, but like a hollow murmuring voice ;
 Such as from far by rolling waves is sent,
 Or like Jove's fainting thunder almost spent :
 Hither the idle vulgar come and go,
 Carrying a thousand rumours to and fro ;
 With stale reports some list'ning ears do fill,
 Some coin fresh tales in words that vary still ;
 Lyes mixt with truth, all in the telling grows,
 And each relator adds to what he knows.
 Here dwells rash error, light credulity,
 Sad panick fears, joys built on vanity ;
 New rais'd sedition, secret whisperings,
 Of unknown authors, and of doubtful things :
 All acts of heav'n and earth it boldly views,
 And, through the spacious world, inquires for news.

The room stinks of tobacco worse than hell of brimstone, and is as full of smoke as their heads that frequent it, whose humours are as various as those of Bedlam, and their discourse oftentimes as heathenish and dull as their liquor ; that liquor, which, by its looks and taste, you may reasonably guess to be Pluto's diet-drink, that witches tipples out of dead men's skulls, when they ratify to Belzebub their sacramental vows.

This Stygian puddle-seller was formerly notorious for his ill-favoured cap, that aped a turban ; and, in conjunction with his antichristian face, made him appear perfect Turk. But of late, his wife being grown acquainted with gallants, and the provocative virtue of chocolate, he finds a broad-brimmed hat more necessary. When he comes to fill you a dish, you may take him for Guy Faux with a dark lanthorn in his hand, for no sooner can you taste it, but it scalds your throat, as if you had swallowed the gunpowder-treason. Though he seem never so demure, you cannot properly call him pharisee, for he never washes either out or inside of his pots or dishes, till they be as black as an usurer's conscience ; and then only scraping off the contracted soot, makes use of it, in the way of his trade, instead of coffee-powder : their taste and virtue being so near of kin, he dares defy the veriest coffee-critic to distinguish them. Though he be no great traveller, yet he is in continual motion, but it is only from the fire-side to the table ; and his tongue goes infinitely faster than his feet, his grand study being readily to echo an answer to that threadbare question, " What news have you, Master ? " Then with a grave whisper, yet such as all the room may hear it, he discovers some mysterious intrigue of state, told him last night by one that is barber to the taylor of a mighty great courtier's man : relating this with no less formality than a young preacher delivers his first sermon, a sudden hick-up surprises him, and he is forced twenty times to break the thread of his tale with such necessary parentheses, " Wife, sweep up those loose corns of tobacco, and see the liquor boil not over." He holds it as part of his creed, that the great Turk is a very good christian, and of the reformed church, because he drinks coffee ; and swears that Pointings, for celebrating its virtues in doggerel, deserves to be poet-laureat : yet is it not only this hot hell-broth that he sells, for never was mountebank furnished with more variety of poisonous drugs, than he of liquors ; tea and aromack for the sweet-toothed gentleman, betony and rosade for the addle-headed customer, back-recruiting chocolate for the consumptive gallant, Herefordshire redstreak made of rotten apples at the Three Cranes, true

Brunswick mum brewed at St. Catharine's, and ale in penny mugs, not so big as a taylor's thimble.

As you have a hodge-podge of drinks, such too is your company; for each man seems a leveller, and ranks and files himself as he lists, without regard to degrees or order; so that often you may see a silly fop and a worshipful justice, a griping rook and a grave citizen, a worthy lawyer and an errant pickpocket, a reverend nonconformist and a canting mountebank, all blended together to compose an oglio of impertinence.

If any pragmatick, to shew himself witty or eloquent, begin to talk high, presently the further tables are abandoned; and all the rest flock round, like smaller birds, to admire the gravity of madge-howlet. They listen to him a-while with their mouths, and let their pipes go out, and coffee grow cold, for pure zeal of attention; but, on the sudden, fall all a yelping at once with more noise, but not half so much harmony, as a pack of beagles on the full cry. To still this bawling, up starts Capt. All-man-sir, the man of mouth, with a face as blustering as that of Æolus and his four sons, in painting; and a voice louder than the speaking trumpet, he begins you the story of a sea-fight: and though he never were further, by water, than the Bear-garden, or Cuckold's-haven, yet, having pirated the names of ships and captains, he persuades you himself was present, and performed miracles; that he waded knee-deep in blood on the upper deck, and never thought to serenade his mistress so pleasant as the bullets whistling; how he stopped a vice-admiral of the enemy's under full sail, till she was boarded, with his single arm, instead of grappling-irons²; and puffed out, with his breath, a fire-ship that fell foul on them. All this he relates, sitting in a cloud of smoke, and belching so many common oaths to vouch it, you can scarce guess whether the real engagement, or his romancing account of it, be the more dreadful. However, he concludes with railing at the conduct of some eminent officers, (that, perhaps, he never saw,) and protests, had they taken his advice at the council of war, not a sail had escaped us.

He is no sooner out of breath, but another begins a lecture on the Gazette; where, finding several prizes taken, he gravely observes, "If this trade hold, we shall quickly rout the Dutch, horse and foot, by sea." He nicknames the Polish gentlemen wherever he meets them, and inquires, Whether Gayland and Taffaletta be Lutherans or Calvinists? *Stilo novo* he interprets 'a vast new style, or turnpike,' erected by his electoral highness on the borders of Westphalia, to keep Monsieur Turenne's cavalry from falling on his retreating troops: he takes words by the sound, without examining their sense: *Morea* he believes to be the country of the Moors, and *Hungary* a place where famine always keeps her court; nor is there any thing more certain, than that he made a whole room full of fops, as wise as himself, spend above two hours in searching the map for *aristocracy* and *democracy*; not doubting but to have found them there, as well as *Dalmatia* and *Croatia*.

Next, signior Poll takes up the cudgels, that speaks nothing but designs, projects, intrigues, and experiments; one of those in the old comedian, Plautus, *sciunt id quod in aurem rex reginæ dixerit, quod Juno confabulata est cum Jove, sciunt quæ neque facta sunt, tamen illi sciunt*, &c. All the councils of the German diet, the Romish conclave, and Turkish divan, are as well known to him as his laundress's smock. He kens all the cabals of the court to a hair's breadth, and (more than an hundred of us do) which lady is not painted: you would take his mouth for a lembeck, it distils his words so niggardly, as if he was loth to enrich you with lies, of which he has yet more plenty than Fox, Stowe, and Hollingshed bound up together. He tells you of a plot to let the lions loose in the Tower, and then blow it up with white powder; of five-hundred and fifty Jesuits all mounted on dromedaries, seen by moon-shine on Hampstead-heath; and a terrible design hatched by the College of Doway, to drain the narrow seas, and bring popery over dry shod: besides, he had a thousand inventions dancing in his brain-pan; an advice-boat on the stocks, that shall go to the East Indies and come back again in a fortnight; a trick to

² Vide Justin. lib. ii. de Cynægiro.

march under water, and bore holes through the Dutch ships keels with augres, and sink them, as they ride at anchor; and a most excellent pursuit to catch sun-beams, for making the ladies new-fashioned towers, that poets may no more be damned for telling lies about their curls and tresses.

But these are puny pugs: the arch devil, wherewith this smoke-hole is haunted, is the town-wit, one that plays *rex* wherever he comes, and makes as much hurry as Robin Goodfellow of old amongst our granam's milk-bowls; he is a kind of a squib on a rope; a meteor, composed of self-conceit and noise, that, by blazing and cracking, engages the wonder of the ignorant till, on a sudden, he vanishes and leaves a stench, if not infection, behind him: he is too often the stain of a good family, and, by his debauched life, blots the noble coat of his ancestors; a wild unbacked colt, whose brains are not half coddled, indebted for his clothes to his taylor, and for his wit (such as it is) to his company. The school had no sooner endued him with a few superficial sprinklings, but his mother's indulgence posted him to town for genteeler breeding; where three or four wild companions, half a dozen bottles of Burgundy, two leaves of Leviathan, a brisk encounter with his landlord's glass windows, the charms of a little miss, and the sight of a new play, dubbed him at once both a wit and a hero: ever since, he values himself mainly for understanding the town, and, indeed, knows most things in it that are not worth knowing. The two poles, whereon all his discourses turn, are atheism and bawdy: bar him from being profane or obscene, and you cramp his ingenuity, which forthwith flags and becomes useless; as a mere common lawyer when he has crossed the Channel.

He is so refractory to divinity, that morality itself cannot hold him; he affirms, human nature knows no such things, as principles of good and evil, and will swear all women are whores, though his mother and sister both stand by. Whatever is sacred or serious he seeks to render ridiculous, and thinks government and religion fit objects for his idle and fantastic buffoonry; his humour is proud and assuming, as if he would palliate his ignorance by scoffing at what he understands not; and therefore, with a pert and pragmatic scorn, depreciates all things of nobler moment, but most passionately affects pretty *a-la-mode* words; and is as covetous of a new song or air, as an antiquary of Cato's statue with never an arm, and but half a nose: these keep him always employed, and fill up the grotesco's of his conversation, whilst with a stately gallantry, once in every half hour, he combs out his wig, careens his breeches, and new marshals his garniture, to the tune of 'Methinks the poor Town has been troubled too long.'

His mind used to whistle up and down, in the levities of fancy; and effeminated by the childish toyings of a rampant imagination, finds itself indisposed for all solid employment; especially the serious exercises of piety and virtue, which begets an aversion to those lovely beauties, and that prompts him, on all occasions, to expose them as ridiculous and vain. Hence, by degrees, he comes to abuse sacred Scripture, makes a mock of eternal flames, jokes on the venerable mysteries of religion; and, in fine, scoffs at that all glorious and tremendous Majesty, before whom, his brother wits below tremble. It is true, he will not confess himself atheist, yet in his heart the fool hath said it, and boasts aloud, that he holds his gospel from the apostle of Malmsbury³; though it is more than probable, he never read, at least understood, ten leaves of that unlucky author: talk of witches, and you tickle him; speak of spirits, and he tells you, he knows none better than those of wine; name but immaterial essence, and he shall flout at you, as a dull fop incapable of sense, and unfit for conservation: nor is he ever better pleased, than when he can here hedge in some young raw divine to bullbait with scurrility, and all kind of profaneness.

By means of some small scraps of learning, matched with a far greater stock of confidence, a voluble tongue, and bold delivery, he has the ill luck to be celebrated by the

³ [Hobbes.]

vulgar, for a man of parts; which opinion gains credit to his insolencies, and sets him on further extravagancies, to maintain his title of a wit, by continuing his practice of fooling; whereas all his mighty parts are summed up in this inventory: ‘*Imprimis*, A peddling way of fancy, a lucky hit at quibbling, now and then an odd metaphor, a conceited irony, a ridiculous simile, a wild fetch, an unexpected inference, a mimick gesture, a pleasing knack in humouring a tale; and lastly, an irresistible resolution to speak last, and never be dashed out of countenance.’

By these arts, dexterously managed, he engrosses a vast repute; the grave citizen calls him a shrewd man, and notable headpiece; the ladies (we mean the things so called of his acquaintance) vote a most accomplished gentleman; and the blades swear, he is a walking comedy, the only merry-andrew of the age, that scatters wit, wherever he comes, as beggars do lice, or musk-cats perfumes; and that nothing, in nature and all, can compare with him.

You would think he had got the Lullian art, for he speaks *extempore* on all subjects, and ventures his words, without the relief of sense to second them; his thoughts start from his imagination, and he never troubles himself to examine their decency, or solidity, by judgment. To discourse him seriously, is to read ethicks to a monkey, or make an oration to Caligula’s horse, whence you can only expect a weehee, or jadish spurn; after the most convincing arguments, if he can but muster up one plausible joke, you are routed: for he, that understood not your logick, apprehends his droll; and, though syllogisms may be answered, yet jests and loud laughter can never be confuted, but have more sway to degrade things with the unthinking crowd, than demonstrations; there being a root of envy, in too many men, that invites them to applaud that, which exposes and vilifies what they cannot comprehend. He pretends great skill in curing the tetter and ring-worms of state, but blows in the sores, till they rankle with his poisonous breath; he shoots libels, with his forked tongue, at his superiors, and abuses his dearest friends, chusing to forfeit his neck to the gibbet, or his shoulders to the battoon, rather than lose the driest of his idle quibbles. In brief, he is the jack-pudding of society, a fleering buffoon; a better kind of ape in the judgment of all wisemen; but an incomparable wit, in his own.

Thus have we led you from board to board, like the fellow in the Tower, to shew you strange beasts, wherewith this place is sometimes frequented. To take now a farewell view of the house will be difficult, since it is always shifting scenes, and like ‘O Brazile, the enchanted island⁴,’ seldom appears twice in a posture; the wax candles burning, and low devout whispers sometimes strike a kind of religious awe; whilst the modish gallant swears so often by Jesu, an ignorant catholick would take it for a chapel, and think he were saying our lady’s psalter. In some places, the organs speak it a musick-room; at others, a pair of tables and draught-board, a small gaming-house; on a sudden it turns exchange, or a warehouse for all sorts of commodities, where fools are drawn in by inch of candle, as we betray and catch larks with a glass. The bully-rook makes it his bubbling-pond, where he angles for fops, singles out his man, insinuates an acquaintance, offers the wine, and, at next tavern, sets upon him with high fullums, and plucks him. The *ingeniosi* use it for an after-rehearsal, where they bring plays for repetition, sift each scene, examine every uncorrected line, and damn beyond the fury of the rota; whilst the *incognito* poet (out of an overweening affection to his infant wit) steals in, muffled up in his cloke, and sliely evesdrops like a mendicant mother to praise the prettiness of the babe, she has newly palmed on the parish.

But it is time to be gone, who knows what magick may be a working? For behold! the coffee-powder settles at the bottom of our dish, in form of a most terrible Saracen’s head.

⁴ [‘Or discovery of an island on the north of Ireland;’ a tract ascribed to Richard Head, and printed in 1675.]

For a parting blow then give us leave to unbend a little, and say, a coffee-house is a phanatick theatre, a hot-house to flux in for a clapped understanding, a sympathetical cure for the gonorrhœa of the tongue, or a refined bawdy-house, where illegitimate reports are got in close adultery, between lying lips and itching ears.

Si quid novisti rectius, candidus imperti.

Coffee-Houses Vindicated. In answer to the late published Character of a Coffee-House. Asserting from Reason, Experience, and good Authors, the excellent Use, and physical Virtues of that Liquor. With the grand Conveniency of such civil Places of Resort and ingenious Conversation.

London: Printed by J. Lock, for J. Clarke, 1675.

[Folio; containing eight Pages.]

WIT, of late, is grown so wanton, and the humour of affecting it, become so common, that each little fop, whose spongy brain can but coin a small drossy joke or two, presently thinks himself privileged to asperse every thing that comes in his way, though in itself never so innocent, or beneficial to the publick. To the influence of this predominant folly, we may not improperly refer the production of those swarms of insect pamphlets, which the press weekly spawns into the world; and, particularly, the nativity of that folio impertinence which occasions our present reflexions: a piece whose flaunting title raised our thoughts to an expectation of somewhat extraordinary; but, finding little in it but downright abuse, the quintessence of Billingsgate rhetoric, dregs of canting, and such rubbish language, as bubbling, bully-rock, fluxing, gonorrhœa, &c. Charity itself could not but suspect the author more conversant somewhere else than in coffee-houses; and conclude, those places (being too civil for a debauched humour) had given occasion for his exposing them as lay-conventicles, &c.

However, we shall preserve that equal regard to Solomon's double-faced advice, to answer and not answer such as our characterizing author, that we shall decline retorting any thing particularly to his scurrilities. Let the town wit (whom we leave to take his own satisfaction) fence with him, if he please, at those weapons: a formal answer would be too great an indulgence to his vanity, and make him think too considerably of himself. Besides, to reply, in the pitiful style of his peddling drollery, is to engage in a game at push-pin; and to say any thing serious, will be no more (to borrow his phrase) than reading a lecture to a monkey. Instead, therefore, of wasting our own or the reader's time so impertinently, we shall briefly endeavour to give you an account of the use and virtues of coffee, and next consider some of those many conveniencies coffee-houses afford us, both for business and conversation.

Though the happy Arabia, Nature's spicery, prodigally furnishes the voluptuous world with all kinds of aromatics, and divers other rarities; yet I scarce know whether mankind be not still as much obliged to it for the excellent fruit of the humble coffee-shrub, as for any other of its more specious productions. For, since there is nothing we here enjoy,

next to life, valuable beyond health; certainly those things that contribute to preserve us in good plight and eucrasy, and fortify our weak bodies against the continual assaults and batteries of diseases, deserve our regards much more than those which only gratify a liquorish palate, or otherwise prove subservient to our delights. As for this salutiferous berry, (of so general a use through all the regions of the East,) it is sufficiently known, when prepared, to be moderately hot, and of a very drying, attenuating and cleansing quality; whence reason infers, that its decoction must contain many good physical properties, and cannot but be an incomparable remedy to dissolve crudities, comfort the brain, and dry up ill humours in the stomach: in brief, to prevent or redress, in those that frequently drink it, all cold, drowsy rheumatick distempers whatsoever, that proceed from excess of moisture, which are so numerous, that but to name them would tire the tongue of a mountebank.

This consideration alone should, methinks, be sufficient to ingratiate it to our esteem, since the use thereof does thence appear absolutely necessary; especially to us in whom phlegm is apt to abound, both by reason of the northern situation of our country, and the ill habit of extraordinary drinking, grown too epidemical among us.

Experience proves, that there is nothing more effectual than this reviving drink, to restore their senses that have brutified themselves by immoderate tippling heady liquors, which it performs by its exsiccant property before-mentioned, that instantly dries up that cloud of giddy fumes, which, boiling up from the over-charged stomach, oppress the brain. But this, being only a kindness to voluntary devils, (as my Lord Coke calls common drunkards,) we should scarce reckon amongst coffee's virtues, did it not evidence its quality, and shew how beneficial it may prove by parity of reason, when designed to more worthy and noble uses; such as expelling wind, fortifying the liver, refreshing the heart, corroborating the spirits, both vital and animal, quickening the appetite, assisting digestion, helping the stone, taking away rheums and defluxions, with a thousand other kindnesses to nature, which we might enumerate, did we not think it a sufficient argument of its excellency only to observe, how universally it takes in the world: for we cannot, without an affront to our nature, imagine mankind so sottish, as greedily to entertain a drink that has nothing of sweetness to recommend it to the gust, nor any of those pleasant blandishments wherewith wine and other liquors tempt and debauch our palates, unless there were some more than ordinary virtue and efficacy in it; yet we see, without any of these insinuating advantages, coffee has so generally prevailed, that bread itself (though commonly with us voted 'the staff of life') is scarce of so universal use: for of that the Tartars and Arabians, vast and numerous people, eat little or none, whereas both they and the Turks, Persians, and almost all the eastern world, are so devoted to coffee, that besides innumerable public-houses for sale of it, there is scarce a private fire without it all day long; as any, that are but moderately acquainted with sashes and turbans, can witness. Is it not enough to silence the barking of our little wits against this innocent and wholesome drink, that it is so generally used by so many mighty nations, and those too celebrated for the most witty and sagacious?

Nor wants this liquor the suffrages of excellent authors. The famous Parkinson, (in his exquisite Herbal, page 1622,) commends it for the strengthening weak stomachs, helping digestion, and obstructions and tumours of the liver and spleen: the incomparable Verulam, (in his Natural History, fol. 155,) amongst other encomiums, asserts, that it comforteth the brain, and, by condensing the spirits, expelleth fear, and maketh them strong and cheerful: Sandys, in his Travels; and the judicious Sir H. B.⁴ both in his Voyage to the Levant, and elsewhere, speaks very advantageously of it; nor did the ingenious Mr. Howel, in his life-time, deny it his publick testimony in print, in a letter to Mr. Justice R. before his '*Organum Salutis*.'

After so many worthy names have given it their votes, what have our puisne quibblers

⁴ [Sir Henry Blount, knt. of whom see an account in Wood's Athenæ, ii. 712. His Voyage into the Levant passed through repeated editions, and was so much esteemed abroad as to be translated into French and Dutch.]

to object? Only this; it is black, and therefore wit must be shewn to call it Stygian puddle; and, besides this, it is bitter, and therefore a lie must be framed, that it is made of soot.

For the first, were they but so well acquainted with the prince of Latin poets, as our character-maker would make us believe he is with Ovid, by his dull, tedious, and impertinent quotation, they might remember,

Alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur.

It is the opinion of better heads, than any on their shoulders, that this liquor is no other, than that famous black broth of the Lacedemonians, so much celebrated by antiquity.

For its taste, it is a pitiful childish humour, always to indulge our palates: diseases are removed by bitter pills, and the most sanative potions are oftentimes very ungrateful to swallow; but the truth is, this drink has nothing in it of nauseousness, nor any taste, but what, familiarized by a little use, will become pleasant and delightful.

The dull planet Saturn has not finished one revolution through his orb, since coffee-houses were first known amongst us; yet it is worth our wonder to observe how numerous they are already grown; not only here in our metropolis, but in both universities, and most cities and eminent towns throughout the nation; nor, indeed, have we any places of entertainment of more use and general conveniency, in several respects, amongst us.

First, In regard of easy expense. Being to wait for or meet a friend, a tavern-reckoning soon breeds a purse-consumption: in an ale-house, you must gorge yourself with pot after pot, sit dully alone, or be drawn in to club for others' reckonings, or frowned on by your landlady, as one that cumpers the house, and hinders better guests. But here, for a penny or two, you may spend two or three hours, have the shelter of a house, the warmth of a fire, the diversion of company; and conveniency, if you please, of taking a pipe of tobacco; and all this without any grumbling or repining.

Secondly, For sobriety. It is grown, by the ill influences of I know not what hydro-pick stars, almost a general custom amongst us, that no bargain can be drove, or business concluded between man and man, but it must be transacted at some publick-house. This, to persons much concerned in the world, must needs be very injurious, should they always run to taverns or ale-houses, where continual sippings, though never so warily, would be apt to fly up into their brains, and render them drowsy and indisposed for business; whereas, having now the opportunity of a coffee-house, they repair thither, take each man a dish or two (so far from causing, that it cures any dizziness, or disturbant fumes); and so, dispatching their business, go out more sprightly about their affairs, than before. The like may be said of morning draughts, which, taken in wine, ale, or beer, most times either destroy, or very much maim the business of the whole day; whereas, if people would be persuaded to play the good-fellows, in this wholesome, wakeful, innocent drink, they would find it do no less good to their bodies, and much more promote and advance their business and employments.

Lastly, For diversion. It is older than Aristotle, and will be true, when Hobbes is forgot, that man is a sociable creature, and delights in company. Now, whither shall a person, wearied with hard study, or the laborious turmoils of a tedious day, repair to refresh himself? Or where can young gentlemen, or shop-keepers, more innocently and advantageously spend an hour or two in the evening, than at a coffee-house? Where they shall be sure to meet company, and, by the custom of the house, not such as at other places, stingy and reserved to themselves, but free and communicative; where every man may modestly begin his story, and propose to, or answer another, as he thinks fit. Discourse is *pabulum animi cos ingenii*; the mind's best diet, and the great whetstone and incentive of ingenuity: by that we come to know men better than by their physiognomy. *Loquere ut te videam*; 'Speak, that I may see thee;' was the philosopher's adage. To read men is acknowledged more useful than books; but where is

there a better library for that study, generally, than here; amongst such a variety of humours, all expressing themselves on divers subjects, according to their respective abilities?

But our pamphlet-monger (that sputters out senseless characters faster, than any hocus can vomit ink) will needs take upon him to be dictator of all society, and confine company to sit as mute in a coffee-house, as a quaker at a silent meeting; or himself with a little wench, when behind the hangings they are playing a game at whist. To this purpose, he babbles mightily against tattling, and makes a great deal of cold mirth with three or four stale humours, that you may find a thousand times better described in a hundred old plays: yet to collect these excellent observables cost the poor soul above half a year's time, in painful pilgrimage from one coffee-house to another; where, planting himself in a dark corner, with the dexterity of short-hand, he recorded these choice remarks, whilst all the town took him for an exciseman counting the number of dishes: the world is now obliged with the fruits of his industry, which proves no more, than that some giddy-headed coxcombs, like himself, (whose skulls, instead of brains, are stuffed with saw-dust,) do sometimes intrude into coffee-houses; a doctrine we are easily persuaded to believe: for, if their doors had been kept shut against all fops, it is more than probable, himself had never known so much of their humours. We confess, *in multiloquio non deest vanitas*; amongst so much talk there may happen some to very little purpose. But, as we doubt not but the royal proclamation has had the good success to prevent, for the future, any dangerous intelligence, saucy prying into *arcana imperii*, or irreverent reflexions on affairs of state; so, for the little innocent extravagancies we hold them very diverting; every fool being a fiddle to the company: for, how else should our author have raised so much laughter through the town? Besides, how infinitely are the vain pratings of these ridiculous pragmaticks over-balanced by the sage and solid reasonings, here frequently to be heard, of experienced gentlemen, judicious lawyers, able physicians, ingenious merchants, and understanding citizens, in the abstrusest points of reason, philosophy, law, and publick commerce!

In brief, it is undeniable, that as you have here the most civil, so it is, generally, the most intelligent society; the frequenting of whose converse, and observing their discourses and deportment, cannot but civilise our manners, enlarge our understandings, refine our language, teach us a generous confidence and handsome mode of address, and brush off that *pudor subrusticus*, (as, I remember, Tully somewhere calls it,) that 'clownish kind of modesty' frequently incident to the best natures, which renders them sheepish and ridiculous in company.

So that, upon the whole matter, spight of the idle sarcasms and paltry reproaches thrown upon it, we may, with no less truth than plainness, give this brief character of a well-regulated coffee-house, (for our pen disdains to be an advocate for any sordid holes, that assume that name to cloke the practice of debauchery,) that it is the sanctuary of health, the nursery of temperance, the delight of frugality, an academy of civility, and free-school of ingenuity.

Nuntius a Mortuis : Or, a Messenger from the Dead. That is, a stupendous and dreadful Colloquy, distinctly and alternately heard by divers, betwixt the Ghosts of Henry the Eighth and Charles the First, (both Kings of England,) who lie entombed in the Church of Windsor. Wherein, as with a Pencil from Heaven, is liquidly, from Head to Foot, set forth the whole Series of the Judgments of God upon the Sins of these unfortunate Islands.

Translated out of the Latin Copy, by G. T. and printed at Paris, 1657¹.

[Quarto; containing twenty-six Pages.]

To the READER.

Courteus Reader,

THOU wilt wonder, perhaps, that this terrible narration of a colloquy, so full of dread and astonishment, long since had betwixt two Kings of England, both deceased, should not sooner have come forth; when, in the interval of so great a tract of time, it ought rather to have been put to the press. But thou must know, it was then strangled in its birth, (all ready fitted by me to have come into the light,) when the late king's blood yet smoaking, the severity of the times suppressed it. Divers also were shut up close prisoners, lest the truth of such strange prodigies should walk abroad with them; and the soldiers largely bribed, who watched his hearse, not to let any thing of that quality fall from them; but now it is, by God's infinite goodness, (nor unhappy, as I may say, mid-wifery of mine,) that again it resaluteth the day, with recommendation to be communicatively used by the ———; however, to myself the author, who was present at the late king's burial, and both eye and ear witness of these wonders, not as vain and only forged things, speaking like to poets, 'give thou credit and belief;' but as tracing, through those dead kings' colloquies, (in this kingdom filled with hellish darkness,) the true and hidden paths of God's just vengeance. Farewell, and, as thy brother in Christ, pray for Thy, &c.

THROUGH the unlimited wickedness of the London Calvinists (the first of that name in England) King Charles being taken away, his headless body, by order of Parliament, not to the royal abbey of St. Peter in Westminster, the solemn burial-place of all the kings and queens of England, but to Windsor, twenty miles distant from London, in Henry the Eighth's monument, was translated to be interred. There was no pomp at all to grace his funeral, only a few soldiers sent to guard his body, which some few nobles, with the Duke of Richmond, waited on; where his corpse being put into the sepulchre, from out of the penetral thereof, there broke a horrid sound, which the standers-by at first amazed with much wonder; but by and by a voice, attending that noise, forced

¹ Vide Oldys's Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 250. [The author of this Pamphlet, it may be presumed, is nominally unknown; but, from the tenor of his production, it is sufficiently evident that he was a shameless papistical bigot.]

them all into a fearful astonishment. And it is credible, that even the soldiers would have taken to their heels, but that, casting away all fears and apprehension, which they long since had laid aside of either Heaven or Hell, they resolved to hear the sequel of that prodigy. I also, (who grown pale with fear, had begun to fly,) recollected my spirits; and, comforting myself with the presence of the soldiers, (not uncovetous of hearing what would follow,) stood my ground; and, with the rest, at last discovered that it was the voice of Henry the Eighth, thus complaining with a loud and horribly frightful vociferation.

Henricus. "Ho! Who is this, with sacrilegious impiety, that dares vex the so long quiet ashes of a king so many years since deceased."

This said; another voice straight rose, somewhat softer, but extremely doleful, which seemed to be King Charles's, thus answering:

Carolus. "I am that unhappy King of England, your successor, the undoubted heir of sixty-two monarchs, whose sceptres sometimes swayed these nations; and who myself have, now these twenty years and upwards, worn the kingly diadem."

Hen. "As though thou indeed hadst worn the kingly diadem? Why, thou hast no head at all whereon to put it, man!"

Car. "But I had one, (oh! my grief,) and very lately; though my subjects have rebelliously taken it from me."

Hen. "Have thy subjects then thus cruelly handled thee? O the hatred of both God and men! How, I pray you, came these things to pass? and what wickedness hadst thou done so execrable, which hath transported thy subjects to that madness?"

Car. "That, sir, I am totally ignorant of: but this I dare, with confidence, affirm, that I have violated no man's bed, have not offered force unto any one's daughter, and driven no man from his house or lands; of all which yet Henry the Eighth, my predecessor, is held guilty through the total universe. Let these say, who have brought me hither, Whether in any thing I have belied the truth?"

Then he paused a while, as though to hear what they would say, whilst the soldiers, with their looks cast down, consented by their silence unto these verities. And most true it is, indeed, what hath been said; for never king, since the world's creation, was more wicked than that Henry I speak of, as who (counselled by one Cromwell² of those times) either violated all divine and human laws, or gave the example to his successors of doing so. But as for Charles, who is so lately deceased, only abstracting from the blot of heresy, no king ever, not only of his time, nor private man, was either naturally more equitable, more holy, or endowed with greater virtues, who not finding what he said opposed, in this manner followed on his narration:

"I was criminated for defending with arms, what peaceably, but in vain, I had endeavoured; those very laws the which my ancestors had left to me, and which, sixteen, and upwards of years, I had uncontrouledly, ruled by and reigned. Hereupon were the judges appointed, by an usurped authority of parliament, who should sit and determine of my head: witnesses against me sworn and examined, who had conspired to take away my life: the day set down and forces brought, the which should carry me to be arraigned before their dire tribunal; and though I called both God and men to witness their violation, in this proceeding, of the laws, and that no power on earth was capable of judging me; as also, that I took not up arms before that arms had first been actually taken against me; yet judgment, or rather the shadow thereof, was given, by which I suffered the decollation of my head."

Hen. "Oh! wickedness, even seared to impudence; and of which, as ages past are wholly ignorant, so those to come will hardly ever give credit to. We have heard, perhaps, of kings and potentates, who have suddenly been oppressed by the fury of a raging and incensed multitude: but that any one, a prince of such high majesty, should be brought to death by the cruelty of his subjects, all of one and the self-same religion, under the colour

* [Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex.]

even itself of justice, and be obtruncated by the public hangman ; but especially not found guilty of any crime, unless propugning his paternal rights, since kings had being, was never yet heard of ; for that Mary Queen of Scots, that niece of mine, was most cruelly and inhumanly beheaded, that Elizabeth, my unhappy daughter, Queen of England, and in hatred of religion, not the unnaturalness of her subjects brought to pass ; and, therefore, all men have that Izabel, or rather Jezabel, in veneration, as though indeed a martyr."

Car. " Lest I should seem too much to stand upon my innocence, I confess I was to blame, (although not charged therewith,) when I assented unto Strafford's dying³, (not in the least guilty on my knowledge of his charge,) through the lenity of my nature, though unwillingly ; wherefore, respecting that strick Father of Justice, whose dominion is juster over kings than that of kings over other mortals, I cannot bewail my blood so spilt unworthily, who, Pilate like, subscribed another's death ; having declared him first wholly innocent in my judgment."

Hen. " Had this been the cause of thy calamity, those other, rather much, should have been punished with the loss, by Heaven's just vengeance, of their heads, who, thee being innocent, made thus guilty by their prejudice ; and, however against thy will and reluctance, as by the shoulders forced thee headlong forwards, into that most horrid iniquity of their judgment. Therefore some thing there must necessarily be more which hath caused this so execrable fate to thee ; nor know I why thou shouldest here be more obtruded on me. Thou thyself cannot tell me any just cause why thou wert stript out of this miserable life by so shameful and opprobrious a death : if thou camest, as such thou boastest thyself, of kings, had it not been meetest thou hadst laid thy bones amongst thy ancestors, than trouble here my rest and quiet ?"

Car. " I earnestly (indeed, dying) desired to have been buried in the tomb of my father ; but who spoiled me of my life denied that boon to me ; fearing, I believe, lest lying so near them, that the voice of my blood would cry more loud to them. But in this they have not only been inhuman to me : many other and most grievous indignities have I suffered, in my shameful way of dying. At Westminster, (where myself and my ancestors, the kings of this nation, were inaugurated) was I forced to hear the sentence of my life from the mouth of a silly petty-fogger⁴ ; when, according to the municipal laws, no nobleman can be judged but by his peers. At St. James's was I kept close prisoner, whilst my enemies did determine of my head, wholly cast upon their arbitrary judging me ; a place above all others loved by me, through the memory of my past childhood there, where my youth also had been harmlessly entertained with many innocuous and most innocent oblectations : the scaffold for my death appointed, raised directly before the court of my house⁵ ; unto which that I might come with more regret and also shame, even through those rooms they dragged me, where, to honour foreign states ambassadors, with royal pomp, I used, and masques to recreate them. I beheld also, but with what sense of indignation ? his head covered and eyes sternly fixed on me, Oliver Cromwell ; one of ordinary extraction, and abstracting from what fortune had reared him to, much more despicable than the meanest of my nobles, (how much short then of the majesty of a king,) sitting umpire of my life and death ? But though these things were very grievous and deplorable, yet that one was even than death itself less tolerable to me, when my ears, (the blood yet spinning out of my veins,) swallowed in that fatal mandate from the cryer, ' That it should be death to call my son the Prince of Wales, or destine him to be his father's successor.' And then, indeed, it truly appeared, (as conjectured by the wiser in the beginning,) that not the king, so much as rule, displeased the rebels, who conspired so unanimously my death, to the end that that as well as I should be extirpated. Yet this one thing very much consoles my griefs, that, at least, I have been destined to this place, where I cannot doubt of your more courteous reception of me, as being nephew of your sister the Princess Margaret ; her I mean who, marrying James the Fourth of Scotland, bore that Mary of whom so lately you made mention ; and she James my late father

³ [Vide vol. v. p. 527.]

⁴ [Bradshaw.]

⁵ [The Banqueting-house, Whitehall.]

since deceased; unto whose sceptre she gave both England and Scotland, unto which James, I Charles the First, as heir unto my father, have succeeded."

Hen. "What is that I hear? And art thou that Charles, then, the son of James, to whom from me, by Elizabeth, that kingdom is devolved by succession? Art thou, I pray thee, the self-same Charles, and canst not see how all these evils have oppressed thee? But it seems thy eyes yet very well see not, newly come into this region of darkness. No! hadst thou remembered how long while ago I drew from out that yoke⁶ my neck, which in the church I had full twenty years drawn in, after first I was anointed king; aye, and defended with both sword and pen too; thou wouldest less wonder, that, after twenty years reign, thy subjects should have so departed from thee. Thou canst not be ignorant, that among all the Christian kings, I was the first that ever arrogated the supremacy, and would be called 'the Head of the Church;' which titles, that I might knit them to my crown, with a knot that should never be untied. Oh! what blood have I not shed of martyrs? This sin of mine, so long since committed, being to be expiated by the blood of a king, both this scepter and monstrous head together were at once to perish; this was long ago decreed by the Fates, as we may judge, now it is come to pass. But more than all this I will tell you; there was a person of great note during my reign, of whom many things thou canst not choose but have heard, whose name was called Thomas More. This man, adorned with virtues so transcendent many ages could not match his worth, from a pleader, at the bar, of the law, and having regard unto his merit and learning, I called to be Lord Chancellor of England. But I seemed only thither to have raised him, that I might depress him from the greater height; for when, following the dictates of his conscience, he would not own me the 'Head of the Church,' I commanded forthwith his to be cut off: so that, whilst playing Callisthenes, he fell into the hands of Alexander. Go thou then now, Head of the Church, and complain, that by the sentence of a pitiful lawyer, thine is cut off from thy shoulders: or rather seest thou not plainly, in these prodigies, the tenor of God's admirable judgments? It was grievous to thee to be a prisoner at St. James's, where thou hast so innocently, in thy youth, disported thyself; but thou mindest not, that I formerly, by violence and sacrilege, snatched those houses from the church; as not long after all the goods of the monks, the Carthusians, Bernardines, Cistercians, Canon Regulars, and so of all the rest; but more especially of those of St. Benedict, whose houses and estates I confiscated, being the most splendid and opulent of all the kingdom, by an injustice, till that time not ever heard of; wherefore, as I, for that they owned me not their head, cast in prison many innocent religious, and from their houses made them hie unto the gallows; so thou hadst for thy prison where thou sufferedst, a house that had been heretofore religious; I hanged up several abbots at their doors, to give a terror, by their sufferings, to the monks. And what wonder, if, to the astonishment of kings and kingdoms, thou hast suffered, at the doors of thy palace, an ignominious and opprobrious death? But knowest thou not over and above, that this very palace (the house of thy abode) was the dwelling place of the bishops of York, which I extorted from Cardinal Wolsey; a man sometimes highly advanced by me, whilst serving my unbridled lust, but whom afterwards I utterly confounded, when I judged it for the avail of my avarice. Nor prophaned I only the episcopal houses to ungodly and nefarious uses, but compelled even themselves the bishops (from their obedience to the Roman See) into an acknowledgment of my jurisdiction in church affairs, unless only him who presided over Rochester⁷; whom, when neither with fair words, nor menaces, I could draw into the defection of the rest, I beheaded to complete my sacrilege. Behold therefore if, or not, it were fatal and most agreeable to the heavenly justice, that this Head of the Church, so adventitious, should have been cut off before the doors of the bishop? To give promotion to the affairs of my primacy, I made me a vicar of one Cromwell of those times, a man of very mean extraction, unto whom (and he of lay condition) both the bishops and archbi-

⁶ [i. e. The papal yoke.]

⁷ [Dr. John Fisher, beheaded for denying the king's supremacy over the Church, in 1535.]

shops were as underlings: now another of that name, and like descent, rules as absolute over all thy nobles, and guides the minutes of thy life and death. The very same I made my principal instrument of keeping from their means the Church's children, and of bringing on the bane of that religion, so long practised in the times of my ancestors, which I would call 'The Reformation of the Church.'—I entered to this kingdom (from my father) when it was blemishless, entire, and truly regal; nor in any thing unto any one obnoxious, only, as fitting in things that were spiritual, paying submission to the Vicar of Christ. Thou receivedst it, when strengthless and wounded, rent and torn from the yoke of St. Peter, so just, so sweet, and so amiable; and, wholly enslaved unto the vicars of the people, chose to govern by the votes of the multitude."

Car. "Too true; by the loss of my head, have I found those very things, which thou hast said to me, and now lately, unless, by others' allowance, that I had nothing either of life or kingdoms, which was not wholly in the hands of the parliament, since puffed up with fond pride and contumacy, by thy example, I have swerved from the church: yet feared I not the publick hatchet would have struck me by the hands of rebels, with such pomp and seared impudence at my death, but much more dreaded secret counsels and poisonings."

Hen. "But of that, thou shouldest the least have been afraid; for the punishment would not have answered the offence. Publick sins must have publick expiations; nor sought I corners in which to perpetrate my wickednesses, but sinned boldly after once I had begun, only I drew, indeed, the mask of justice upon the face of my iniquities: the supremacy (as though my due) of the Church, unto myself I arrogated; calling a parliament, by a decree whereof, I quite abolished the Roman See's authority: I repudiated (by pretence of right) the woman that was my lawful wife; the possessions, likewise, wholly of the clergy, under the same colour, I occasioned to be confiscated; whosoever was averse to my supremacy, as though guilty of high treason, I put to death. Wherefore, when our sins for which we worthily are punished, are covered over with the veil of justice, no wonder, if the self-same vizard likewise veil us, when ourselves, at last, we come to suffer."

Car. "But these audacities, from their subjects unto kings, are the effects of most unheard-of wickedness."

Hen. "I confess it; but with how much greater wickedness are those insolencies by ourselves deserved? Such sin only against a mortal prince; but we princes, against an eternal deity. But you, sir, (unless a marked-out sacrifice, God so willing, for your sins enormities,) could you not have mocked that arrest of popular judgment, by your prerogative in dissolving of the parliament?"

Car. "I did what I could to dissolve it; but I pray hear what followed after my so doing: The Scotchmen, my natural subjects, in hostile sort, invaded England with their armies; whom opposing in their march at York, an humble book came to my hands by Kymbolton, and underwritten by certain noblemen of my kingdom."

Hen. King Henry hearing Kymbolton named, after fetching first a very deep sigh:—"Oh, Catharine (says he) the wife of Kymbolton, that woman of all others most dear to me, as excelling all her sex in virtue, whom I banished (Heaven forgive me!) from my bed, to make place therein for that strumpet Anne of Bullen, afterwards publicly beheaded for adultery, hath exchanged this so hated life! This divorce, against both Heaven's and human laws, to the end that I might make it firm, made me usurp unto me the authority of the Church, when (unless with so horrid a sacrilege) I could not uphold the impiety of that villainy. Hence broke upon ourselves, and both our kingdoms, the inundation of all these pressing miseries."

Car. When holding forth Kymbolton's book: "From this, (says he,) as by one wave of a deluge, hath also flowed the total sea of my disasters: for unadvisedly (O my grief!) I condescended, they so craving, to a treaty with the Scots, in which I bound myself firmly to make good what, in my name, should by my delegates, be agreed upon. These deputed, O impudent drones, or rather indeed perfidious traitors, gave concessions to the

insidiating Scots to take strong holds into their hands within my kingdom, till such time as, by my kingly authority, the parliament, then dissolved, should be revoked. Writs, therefore, I accordingly issued forth: the Scots are most liberally gratified, nor do they suffer them sooner to leave England, than that first I had engaged my princely faith, by a writing under my hand and seal: this Hamilton also unhappily counselled me, (that unfortunate kinsman of mine,) not to annul the said new sessions of parliament, till such time as they should all thereto assent."

Hen. "O stupidity, or rather extremest madness! Didst thou not see, when to thy stiff-necked people thou grantedst this, that thou puttdest a final period to the sway of thy kingly authority? This was one and the self-same thing, as if thou hadst given into the hands of the parliament thy scepter and thy princely diadem, on condition not to have them again, until such time as they should please to restore them thee; but much otherwise should I have handled mine. Though now it is as clear as noon-day, that the measure of my sins hath been made up in thee, by thy unhappy participation of my schisms; and that, by blinding the eyes of thy mind, in propitiation of the offended Deity, God's just vengeance hath brought on thee destruction:—'Whom God will destroy, he taketh away their right understanding.' But, when once it was come to that pass, thou shouldest have gained at least the parliament's votes unto thee, by giving honours to them. And other vast largitions."

Car. "Even that, in what I could, I attempted. But much otherwise (God he knows) it came about: for my catholic nobility and bishops, whose votes I most relied on in parliament, were ejected by the adverse faction. They were both indeed very passionate for my good: the catholics, as hoping I would mitigate the asperity of the laws in force against them, by Queen Elizabeth's and my father's constitutions; the prelates also, as probably expecting a conservation of their means and benefices, then threatened in another way, from this head of theirs; O God, how ridiculous! Having lost thus in the house of lords (for the lower was of little consideration to me) more than twenty and upwards of suffrages, who remained more indulgent and firm to me, were intimidated; thereto books being cast abroad, by the tumultuousness of the apprentices and tradesmen, which seditions the adverse party of the parliament, with all the eagerness that they could, fomented. At Westminster also, scandalous books were written against me, at the pleasure of those parliamentary rebels, which, their emissaries far and near dispersing them, by some provincials, thereto courted, were subscribed, and exhibited, suddenly after, to the parliament; as though, nothing on their part suggested, the whole matter had, by the people, been exacted."

Hen. "The very self-same fraud and collusion did I practise to the Church's ruin. For first of all, by writs and declamations, who were refractory of the clergy I indulged; in doing whereof I pretended reformation and not ruin, which was really my design; like your rebels, who in the beginning of their defection, even by oath and public faith, obliged themselves, not to attempt against your person, realms, or church, but to defend them with their utmost power, though however of some defects in church and state, by removing from you certain evil counsellors, they seemed to pretend a reformation. And, lest any thing should have the face of oppression which I did, I procured certain books to fly abroad, with whose sense I was very well pleased, which the monks in their own names should write to me, near according to this following tenor:—

'Since the goodness of God (with your highness's concurrence) hath so wrought, that in these latter days (the darkness of times past dispersed) a new and true light hath appeared unto us; we heartily and humbly make request, that you will free us from this cloistered slavery (the very path unto most certain perdition) and restore us to our spiritual liberty; for which doing (to express our gratitude) we (freely and not any ways forced, whom nor fear nor yet collusion draws thereto) give you all our houses, goods, and lands, nay jurisdiction, to be your own for ever.'

"These books I dispersed through all the monasteries, and commanded that every one should subscribe them, who would not to be forthwith hanged; but especially all the abbots and superiors, that the rest might by their suffering be intimidated: so that divers through the fear of death (as though really from their proper motives) were induced to underwrite these papers."

Car. "I have signed also many things constrainedly, and (what is worse) been forced to swear I did so willingly. But so far was this my easiness from availing me (especially about the city of London) that (after all whatsoever they asked me I had given them with a full compliance) they still more and more increased their tumults; and observing all my castles, strength, and navy taken from me, with the total militia; it was then (when no means else were left me) that I betook myself first unto arms, whereby to guard my life, my crown, and my dignity; wherefore, setting up my kingly standard, the most faithful of my subjects fly to me, whose numbers in short time so increased, that I waged seven years war with the parliament. During which time it was remarkable to see how, more than others, the Roman Catholics flocked to me, and, for my good, exposed their lives and fortunes: those, to wit, who were formerly traduced (by the obloquies of most slanderous calumniators) as suspected to both king and kingdoms, for refusing of the oath of allegiance; in which point they never yet were found defective, though falsely therefore called recusants, but which also exacted from their consciences an abjuration of the pope's authority, and an acknowledgment of my spiritual supremacy. These very men, I say, though they took not that oath, yet, unsworn, they never stuck at any thing in the which they might be loyal to me and faithful. But the covenanters, (call them Protestants or Puritans,) what did they, (though against their oaths, and highly abjuring any such kind of practice,) but even tooth and nail bend all their forces to deprive their king of life and dignity. Nor wanted these their plots, at last, success; for, money falling short to pay the soldiers, whom I therefore was constrained to dismiss, (being myself of all things destitute to extremity,) I was glad, as to my very last refuge, to betake myself wholly to the Scots. But (oh unheard of and most shameful perfidiousness!) those sold me to who would give most for me; by which means, thus tossed from prison to prison, these miseries as you see have overwhelmed me."

Hen. "I wonder not (by the parliament's authority and insinuations) that some of thine have left thee: but how cometh it, that thy countrymen, the Scots, have taken arms against thee, joining with the enemies?"

Car. "This threefold defection, by the Scots, was indeed my utter ruin and overthrow; for if only I had contested with the English, by the aid of other faithful of my subjects, (more in number very many than the rebels,) as well in England as also in Ireland, I should easily have made good my prerogative. But the Scots, on this occasion, fell from me. I fancying, forsooth, as Head of the Church, that it belonged most peculiarly unto me, that not only the same tenor of faith, through the extent of my whole dominions, but the same service also, rites and likewise ceremonies, should be uniformly in the same observed, (the archbishop⁸ thereto most of all exhorting me, whom I revered as though indeed some patriarch,) I commanded the Book of 'Common Prayer,' (a form of thy son Edward's first composing,) and the surplice, to be used by the Scots, who had not either publick form of worship, or other decency of ornaments in their church; but, as now it is the fashion at Geneva, every one babbled as he pleases his own impertinences; strictly threatening with exemplary punishment who thereto should not yield due obedience; which the people of Scotland observing, and that already it was put in practice, cried out 'Popery is now violently forced upon us.' Then tumults day by day increased, which the Calvinist Ministers fomented, who consulting the Puritans of England, (especially Hampden the chief of that faction,) jointly brought in the Scots upon this nation, then in peace, who with their armies invaded it. This incursion, so rebellious, of those traitors (like a river when its banks are broken down) overflowed my total realms with sedition."

⁸ [Laud.]

Hen. "Is it not as clear then (tell me, Charles,) as noon-day, that our inauspiciously affecting church-supremacy hath confounded us in this sort which now thou seest?"

Car. "Very true, it is not void of reason for so being; yet do I not reach how all those evils rather seized not thee, the first invader of the English primacy, (who, convening all the states of thy kingdom to be confirmed upon thyself and thy successors) than poor me, who have but kept, and that too peaceably, what my ancestors by their wills had left to me."

Hen. "Oh, Charles! how art thou grossly deceived, if thou thinkest I do not share in thy misfortunes! No sin yet ever escaped unpunished, nor was impunity ever allowed to wicked persons. And, to pass by what now at present I suffer, what tortures did not then distort me, when my executioners were those three man-spillers, avarice, cruelty, and lust!—And as for avarice, so unsatiably it reigned in me, that having subverted three-hundred and seventy-six religious houses, and snatched away their lands and goods, by an edict to that purpose which I made; scarcely one year had yet been fully gone about, before I vexed with such high taxes all my subjects as had never been before from them exacted; by which morsel now made keen and fleshed, as it were, not long after (oh, how rich and opulent!) I confiscated what remained of the church revenues. In the interim I gave hopes unto the laity that those goods of the Church would go so far with me, as to free them for ever from exactions: a hearing so grateful to the people, that they impensly for it favoured my abreptions. But so fooled they were in these their expectations, that I alone a little after more oppressed them, than in fifty years before my predecessors. After I had spoiled and razed a thousand churches, taken all under my use that belonged unto them; all their coin and sacred vessels, robbed them of; brass, lead, shards, cielings, nay, even the very rubbish set to sale, with all else vendible; besides two chests from out of the church of Canterbury, so massy scarce four men could carry one of them, so well crammed they were with gold and precious stones: after all, I say, these things had been thus robbed by me, I was reduced unto such very great indigence, that, whereas I mixed at first but two of brass only with ten ounces (by my edict) of good silver, I afterwards with two of current silver mixed ten ounces of adulterate brass; thus tortured, as you see, with endless avarice, nor less roughly by my cruelties handled.—For full twenty years at least together, whilst I lived in the communion of the Church, no one ever of the kings shed less blood, in all which time two only suffered of my nobility. But afterwards, when I fell from the Church (not more thirsty of gold than of blood) of all conditions, all ages, and all sexes, I exhibited a most fearful massacre; and that upon no other demerit, but that only they withstood my voluptuousness. Four queens, with either steel or imprisonments, I took away, which were the consorts of my bed; two young princesses, and also two cardinals, (proscribing, in his absence, the third,) who was very near in blood to me allied. Dukes, marquisses, counts, or sons of counts, at least a dozen, I put publicly to death; barons, knights bannerets, or knights, to the number of twenty, wanting two; abbots and priors thirteen; priests and religious seventy-seven; of lesser rank, and of the vulgar infinite. And, whilst belching thus on all sides my cruelties, the faithfulest of my subjects most feared me, as witness that most horrid catastrophe of Cardinal Wolsey, of Cromwell, and the Bullens; of the Howards, of Norris, and, lastly, Compton. But as for lust, so very insatiably was I lost in it, that, divorcing my best and lawful wife, I saw not any thing of that sex the which I burnt not for; nor scarcely did I lust that woman, whom one way or other I did not violate. Was it not also for the punishment of my sins, that your father and yourself have reigned in England? Who left nothing on my part unattempted, which I could think of to hinder your succession, that I might fix it by a masculine birth unto the house of which myself was descended. Two wives I forced unjustly from my bed, and as many made to quit this life; the fifth, who fell in troublesome labour, I commanded to be ripped up alive, to the end to save the infant which she went with; thus barbarously and inhumanly adding, That it was easier to get more wives than children: the sixth I also afterwards married, whom when thinking to have spilt myself, I perished. Yet, for all this my caring for posterity, during fifty years time of my life,

no one ever lived long of my survivors. A boy, indeed, of nine years old, succeeded me in the usurped supremacy, little knowing how to govern himself, but much less the helm of church-jurisdiction, who had also first departed this life before attaining to his youthful age. Mary also, my legitimate daughter, who cast out heresy, entered afterwards to the crown, of whose child I could have very well hoped, five years married to the Catholic king; but that God (the just revenger of homicides, rapes, incests, and likewise of sacrilege) barred my seed from inheriting the earth; nor in vain are his words, or to be laughed at, thus importing, 'That the days of the sons shall be cut shorter for the fathers offences'—She dying soon after without issue, this empire was translated into thy line: but Elisabeth, that illegitimate daughter of mine, (begot in incest, and judged incapable of governing by the parliament, and myself thereto assenting), stepped, however, into the kingly throne, and would be called, forsooth, 'The Head of the Church,' by my example; under whose womanish popeship, at least a thousand suffered death, for being priests. But ridiculous is that head which hath no tongue; and 'a woman, as the apostle averreth, is not allowed to speak in the Church:' yet it is admirable to see with what audacity she took upon her to usurp the Church of God, who missioning (with a womanish solicitude) her ministers for the planting of the Gospel, sowed the seeds, as yet we see here in England, of a multiplicity of sowre-levened heresies: and, after seventeen years keeping her prisoner, she had cut off the head of thy grandmother⁹, doing acts of most unparalleled cruelty, by the example of my former tyrannies, she descended without issue into —.

"Thus, in the first generation, ended my progeny; so true it is what the kingly prophet said, That 'the seed of the wicked shall perish;' Psal. xxxvii: and accordingly in another place, 'Their fruits shall be extirpated from the earth, and their seed from the sons of men.' I have been admonished by very woeful experience of the truth of this prophet's saying: so, to wit, it hath pleased the Almighty to laugh at the counsels of men. And this reason the same prophet superaddeth, 'For they contrived counsels which they could not make good;' Psal. xxix. 'For there is no counsel which will stand against God;' Prov. xxi.—As too late, and to my cost, I have found true. Wouldest thou yet be more confirmed of these sad verities? Unto King Edward, when I died (my son) I left twelve tutors all reputed Catholicks, and, abstracting from the supremacy only, which I desired he should keep in his hands, commanded he should be otherways bred up a Catholick. All heresies, this only excepted, by my will, I wholly excluded and abolished. But, as violating the wills of my ancestors, and subverting what they built and consecrated, so many temples and monuments of religion, I deserve not that my own should be observed: amongst the rest, the Duke of Somerset was one, (uncle to Edward the Sixth by the mother,) whom, at my death, I did, as guardian, prefer to him. He infected, and my son by him, with heresy, brought in that, which most I hated, of the Sacrament; which Queen Elisabeth, after both, confirmed. A monument I appointed for my ashes much more sumptuous than ever any of my ancestors, and yet hitherto I have failed of the same; though, alone of all the kings of Great Britain, three children have, in order, succeeded me; nor need I fear, now those are dead, to be forgotten, who, for my wickedness, shall eternally be remembered. I am the mark of all men's hate of all conditions: To the Catholicks, by good reason, odious, cutting England from the communion of their church; abominated no less worthily by the religious, as whose families I have destroyed and sold their goods: Equally execrable to the Church and laity; as first raising over the whole body of the Catholicks that persecution, which, to this hour, afflicted them; the Hereticks, even to death, detested me, still pursuing them with fire and sword: Luther called me a stall-fed ox, and very often a most inhuman tyrant; Calvin drew out the sword of his pen against my title of the 'Head of the Church,' which, so monster like, to myself I had arrogated; and marked me out by the dint of his writings, as one destitute of both fear and shame, in relation to both God and man. All the

⁹ [Mary, Queen of Scots.]

literate will perpetually hate my memory, that I should root out, and totally destroy, so many monuments of antiquity and learning, such as scarcely in the world are to be paralleled.

"To conclude, whilst I lived, the most did hate me, every one feared me, and scarce any one loved me. In my latter days, (by the furies of my conscience agitated, like to Orestes,) I would fain have incorporated with the Church all those kingdoms which I had torn from its obedience; and, in whatsoever I was able, I endeavoured a reparation of those wrongs I had done my wife. This at last, in some sort, I provided for; giving caution by my last will and testament, that if Edward my son should die issueless, my daughter Mary, whom I had before disinherited, born of Catharine, should succeed me in these kingdoms. Oh! how often have I talked with my familiars about this first; to wit, of bowing to his Holiness, and being received again into his grace and favour? But, having formerly cozened divers by those arts, none would trust me; as being by all suspected, whom they eluded, as though seeking to intrap them. Thus abandoned and forsaken by every body, I departed out of the communion of the Church, these last words before my death ingeminating, "All is marred, all is marred, monks, monks, friars, friars." My burial was just like that of Ahab, in the ruins of a religious house: for, when my body was conveyed hither, (even a dunghill through over-eating and oppletion,) the lead, in which it was wrapped, unhappily unsoldering, as it was set down within the ruins of this house, where, while a plumber, in all haste to help it, ran this way and that way for materials, his dog liked up my blood most greedily¹⁰. A revenge for that of priests and religious which I shed! Oh God! How just and deserved a one. Dost thou not see, Charles, how, in my person thus suffering, God hath warned thee that I departed not unpunished?"

Car. "These are things very grievous indeed, and which deserve to be well pondered to all eternity."

Hen. "But, though these things may seem to mortals very grievous; yet, in comparison of what I suffer in hell, they are mere trifles, and not worthy to be commemorated. For, besides what I have merited by my own, whatsoever I have sinned against another, what innovations I have forced upon religion, superadd unto the increase of my torments; inasmuch as, by my usurping the supremacy, I opened a gap to all the mischiefs of heresies. Wherefore as, superadditionally, I am here tormented by the arrival of any new come ghosts; so is it just, (since the afflicted comfort the afflicted,) that those very same should have a share in my punishments, who have maintained and kept on foot my errors, as thou hast done; who, though the scourge of Heaven's just ire, hath these ten years through three kingdoms closely followed thee, (and that too chiefly, for thy hatred to religion,) yet hast thou breathed with thy last breath a disobedience to the authority of the See of Rome, thy Bishop so of London persuading thee; nay, moreover, not the primacy only which I left thee, but new errors, introduced by Queen Elisabeth and thy father, didst thou strive to uphold; of Prince Edward I here wittingly am silent; and, if other things be true which I have heard, thou stampest thy coin also with the inscription of Protestancy."

Car. "Oh heavens! that that fatal Protestancy had never been hatched, at least not to come unto my ears. It began, about thy time, in Germany, when the followers of Luther were called Protestants, whence it afterwards passed into England. And as Queen Elisabeth, oh Henry! and my father, were the first of all those that went before them who *protested* thy religion in these kingdoms, (whereupon hath come this name of *Protestant*!) so, soon after, rose the Puritan faction, or the Calvinist, who impugned both the other; and our Ritual, or Book of Common Prayer, set in force with the Thirty-nine Articles: which, subverting all episcopal jurisdiction, doth yet glory in being called Protestant. Afterwards springs a sect of Independants, which protest against the three that went before: these are divided into hundreds of other tatterdimallion and new broached

¹⁰ [False. Vide Rapin, ii. 8. from Hayward, Burnet, Strype, &c.]

opinions, which yet all will needs be termed Protestants; and perhaps as many more there will yet rise, from out the hydra of this unhappy reformation, which will always be impugning one the other. Heaven grant that, with the milk of my mother, I had also sucked in the religion of my ancestors; for my grandmother not only died a Catholic, but shed her blood in the defence of that religion. But, as others may condignly have been punished, for introducing or promoting of errors; for vexing with much cruelty the Catholics, and usurping or maintaining this supremacy; I certainly never innovated religion, of all others have been mildest unto Catholics, nay, even next of all acceded to their tenets. In fine, I have exercised this supremacy with a moderation surpassing all the rest, and (by reason I did not judge it fitting or becoming any layman's undertaking) the whole charge thereof, at least the greater part, I recommended to the Archbishop of Canterbury."

Hen. "But hast thou not observed, that of the whole English episcopacy, only Canterbury in these troubles lost his head? (Both documents of the highest instruction!) Thou, for kings, and that patriarch for prelates; who, if their heads they would have stand upon their shoulders, must not make themselves Heads of the Church, by hereafter prejudicing the Roman jurisdiction. But what availed it thee to have approximated unto Popery, unless thoroughly thou hadst embraced that faith? For it sufficeth not to stand in the porch, unless thou enter into the bosom of the church. Moreover, many, in these gulfs below the earth, are much more grievously tormented and vexed, because they knew, but have not exercised the truth. That, in some things, King Agrippa was a Christian, was not sufficient to work his salvation. No; for that thoroughly he was not converted by Paul, he now burns with me in eternal flames. Did I not myself sometimes profess that faith in all particulars, only abstracting from the Pope's supremacy? But, sinning in that one sole defection, I am guilty of all those other abominations. But he that spared not Paul's incredulity, (doing things of which he then was ignorant,) will not spare this most execrated head of mine, who have wittingly, nay, and willingly, perished. But how frivolous is that which thou pretendest to extenuate the malice of thy crime, when thou sayest, 'thou didst not exercise the supremacy, only left it unto Canterbury to do 'it;' as though, indeed, thou hadst not exercised that charge whereunto thou hadst deputed another? Nay, more, I hold that Strafford lost his head (so provided by the Eternal Justice) for that also he then carried thine, as being thy vicar, in the Church of Ireland."

Car. "As I have not wholly been exempt from all faults, so having proceeded much more moderately in the supremacy, and promoted more the peace of the Church, than all these others, who have passed before me, I would fain know why I am the most of all punished?"

Hen. "Thou hast not observed, it seems, that jealous God, who punisheth in the child the father's faultiness, how he scourgeth the impieties of the wicked, to the third and also fourth generation; lest, if only he should scourge us in ourselves, we might think that any enormous impiety would be easily and more suddenly expiated; nor defers he to punish till so long after, that his memory who sinneth should die, but lest it should be forgotten that he was punished for sinning. Thou art the third now, from the cradle of schism, who hath reigned king, in which generation thou sufferest. For, though my two daughters, first Mary, then Elisabeth, have successively inherited the crown, yet those two, with their brother King Edward, who was my son, make up but one generation; if you number therefore either the kings or generations, Edward me, James him, and thou James, have successively and in order followed. Nor hath it happened, but by the hand of God, that the heavenly vengeance should have fallen upon thy head, (the most innocent and moderate of all the rest,) to shew that not so much thy private sins have been chastised by his rod of justice, as the hereditary evils of thy office, with what impieties still attend thy titles,—as it is said,—'The fathers have eaten sowre grapes, and the teeth of their children have been set on edge;' Ezek. xviii. Which take not, as though children entirely innocent should be overwhelmed by their father's faultiness; for the soul that sins itself shall die: but that such who are less faulty, nay, even innocent, as it were, in comparison of their father's crimes, do yet suffer often something of their merit. For, if that

punishment had happened in the time of any wicked and luxurious prince, I should not have sought for its infliction any where else, than from the crimes of such a trusted-up potentate. But that my subjects, who style themselves 'Protestants,' should, by taking off thy head, thus punish thee whom thy very enemies cannot asperse with any crime, came not indeed by any other way to pass, but through that capital transgression of our pride, in presuming to be Heads of the Church: and, as I was the last of my name both king and also Head of the Church; so thou, oh! too unfortunate Charles, art the first of thy name that ever reigned, and the last that shall be the Head of the Church."

Car. "I feel indeed the judgments of God to have fallen very heavily upon me; for, as out of one false principle in faith many absurdities arise of opinions, so out of one unhappy apostacy from the church, many others have followed after at the heels; which the newer and more recent that they are, the more dangerous, and more to be took heed of. Thou beganst, others increased that sacrilege; which when, afterwards, some had fully perfected, I at last bore the heft of all. Thou, tearing from the Roman obedience thy people and bishops of England, wouldest be accounted, (aye, and wert,) independent; and the Head of the reformed Church! Now a sect of Independants hath broke out, (God revenging so the sin of thy sacrilege,) who, regarding neither king nor bishops, first took off my spiritual head; then my own cut and severed from my shoulders: one Cromwell in thy time then lived (of thy cabinet and most secret counsels) who persuaded thee, a king, to spoil the Church; now another of that name, and not unlike him, forced the people to destroy their king: 'Oh how just are the judgments of God, and his ways inscrutable!' For, if not sooner in ourselves, in our posterities shall we at last be punished, in that very kind in the which we have offended. Oh God! that, whilst I lived in this world, I had seriously pondered these things, at the least (when so much leisure sometimes served me) in the time of my most tedious imprisonment! Happy man, had I paused upon the series of God's judgments, from above so threatening me, in the amaritude and bitterness of my soul: I had leisure, indeed, to dally with my pen, and write a book of other things, a whole one, as my armies how they came to be destroyed, of the miseries and distresses of my life, and the insolencies those especially of the soldiers, but never once called to mind those very things which I should most of all have printed on my thoughts. Oh Juxonius! (so I called the bishop of London,) or else Laud! my faithful counsellor and friend, why have neither of you admonished me of these things, either by letters, or friends, that did commune with me? For being three years a prisoner before my death, I had time enough to think of all these things: 'But they had eyes, and they could not see.' Oh, how blind were all these that saw me! and well may what follows be applied to us: 'At length we Phrygians (but too late) grew wise.'"

Hen. "This also I would have men duly ponder, how the parliament (the very name whereof is so idolised, especially by the fascinated English) is devolved now into a lower-house; both the bishops and the lords ejected, in whose votes was once the total authority; the house of commons being not any thing regarded. A just punishment indeed for their flattering me into a presumption of being Head of the Church, who themselves are now all trodden under foot (sometimes sitting as the heads of parliament); and this by that third order, without order, unto which they are so shamefully subjected. For England, as now plainly it appeareth, from a paradise is translated into a hell, in which no order but perpetual horror inhabiteth, where 'a man strong in arms keeps our court, and holds peaceably his usurped possessions:' this third order being grown to that height, that kingly government which had its period in thy fate, unless by miracle, can never hold up its head. 'Hence learn, O ye kings, to be wise; and take instructions, you that judge the earth.'"

"The soldiers, then at hand, of Cromwell, understanding this hard fate of monarchy, which should hardly ever rise from out of its ruins, took good heart, and, with great noise and laughter, ran in crowds from out the church of Windsor; each one glad that he had lent a hand, by cutting of this Head of the Church, to the execution of the heavenly

justice: but not knowing (or less, happily, ruminating,) that the father, oftentimes, burns the rod with which he doth chastise his child.

In Malevolus hujus Narratiunculæ Obtrectatores.

*ZOILE, ne laceres morsu mea scripta canino ;
Neve meris dicis omnia suta dolis.
Extimus historiæ cortex, volo, fictus habetor ;
Vera sed huic intus ligna subisse scies.
Istaque corporeis licet auribus invia nostris,
Mentis at internis sensibus hausta putes.
Eja, age, mendacem me, carptor inepte, poetam
Occine ; narranti res dabit ipsa fidem.*

R. P.

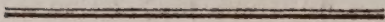
‘ Zoilus, desist (with currish teeth) to tear
‘ This work of mine: nor it as (merely) jeer,
‘ Made up of frauds. The outmost bark, indeed,
‘ Is fiction; but truth dwells in the inside.
‘ And what th’ ear struck not outwardly, that (know)
‘ Our minds most inward sense both heard and saw.
‘ Cease, critic, then, nor sing my book hath ly’d;
‘ That story will find faith, which truth doth write.’

G. T.

An extract out of the eighth century of Michael Nostradamus’s Prophecies, Stroph. 71. printed in the year 1603, in the beginning of King James’s reign, (father of King Charles late deceased,) touching the government now at present in England:

A warrior, not a king, shall England awe;
One low-born shall by force thy empire sway:
Loose, faithless, lawless, shall the earth begore,
Whose time’s so near at hand; I sigh therefore.

Glory be to God!



A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana: Describing the Climate, Situation, Fertility, Provisions, and Commodities of that Country; containing seven Provinces, and other Signories, within that Territory: Together with the Manners, Customs, Behaviours, and Dispositions of the People. Performed by Robert Harcourt, of Stanton-Harcourt, Esq. The Patent, for the Plantation of which Country, his Majesty hath granted to the said Robert Harcourt, under the Great Seal.

‘ The Land, which we walked through to search it, is a very
‘ good Land: If the Lord love us, he will bring us into
‘ this Land, and will give it us.’ Numb. xiv. 7, 8.

At London, printed by John Beale, for W. Welby, and are to be sold at his Shop in Paul’s Church yard, at the Sign of the Swan¹. 1613.

[Quarto; containing eighty-eight Pages.]

To the High and Mighty Prince, Charles, Prince of Great Britain.

HAVING had trial, most worthy prince, of your most renowned brother, prince Henry, his many favours towards me, and princely furtherance of my humble suit, unto his

¹ Vide Oldys’s Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 230. [After the ardent but unsuccessful attempts made by Sir Walter Raleigh towards the colonization of Guiana, the first adventurer who stepped forth to “repair the decay of so worthy an enterprize” was Captain Charles Leigh, the account of whose voyage and plantation may be seen at length in “Purchas his Pilgrimes” (vol. iv. p. 1250, edit. 1625.) This was in the year 1604. Captain Leigh, after a mutinous and discouraging voyage, arrived and took possession on the 22d of May. Being settled at Guiana, he wrote to his brother Sir Olave Leigh for reinforcements of men, arms, &c. This was speedily granted; but illness and a multitude of adverse circumstances reduced the whole company, in the space of two years, to the number of ten: These embarked for England the 31st of May, 1606. Upon the failure of this adventure, Robert Harcourt, the writer of the following ‘Relation’ took out a patent for the plantation of the country, in furtherance of which the ‘Relation’ was written and published.

Of this Robert Harcourt, the editor has met with no other memoir than the concise and imperfect one given by Wood, in his Athen. Oxon. it is as follows: ‘Robert Harcourt, son and heir of Walter Harcourt, Esq. of the ancient and noble family of the Harcourts, of Staunton-Harcourt, near to, and in the county of Oxford, and of Ellenhall in Staffordshire, was born at Ellenhall, became a gentleman-commoner of St. Alban’s Hall in the beginning of the year 1589, aged 15 years, where he continued about three years. But the geny of this person inclining him to see and to search out hidden regions, he procured of King James I. a grant of letters patent for the planting and inhabiting of all that tract of land and part of Guiana, between the river Amazonas and Dessequebe, situated in America, under the equinoctial line. Which being so done, he began his voyage in the very beginning of the year 1609 with twenty-three land-men, (of whom his younger brother, called Captain Michael Harcourt, then lately of Baliol College was one,) two Indians, and twenty-three mariners and sailors, all in a ship called the Rose, a pinnace, and a shallop.’ After he had taken possession of the place, and had continued with his company near three years, he wrote “A Relation of a Voyage,” &c.’

Collins, in his Peerage, asserts that Harcourt, was ‘the most considerable adventurer with Sir Walter Raleigh in his voyage to Wiassero, Guyana, &c.’ If this was the case, it is very surprizing that no mention should be made of his name in Sir Walter’s own account of his discovery of Guiana, or any other of the pam-

majesty², your royal father, and our dread sovereign, for obtaining for me his gracious letters patents, for the planting and inhabiting of all that tract of land, and part of Guiana, between the river of Amazonas and Dessequebe, situate in America, under the æquinoctial line; whereof I have taken possession to his majesty's use, and discovered the maritime parts: I was greatly thereby encouraged to proceed in the enterprise, and had, under his majesty's favour, devoted myself unto his service. But now seeing, by God's permission, your excellent brother's princely honour³, by right of succession, is fallen upon your highness; and verily hoping, that you will not only equal, but also exceed him in virtuous exercises, and advancing all honourable actions, and worthy enterprises: I have in like manner, religiously vowed the best fruits and effects of my endeavours unto your highness's service. And forasmuch as that part of the world, which we now call America, was, heretofore, in the year of our Lord 1170, discovered, conquered, and possessed by Madoc, one of the sons of Owen Gwyneth, prince of North Wales⁴: I therefore, in all humble reverence, present the prosecution of this high action unto your gracious patronage, principally belonging of right unto you, being the honourable, true, and worthy successor to the principality of Wales. If my travel and service therein shall perform aught worthy of your princely regard, I shall much glory thereat, and account it my happiest fortune, and greatest honour: and shall heartily pray unto the King of kings, to continue in your highness a pious and invincible heart; and to give you a conquering and victorious hand; and the dominion of many rich and mighty kingdoms in this world, and, in the world to come, a crown of glory in his eternal kingdom.

Your Highness's most humble devoted Servant,

ROBERT HARCOURT.

To the Readers, Adventurers, Favourers, and Wellwillers of the Plantation in Guiana.

IT is the part of valiant and noble spirits, to apply their endeavours to honourable and worthy achievements; but chiefly to frame their actions therein by the rule of virtue, and accomplish the end for which they were created; which is, in their vocations, to serve and glorify God, and to do good unto others. For the better performance of their duties in that behalf, let them examine their inclinations and dispositions in the course of their life, and what they find themselves most inclined unto: to that let them seriously bend their forces, either to cherish, or suppress it; to follow, or forsake it, according as it tendeth to virtue or vice, to honour or disgrace.

As touching the courses of life, inclining to the better part, some men are naturally given to be scholars, either in divinity, philosophy, or other learning; some are more inclined to be statistes; some to be soldiers, and travellers; some desire to be citizens, and merchants; and some like best to lead a country life, and follow husbandry; and others are wholly inclined to the mechanical trades, and handicrafts: in all which professions, as men are naturally addicted, more or less, they attain to perfection, and may thereby accomplish the end for which they were created. But to undertake any profession, contrary to a man's natural inclination, is a loss of time, a work that yieldeth no profit, but

phlets on that subject. It is still more surprizing that no notice should be taken of the present adventure by Raleigh's biographers, as he was still living, though a prisoner in the Tower, at the time it was undertaken, and it must necessarily have occupied a very large portion of his attention.]

² [Jas. I.]

³ [The hopeful and illustrious Henry Prince of Wales died Nov. 6, 1612, at the age of nineteen! Vide his Life by Dr. Birch.]

⁴ [For a candid inquiry into this subject, see Lord Lyttleton's notes on the 5th book of his History of Henry II. See also Owen's British Remains, 8vo. Lond. 1777. Carte's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 638. Powel's Hist. of Wales, p. 227. And Hakluyt's Voyages, iii. edit. 1600. Mr. Owen, in his Cambrian Biography, declares, that he has collected a multitude of evidences, in conjunction with Edward Williams, the bard, to prove that Madog must have reached the American continent; and that the descendants of him and his followers exist there as a nation to this day.]

breedeth many inconveniencies, and destroyeth nature: for the mere scholar will never be a good statist, soldier, merchant, nor mechanical tradesman, (yet learning is a singular help in all these professions); neither will the professed soldier ever attain to exquisite perfection in learning, or in the other professions: so likewise of the rest. The natural inclination of man may be somewhat restrained, corrected, and reformed, but is rarely and hardly altered:

Naturam expellas furca licet, usque recurret.

In these and other professions whatsoever, men may so proceed in their particular societies, that each several company, in their proper vocation, may be a help, comfort, and support unto the rest; and they are firmly bound, both by the law of God and Nature, to exercise and follow their professions for the benefit of others: not covetously seeking their own gain only thereby; but charitably respecting first the glory of God, and then the honour of their prince, and profit of their country; which is the end for which they were created.

To the end, therefore, that our countrymen of all professions in this kingdom may be worthily induced to perform their duties in that kind, not only at home in their own country, but also abroad in foreign parts, (wheresoever any of our nation shall be employed, either by discovery or conquest,) for the reducing of unknown and barbarous people, void of all knowledge of God, and civil government, to christianity, and the subjection and obedience of our sovereign; and that such others as want employment, or competent means to follow their professions, and are slipped aside from virtuous exercises, and honourable enterprises, to idle wantonness, effeminate disorders, and other extravagant courses of life, may be recalled, reformed, and encouraged, by better endeavours, to perform their duties to God, their prince, and their country: I thought it convenient to propound unto them a worthy and memorable enterprise, (for the prosecution and accomplishing whereof, it hath graciously pleased his majesty to grant me privilege by patent,) namely, the discovery and plantation of a part of the great, rich, and mighty empire of Guiana; wherein they shall find variety of employments to spend their times worthily in their several vocations; plentiful means to supply all wants and necessities; and many worthy adventures, to obtain immortal renown and perpetual fame.

And forasmuch as all men's actions are subject to miscensure, and some, perhaps, may think the labour lost, which is bestowed in this enterprise; forejudging the country, being rude, barbarous, and heathen, to be unprofitable: I will therefore here particularly shew wherein our countrymen, of the several professions beforementioned, may profitably labour in this work, and perform, thereby, to God a service most acceptable, and register their fame to all posterity.

First, The scholar in divine learning may worthily labour the conversion of infinite numbers of unbelieving people, who may be reduced to a quiet, sober, and civil life: the scholar in philosophy, and other learning, may do much good by training up of the youth in the knowledge of the liberal arts, and by the practise of his skill in physic and surgery: the statist may highly advance his prince's service, and his country's good, by giving aid to this action, and his discreet and provident furtherance in managing the business thereof: the soldier and traveller, by bearing arms to the execution of this noble enterprise, and by memorable discoveries of strange and unknown countries and nations, may open the way to increase and enlarge the dominion of our sovereign: the merchant, by assisting the plantation there, and by erecting convenient factories for that purpose, may highly increase the trade of merchandise, by returning thence the riches and commodities there found and gathered: the countryman, that professeth husbandry and tillage of the earth, may also be sufficiently employed for the increase of corn and cattle, and in planting, gathering, and getting as many rare and necessary fruits and provisions, as shall be needful for the life of man. And, lastly, The mechanical tradesman, and such as exercise the handicrafts, (in which company I include all sorts of labourers,) may,

by this action of Guiana, highly advance their trades and occupations, to their own unspeakable profit, and benefit of others, by their divers and sundry works for several uses, and for persons of all qualities whatsoever; and may teach the people of that country, (being once converted to christianity, and brought to the knowledge of civil government,) such several trades, as our experience shall find necessary for them, and convenient for us.

Having here particularly shewed, wherein our countrymen, of divers professions, may worthily follow their vocations, and employ their endeavours in this action; I leave the matter whereon they are to work, to be more fully expressed in the following discourse.

And, because they may the better be encouraged in this enterprise, by examples of the like nature, let us look into the discoveries and conquests, performed by the Spaniards, in the East and West Indies, but chiefly in the West; where, with a small number, and (as it were) with a handful of men, Hernando Cortez, a Spaniard, in the year of our Lord 1519, discovered and conquered that great, mighty, and rich kingdom of New Spain, and the city of Mexico⁵. And, in the year of our Lord 1531, Don Francisco Pizarro attempted the conquest of the great kingdom of Peru. He vanquished Atabalipa, the king of that country; conquered and subdued many spacious and rich provinces; and, in the end, after infinite perils and dangers by practice of the Indians, and much variety of fortune, by civil wars with his own nation, he achieved his enterprize. The particulars of these discoveries and conquests are more at large recounted by Peter Martyr, in his *Decads*; by Benzo, and divers other authors; to which, for brevity's sake, I refer you. The honour these Spaniards gained by these discoveries and conquests, was doubtless great; but the benefit that ensued to the crown of Spain, and all the Spanish nation thereby, was infinite beyond expectation; as amply may appear in the authors late mentioned, and in the natural and moral history of the East and West Indies, written by Josephus Acosta.

Let us also note the wonderful works of God in those countries, and his great mercy thereby shewed to the Indians, who, by their continual conversation with Christians, are reduced, from their abominable life and cruel manners, to the knowledge of God; and from their former infidelity, to the fruition of the Holy Ghost in baptism; for, in all those great provinces conquered in New Spain, the people are generally converted to Christianity: for, about the year of our Lord 1524, there went divers learned men into those parts, who, by learning the Indians' languages, and their painful diligence in teaching and instructing youth, did so effectually proceed in that laborious work, that, within the limits of many hundred leagues, there are few or none unchristened. The beginning of that work was very difficult, by reason of the unaptness of the Indians, (so long imbrued in cruel sacrifices of human blood, and abominable idolatry,) and by the continual malice of the devil, rebelling against God, and striving to maintain his own kingdom: but, in the end, their constant and painful endeavours so far prevailed, that the Christian Religion increased amongst them, to the establishing of many bishopricks in New Spain, besides divers schools of learning. So likewise in Peru, and divers other countries, conquered by the Spaniards, the conversion of the people hath proceeded to no less admirable effects.

As touching the state of commonwealth, they have all sorts of governors, and magistrates in great honour and reputation; houses of nobility and gentry flourish and increase amongst them; soldiers and travellers are highly regarded, and worthily rewarded; merchants and tradesmen prosper, and gather wealth in extraordinary measure: what shall I say more? There be few or no professions or trades amongst us, in these parts of Christendom, but the same are used, followed, and practised in great perfection, both in New Spain, Peru, and other parts of the Indies, where the Spaniards have prevailed by their conquests.

⁵ [Vide Lopez de Gomara, *Historia de Mexico*. Anv. 1554, and Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, iii. 1118. edit. 1625. fol.]

By these memorable examples may our nation, being, in valour, inferior to none other under Heaven, be moved and stirred up to the undertaking of this noble action of Guiana; which, in respect of the climate, fertility of the soil, and tractable disposition of the people, (whereof, in the following discourse, I have spoken more at large,) doth assure us, that with God's favour and assistance, as great effects may be wrought in the conversion of these nations, and as great benefit and commodity may arise to the realm and crown of England, both in general and particular, as ever was performed or obtained by the Spanish nation, since the first beginning of their travels and discoveries. For if they in New Spain, and Peru, have cocheneal, anir, and cotton-wool; we in Guiana have also cotton-wool, tobacco, sugar-canes, divers good commodities for dyers, and likewise, in all likelihood, cocheneal; and sundry sorts of excellent wood for joiners-work, and other uses. If they have variety of apothecaries' drugs, and balsam for physick and surgery; so also have we, and those that are of admirable virtue. If they have gold, silver, and other metals, pearls, and precious stones; so doubtless we, in time, may have the like, having had good testimony thereof already, as plainly shall appear hereafter, when time better serveth.

Moreover, a singular advantage we have before them, to further and advance our enterprise, by the peculiar love and affection of the people in those parts towards our nation before all others. For, whereas the Spaniards were constrained by great labour, bloody battles, and much cruelty (for which they lost their hearts) to subdue the Indians; we, contrariwise, are well entertained, and friendly received by them, being willing to hold commerce with us; whereby we have a more secure and ready mean to establish a peaceable and assured commonwealth amongst them, for the employment of all the several professions of men mentioned before.

Finally, For your better inducement to the worthy undertaking of this high action, let us call to remembrance one excellent and material observation; that is, the discovery of this country of Guiana was heretofore attempted by Sir Walter Raleigh, who made an honourable entry thereinto by the river Oroonoko. What he then and there discovered, and how great and assured his hopes were of gaining to our country inestimable riches, and subduing to the crown of England a potent empire, was effectually and faithfully published to the world by his own pen; which excellent discourse⁶ I wish you to peruse, proceeding from so wise and judicious an author; who, if some known fortunes had not crossed his first intendments for the prosecuting of that enterprise, had, in all likelihood, long before this time increased the honour of our nation, by the reputation of the most famous and rich discovery and conquest, that the world could afford.

Let us herewithal observe, That, before his time, it was often attempted by the Spaniards, but to small effect; for, either by misfortune of shipwreck, dissension amongst the most eminent persons in their troops, mutiny of the soldiers, mistaking of the commanders, or violent fury of the Indians (who bear an inveterate and mortal hatred against them) they have ever failed of their purpose; whereof the said discourse of Sir Walter Raleigh maketh particular mention more at large. The continual loss and great misfortunes, that have followed the Spaniards from time to time, in all their attempts of this discovery and conquest, for the space almost of an hundred years; and the fortunate success, that most happily favoured the other in his first attempt thereof, may be a great presumption, and may give us an assured hope, that the powerful hand of God doth work for us in this behalf, and hath reserved the execution of this action for the honour of our nation.

⁶ [This piece was first published by Sir Walter, under the title of 'The Discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful Empire of Guiana, with a Relation of the great and golden City of Manoa, called by the Spaniards El Corado,' &c.; printed by Robt. Robinson, London, 4to. 1596. It has been reprinted in Hakluyt's Voyages, 2nd edit. iii. 627, and in Birch's Works of Raleigh, ii. 137. Also in Latin, under the title *Brevis et admiranda Descriptio Regni Guianæ*; &c. Norimb. Impens. 4to. 1599; and in Dutch, 4to. 1612.—The ingenious Dr. Edward Bancroft, in his Essay on the Natural History of Guiana, (8vo. 1769, p. 258) informs us, that in his time the Caribbee Indians retained a tradition of Sir Walter Raleigh, and were said to preserve an English jack, which he left there to distinguish his countrymen. Cayley's Life of Raleigh, i. 281. 2nd edit.]

Which forcible considerations gave me great encouragement to repair the decay of so worthy an enterprise, not with intent to rob him of his honour, who first of all our nation, nobly, with great judgment and valour gave the onset; but rather to do him more honour, by working upon his foundation, and prosecuting this project according to his first designs, which, doubtless, aimed at the glory of God, his sovereign's service, and his country's good.

Hereupon, I made trial of my fortune in the attempt, and have found the success so prosperous and hopeful (although it hath been chargeable unto me) and my acceptance so free and friendly amongst the Indians, that it hath given, not only to myself, but also to the rest of my associates (who, with the love and good-liking of the people, have lived and remained in Guiana for the space of three years) good assurance of repaying the charge past with treble recompense, and a resolved courage to proceed in the enterprise, to the prosecution whereof we have devoted both our substance and ourselves.

And, because the life of this action consisteth in the timely progress thereof, and requireth the assistance of many adventurers, I thought it very needful to lay before you these former examples and material considerations; and therewithal do recommend unto your view this following discourse, wherein I have compiled the hopeful fruits of my painful travels: thereby to move you to wipe away from your eyes the cloudy, incredulous blindness, that possessed our forefathers in the days of Henry the Seventh, when they rejected the offer, made by Bartholomew Columbus, in the behalf of his brother Christopher Columbus, and thereby lost the fruition of those inestimable riches in the West Indies, which now we see possessed by the Spanish nation; and also do invite and summon my countrymen in general to rouse up their valour, to quicken and spur on their endeavours to be coadjutors with us in this action both of honour and profit.

And, because it may be objected, to the discouragement of such as may have otherwise a desire to inhabit Guiana, that the Spaniards, inhabiting about Cumana, Margarita, and Trinidad, may disturb our plantation, and endanger the lives of those that shall make the first settlement there; I thought good to resolve all such as have affection to make themselves conquerors of that goodly country, that from the king of Spain's Indies nothing can offend them: for Guiana being seated in the head of the Brises, and to the windward of all the Spanish Indies, the current also of the sea setting to the west, maketh it impossible for any shipping to turn it up from the forenamed places towards us. The Spaniard, therefore, can no way offend us, but by a preparation out of Spain itself; and, whensoever he shall find himself at so great leisure, as to send a fleet out of Spain to seek us out upon the shallow coast of Guiana, either we shall frustrate that attempt, by raising a fort defensible for two or three months (for they must famish, if they stay longer) or else by setting ourselves above two or three of the overfalls of the rivers, where one-hundred men will defend themselves against five-thousand. But I am persuaded, that the Spaniards will take great deliberation, and be well advised of all ensuing accidents, before they give any attempt upon us: for we do not find, that they have yet attempted any thing upon Virginia, which lieth in their way homeward from the West Indies, albeit there have passed many years since the first plantation there. And surely, if Virginia had not a sharp winter, which Guiana hath not (which country of Guiana is blessed with a perpetual summer, and a perpetual spring) and that it had that store of victuals, which Guiana hath, it would in a short time grow to be a most profitable place. But thus much I can avow truly, That from Guiana, without any great labour, there may be returned, within the year, good store of cotton-wool; very rich dyes, divers sorts of gums, many sorts of feathers, all kinds of rich woods, balsams, jasper, and porphyry-stone, wax, honey, and tobacco; and so every year may we pay the transportation, until we increase in people to make sugars, and discover mines.

If the pains past, bestowed in my first attempt, may taste of your grateful acceptance, and that I may obtain your willing furtherance in the future, I shall then think my pains

well employed, and delight myself in labouring for your profit; and we all shall gain honour and reputation by undergoing the burden of so worthy a work, whereby our nation shall be greatly enriched, the dominion of our sovereign much enlarged, and God's service in those countries highly advanced.

R. H.

IN the year of our Lord 1608, and the twenty-third of March, when I had furnished myself with one ship of four-score tons, called the *Rose*; a pinnace of six and thirty tons, called the *Patience*; and a shallop of nine tons, called the *Lilly*, which I built at Dartmouth; and had finished my other business there, and prepared all things in readiness to begin my voyage, the wind reasonably serving, I then embarked my company, as followeth: In the *Rose*, I was accompanied with Captain Edward Fisher, Captain Edward Harvey, Master Edward Gifford, and my cousin Thomas Harcourt. And, besides them, I had, of gentlemen and others, one and thirty landmen, two Indians, and three and twenty mariners and sailors. In the *Patience*, my brother Captain Michael Harcourt had with him, of gentlemen and others, twenty landmen, and eleven mariners and sailors. In the *Lilly*, Jasper Lilly, the master, had one landman, and two sailors. So that my just number, too great for so few ships of no greater burden, was in all four-score and seventeen; whereof threescore were landmen. Being thus embarked, we set sail from the Range at Dartmouth the said twenty-third of March: but the wind, altering upon a sudden, put us back again that evening; and about two o'clock the next morning, it coming better for us, we weighed anchor, and put to sea. The evening following we lost sight of the *Lizard*, and steered away for the Canaries.

Upon Saturday, the first of April, 1609, towards the evening, the wind increased, and grew so violent, that my shallop, which we towed in a cablet by reason of the foul weather, was that night separated from us: for, by the rage and fury of the wind and sea, the cablet broke in sunder, and the little barque was in great danger to be cast away; but it pleased God to preserve her, for the next morning we descried her to leeward of us, contrary to our expectation, having given her for lost.

Then holding on our course, the seventh day we fell in with *Alegranza* and *Lancerote*, two islands of the Canaries. We stood in with *Alegranza*, and came to anchor on the south-west side thereof: that evening and the next day I landed my company, to exercise their limbs on shore. In this island we found no inhabitants, nor fresh water, neither fruitful tree, plant, herb, grass, nor any thing growing that was good, only an abundance of unwholsome sea-fowl, which, after one meal, were unsavoury and distasteful; and a few wild caprito's, or wild goats, which the craggy rocks defended from our hands, and hungry mouths.

The eighth of April we departed from *Alegranza*, and directed our course for *Teneriffe*, another of the islands. The eleventh day I sent the pinnace and the shallop to water at the *Calmes*, and there to attend my coming; but with my ship I held my course for *Orotavo*, a town on the other side of the island, in hope to get some wine amongst the merchants there; but not being able, by reason of a contrary wind, to double *Punta de Nega*, we altered our course from wine to water; and the twelfth day we passed by *Santa Cruz*, and watered that evening at the *Calmes*. This watering-place is very convenient for all such as pass by those islands, and is thus to be found: there is a wooden cross near unto it; the high pike of *Teneriffe* beareth due north from it: there is also a ledge of rocks to the eastward of the landing-place, which is a short sandy bay. When you are landed, you shall find the place about forty or fifty yards from the sea-side.

The next day we met again with the pinnace and the shallop, who, missing of the right place, had not yet watered; wherefore we stood back again to guide them to it; but the wind, preventing us, forced them to seek for water elsewhere; which, with some difficulty, they obtained upon the fifteenth day in the morning.

Then we stood on our course for the river of *Wiapoco* in *Guiana*, having a prosperous wind, fair weather, and a smooth sea. The ninth day of May, we fell into the current of

the great and famous river of Amazonas, which putteth out into the sea such a violent and mighty stream of fresh water, that, being thirty leagues from land, we drunk thereof, and found it as fresh and good as in a spring or pool. This river, for the great and wonderful breadth, containing at the mouth near sixty leagues, is rightly termed by Josephus Acosta the empress and queen of all floods. And by Hieronymus Girava Tarraconensis it is said to be the greatest not only of all India, but also of the whole world; and for the greatness is called of many 'the sweet sea.' It riseth and floweth from the mountains of Peru, and draweth out its streams in many windings and turnings under the equinoctial, for the space of one thousand and five-hundred leagues and more: although from its fountains and springs unto the sea it is but six-hundred. When we entered into the aforesaid current, we sounded, and had forty-four fathom water, sandy sounding. The tenth day, the colour of the water changed, and became muddy, whitish, and thick: then we sounded again at twelve of the clock at noon, and had thirteen fathom; and seventeen at four in the afternoon. The eleventh day, at eight of the clock in the morning, we made land; the uttermost point thereof bearing west from us; and came to anchor in five fathom water.

At night the *Patience*, putting in too near the shore, came to anchor in two half fathom water upon the flood, which fell from her upon the ebb, and left her upon the ooze; and the next flood, coming in, did so shake and beat her against the ground, that before she could get off, her rudder was beaten away, and her ribs so rent and crased, that if Almighty God had not preserved her, she had been wrecked. But, God be thanked, with much ado she came off into deeper water, and mended her rudder, as well as the time and place would afford means. Then we followed on our course, coasting along to the north-north-west, the land so trending. It is very shoal all along this coast, the ground soft ooze; but no danger to be feared, keeping our ship in five fathom water.

When we came to the latitude of two degrees and a half, we anchored in a goodly bay, by certain islands, called Carripapoor. I did at that time forbear to make a particular discovery of this coast, intending (if God spare me life) to make a perfect discovery of the famous river of Amazonas, and of its several branches, and countries bordering upon it; and of all this tract of land from the Amazonas, unto the river of Wiapoco, which containeth many godly provinces, and signiories, which are, in this discourse, but briefly mentioned. For at this time I purposed only to prosecute my first project, which hastened me unto another place.

From hence I stood along the coast, and, the seventeenth of May, I came to anchor in the bay of Wiapoco, where the Indians came off unto us in two or three canoes, as well to learn of what nation we were, as also to trade with us; who, understanding that we were Englishmen, boldly came on board us: one of them could speak our language well, and was known to some of my company to be an Indian, that some time had been in England, and served Sir John Gilbert⁷ many years. They brought with them such dainties as their country yieldeth; as hens, fish, pinas, plantanes, potatoes, bread of Cassia, and such like cates, which were heartily welcome to my hungry company. In recompense whereof, I gave them knives, beads, Jews-trumps, and such toys, which well contented them. But when I had a while entertained them, and made known unto them the return of the Indian Martin their countryman, whom I brought with me out of England; they seemed exceeding joyful, supposing that he had been dead, it being above four years since he departed from them.

The Indian, before mentioned to have served Sir John Gilbert, whose name was John, whilst he lived, (for he is now dead, and died a Christian,) was a great help unto us; because he spoke our language much better than either of those that I brought with me, and was ever firm and faithful to us, until his death. By him I understood that their town was situate upon the east side of the hill in the mouth of Wiapoco, and was called Caripo; that the Indian Martin was lord thereof, and that in his absence his brother was chief. More-

⁷ [Maternal half-brother to Sir Walter Raleigh.]

over, he certified me that the principal Indian of that river was called Carasana, who, by good fortune, was then at Caripo; and so, having spent some time in other conference and friendly entertainment, they took their leave, and departed for that time. I sent one of my company with them to give notice to Carasana, and the rest of the Indians of Caripo, that I had brought home their countryman Martin, whom they all thought to be dead, and another of their nation also, who had kindred and friends amongst them; to desire him to come aboard my ship, and to bring with him the principal Indians of Caripo, that I might declare unto them the cause of my coming into their country, and confer with them of other matters intended for their good. The next day I came into the river of Wiapoco, and anchored over-against the Sandy Bay.

The day following the Indians came aboard as I had desired, and brought us good store of their country provision. Carasana and one or two more of them were attired in old clothes, which they had gotten of certain Englishmen, who (by the direction of Sir Walter Raleigh) had traded there the year before: the rest were all naked, both men and women; and this I observed amongst them, that although the better sort of men, especially the Yaïos, do cover their privities, by wearing over them a little piece of cotton cloth prettily woven after their manner; yet did I never see any of their women covered in any part, either above or beneath the waist, albeit they daily conversed amongst us, but were all (as the plain proverb is) even stark belly naked.

At their coming aboard my ship, first Carasana, as the principal among them, and after him the rest, saluted and welcomed us after their rude manner. I used them with all courtesy, and entertained them as well as the straight room would give me leave, giving them good store of *aqua vitæ*, which they love exceedingly. I presented to their view their two countrymen, Martin the lord of their town, and Anthony Canabre, who was a Christian, and had lived in England fourteen years, both which I had brought home unto them. When they beheld them, and after salutations, and some conference, knew to be the same persons, whom they supposed had been long since dead, they expressed much joy and contentment: and understanding, from their own mouths, how well I had used them, they seemed to be better pleased with our coming. And, when their rude salutations to their new come countrymen were ended, I took them a-part, and thus declared the cause of my coming.

First I brought to their remembrance the exploits performed by Sir Walter Raleigh in their country, in the reign of our late sovereign Queen Elisabeth, when, to free them from servitude, he most worthily vanquished the Spaniards at Trinidad; burned their town; took their governor Don Anthonio de Berreo prisoner; delivered five of the Indian kings imprisoned, and bound by the neck with collars of iron; and with great labour and peril discovered the river of Oroonoko, and the countries adjoining, as far as the province of Aromaya, the country of Topiawary, and the river of Caroly beyond it. And that their countrymen called the Oroonokoponi, who are the borderers of Oroonoko, did then most willingly submit and render themselves under the subjection of the late queen: all which they well remembered, and said, that Sir Walter Raleigh promised to have returned again unto them long since. Then I excused his not returning according to his promise, by reason of other employments of great importance imposed upon him by the late queen: shewing them, moreover, that when he could not, for that cause, return himself, he sent Captain Keymis to visit them, and to bring him true intelligence of their estate, supposing that he had left no Spaniards behind him at Trinidad of power to molest them; to the end that relief and aid might be prepared for them; according to their necessities, and oppression of their enemies. Then I told them of the death of the late queen, whereby that business of theirs was again hindered.

Moreover, I declared unto them, that "our gracious sovereign Lord King James, who now reigneth over us (being the only right and lawful heir, and successor to the crown and dignity of the realm of England, after the death of the late queen) was throughout the whole land proclaimed King of England; and, so coming to reign over us, hath been ever since busied in ordering the state and affairs of the kingdom; which being, by his great

wisdom, settled in tranquillity and peace, he, like a good, gracious, and worthy king, doth now permit his subjects to travel abroad into foreign countries and nations, to aid and assist all such as are unjustly molested by their enemies. Whereupon I, and the rest of these worthy gentlemen my associates and friends, having intelligence by some that had been followers of Captain Charles Lee (who was a man well known amongst them, and heretofore had taken possession of their country to his majesty's use, and was planted divers years in Wiapoco, where he lieth buried) of the great variance and discord depending between them the allied nations, the Yaïos, Arwaccas, Sappaïos, and Paragontos, and their enemies the Caribbees, (all inhabiting between the rivers of Amazonas and Dessequebe) have made a long and dangerous voyage in those parts, to appease their dissensions, and defend them against the Caribbees, or other enemies that shall molest or oppress them. And, now being there arrived, do intend to make search in those countries for convenient places, where such of our nation, as shall hereafter come to defend them, may be fitly seated to dwell amongst them; that if any of those nations shall attempt at any time to disturb the quiet living of their neighbours, they may have store of English friends at hand and amongst them, that will not spare their pains to appease their discords, nor their lives to defend them from harm."

When I had thus declared unto them the cause of my coming, they made this answer: "That with our coming they were well pleased, but our number of men they thought too great; that they wanted means to provide us bread sufficient for them all, having but a small town, few gardens, and slender provisions for their own companies; because, since Captain Lee's death and his men's departure from them, they never made provision for any strangers."

I replied, "That albeit their town was small, and their gardens few (for the grounds wherein they plant their cassavi, whereof they make their bread, they call their gardens), yet their country was full of inhabitants, and had store of gardens to supply our wants of bread, and was plentifully stored with other provisions sufficient for a greater number; which I desired might be weekly brought unto us, as need required: for that I meant not to take it without recompense, but would give them for it such commodities as should well please them, which they wanted: as axes, hatchets, knives, beads, looking-glasses, Jews-trumps, and such like things wherein they most delight."

Then they desired to consult among themselves, which I permitted, and expected their answer above two hours; which time they spent in debating the matter after their manner, and drinking *aqua vite*, and in the end desired my presence, and made me this answer: "That they were contented and well pleased we should live amongst them; that they would furnish us with houses to lodge in, and provide all necessaries for us in the best manner they could. But whereas I said, our king would permit his people to live and abide amongst them, and defend them against their enemies; they answered, it was a thing they greatly desired, and had expected long, and now they made much doubt thereof; and said they were but words, having heretofore been promised the like, but nothing performed."

To resolve that doubt, and make good my speeches, I told them that what I had spoken should certainly be performed; and to that end I would leave my brother in their country, and some of my company with him, to dwell amongst them, until a greater supply might be sent from England for their better defence. Then they seemed to give credit to my words. And so after much talk, and many compliments to please the naked people, I gave to Carasana a sword, and to the rest some other things, which pleased them well: and then, after their manner taking their leave, they departed. The next day the Indian Martin went ashore, and seemed joyful that he had again recovered his own home.

The day following, I took land, with my companies in arms and colours displayed, and went up unto the town, where I found all the women and children standing at their doors, to behold us. The principal Indians came out unto me, and invited me into the captain's house; which, until the return of Martin, belonged unto his brother, as chief lord in his absence. I went up with them, and was friendly feasted with many kinds of

their country cates. When I had well eaten, and refreshed myself, Martin took me by the hand and said, "That he had not any thing wherewith to requite my kindness towards him, in such manner, as he desired; neither had he such delicate fare, and good lodging for us, as in England heretofore we had been used unto; but humbly entreated me to accept of his house in good part for myself, and the gentlemen of my company, and the rest should be lodged in other Indian houses adjoining; and that such provisions, as the country yielded, should be provided for us." His speech was approved by the rest of the Indians present, who took me by the hand, one after another, and after their manner bade me welcome. I gave them many thanks, and some rewards for their kind entertainment; and then disposed my company in convenient lodgings. But yet I kept a continual guard, as in time of war.

When I had thus settled my company, at this village, I went out to view the situation of the place, and the advantages for defence thereof. It is a great rocky mountain, not accessible by reason of vast woods, and steep rocks, but only in certain places, which are narrow foot-paths, very steep and easy to be defended; whereby we were lodged as in a fort, and most conveniently, in respect the harbour was so near; for our ships did ride at anchor underneath us, over against the foot of the hill.

Being thus arrived on the coast, I found the time of the year so unseasonable for our purpose, that (by reason of continual rains) we were constrained to lie still, and do nothing for the space of three weeks, or a month; in which idle time, I conferred with the Indians, sometimes with one, sometimes with another; and by help of my Indian Anthony Canabre, and the Indian John, above-mentioned, (whom I used for my interpreters,) I gathered from them, as well as I could, the state of their country; the manner of their government and living; how they stood with their neighbours in terms of peace and war, and of what power and strength they were. I inquired also of the seasons of the year in those parts; of their division, and account of times, and numbers; of the provisions of their country for victuals, and other necessities; and made a diligent inquiry of all the commodities their country yieldeth, and what things were of the most estimation amongst them: all which I have briefly declared unto your highness, in this following discourse.

This goodly country, and spacious empire, is, on the north part, bounded with the sea, and the great river of Oroonoko, wherein Sir Walter Raleigh performed his worthy and memorable discovery; on the east and south parts, with the famous river of Amazonas; and on the west part, with the mountains of Peru. The westernmost branch of the river Amazonas, that falleth into the sea, is called Arrapoco; upon which river, are seated many goodly signiories, well deserving a particular discovery, which shall (by God's permission) be performed hereafter. To the north of Arrapoco, is the river of Arrawary, which is a goodly river, discovering a gallant country. From Arrawary, unto the river of Cassipurogh extendeth the province of Arricary, containing the signiories of Arrawary, Maicary, and Cooshebery; of which Anakivry is principal; who, by nation, is a Yaio, and fled from the borders of Oroonoko, for fear of the Spaniards, to whom he is a mortal enemy. He hath seated himself in the province of Arricary, and now dwelleth at Mo-rooga, in the signiory of Maicary: to the north-north-west of which, there falleth into the sea a river, called Conawini, whereupon the signiory of Cooshebery bordereth; whereof an Indian, named Leonard Ragapo, is chief, under the subjection of Anakivry. This Indian is christened, and hath been heretofore in England, with Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom he beareth great affection: he can a little understand and speak our language, and loveth our nation, with all his heart. During my abode at Wiapoco, having intelligence of him, and of his country, and that certain stones were found therein, supposing to be diamonds; I sent my cousin Captain Fisher, to discover the same, and to fetch some of those stones, to be resolved of the truth.

At his coming hither, Leonard entertained him with all kindness, not after the ordinary rude manner of the Indians, but in more civil fashion; and, with much respect and love,

he furnished him with guides, to conduct him through the country to the place where the stones were found, being fifty miles southward up into the land; beyond which place there is an high mountain appearing in sight, called Cowob, and on the top thereof (as the Indians report) a great lake or pool, full of excellent fish of divers kinds. The country was as pleasant and delightful as ever any man beheld; but the stones not diamonds, yet they were topazes, which being well cut, and set in gold by a cunning workman, do make as fair a shew, and give as good a lustre as any diamond whatsoever, which yield good hopes of better to be found hereafter: for where the topaz is found on the mountains of Tenaseren, in the East Indies, the greatest store of diamonds are also found.

When my kinsman returned, Captain Leonard came with him to Wiapoco, (being above an hundred miles from his own country) only to visit me and my company; for the great love they did bear to Sir Walter Raleigh and our nation. I much marvelled to see him, for assuredly he is the bravest Indian of all those parts. After he had been with me a day or two, he earnestly requested me to send some of my company into his country, which he greatly commended for the wholesome air, and plenty of victuals; alleging, that the place where then we lived, by his own experience, was very unhealthful; that our men would there be subject to sickness, and die; and, for an instance, he named Captain Lee, and his company, who formerly were planted there, and almost all died by sickness in the same place. But he assured me, that his own country, Cooshebery, was of a good air, pleasant, and healthful; that there they might have room sufficient to build English houses in (for those were the words he used); that thither they should be welcome, and should want nothing. Much he persuaded to draw me to his desire, which by his importunity, I granted, and, accordingly performed it; finding his country answerable to his report; being, for the most part, champaign ground, naturally intermixed with plain fields, fruitful meadows, and goodly woods, in such admirable order, as if they had been planted artificially, by handy labour: the fields appearing above the meadows, in pleasant and delightful manner, presenting here and there unto the eye, from stately mounts, most beautiful and lively prospects; the meadows bordering on every side, between the fields and woods; the woods growing in the lowest vallies betwixt the meadows, and commonly watered with sweet and pleasant fresh streams running through them: which strange and rare mixture of mounts, vallies, meadows, fields, and meadows, affords as excellent and healthful habitations as can be wished or desired, but is not greatly peopled.

From the river Cassipurogh, north-westward to the river of Arracow, and up further into the land towards the west and south-west, as far as the river of Arwy, which falleth into Wiapoco, above the overfalls, extend the provinces of Arracoory, and Morrownia; which also to the landward, by the relation of my brother, Captain Michael Harcourt, and Captain Harvey, who have travelled and discovered those parts, are pleasant and delightful plain countries, like unto Cooshebery. The Arracoory country is well peopled, and their chief captain is called Ipero. Betwixt the Wiapocoories and Arracoories there is no hearty love and friendship; yet in outward shew they hold good quarter. In Morrownia there is also store of people, which are friendly Indians. In that province there is a very high hill, called Callipuny, fashioned like a sugar-loaf, or a pyramid, which over-vieweth and discovereth all the territories adjoining above an hundred miles. Beyond the country of Morrownia, to the southward, bordering the river of Arwy, is the province of Norrak; the people thereof are Caribbees, and enemies both to the Morrowines, the inhabitants of Morrownia, and to Wiapocoories, who are also under the subjection of Anakivry; the principal, and greatest lord, or cassique, of all the Yaïos in those provinces, bordering upon the sea betwixt the Amazonas south-eastward, and Dessequebe north-westward.

From the river of Amazonas to the bay of Wiapoco, there fall into the sea these rivers following: Arrapoco, a branch of Amazonas, Arrawary, Micary, Conawini, and Cassipurogh. In the bay of Wiapoco, to the east of the said river, falleth into the sea the river of Arracow, and into Arracow falleth the river of Watts. To the north of Wiapoco there is a small creek called Wianary, which letteth in the sea a day's journey, west-

ward, up into the land. Some take this creek to be a river, but they do err in that opinion, it having neither spring nor fountain from whence it falleth. To the north and north-west of the said creek there is a ridge of high mountains running towards the river of Apurwaca, the soil whereof is excellent and fertile for tobacco, and beareth the best of all those parts; so are the sugar-canes, growing there, the best and fairest that are found upon the coast; and all the tract of land, betwixt the rivers of Wiapoco and Apurwaca, is accounted the province of Wiapocoory, containing the signories of Wiapoco and Wianary. Beneath the overfalls in Wiapoco, which are forty miles distant from the sea, there is much people, both of Yaïos and Arwaccas. Of the Yaïos in this river, Carasana is chief. Of the Arwaccas Arriquona is principal. In Wianary there are few Indians, and Casurino is their chieftain.

To the north-west of the bay of Wiapoco, there fall into the sea the rivers of Apurwaca, Cowo, Wio, and Caiane. Apurwaca is a goodly river, and well inhabited; Cowo is void of inhabitants; Wio is a fair river, and leadeth many days journey into the high land, and discovereth a fertile and hopeful country. At Caiane there is an excellent harbour for shipping of any burden, which heretofore by Captain Laurence Keymis was called Port Howard. On the starboard-side, as you enter this harbour, there is an island of low land, called Muccumbro, situate betwixt the rivers of Caiane and Meccoria, containing in circuit about sixteen leagues. In this island there are two hills; the one called Muccumbro, whereof the island taketh the name; the other Cillicedemo. From these hills the greatest part of the island may be overiewed, which containeth many goodly pastures and meadows, intermixed with some woods, and is full of deer, both red and fallow.

On the larboard-side, as you enter Caiane, there is another island of high land, called Mattoory, in quantity much like unto the first; this island, for the commodious situation, is of great effect for the defence of the harbour, affording naturally two such notable convenient places for the planting of ordnance for that purpose, as no industry of art could devise better, or more available.

The inhabitants of this province of Caiane are Caribbees; their principal commander is called Arrawicary, who dwelleth at Cillicedemo, before-mentioned. We have found him trusty and faithful to our nation; but to our friend Leonard of Cooshebery he is a mortal enemy. At this man's house I left four or five of my company, thereby to hold amity and friendship with the Caribbees, to learn their language, and to keep peace between them and the Yaïos, Arwaccas, and other nations, their allies. To the south-westward of these provinces above-mentioned, towards the high land, there are many others which hereafter shall be more exactly described by a second discovery.

These provinces and signories to the landward are not plentifully inhabited; the greatest numbers of people are seated near unto the rivers, and travel, from place to place, in canoes. There is no settled government amongst them, only they acknowledge a superiority, which they will obey as far as they please. In every province or signiory there is a chief cassique, or captain, commanding all. So likewise in every town and village they commonly chastise murder and adultery by death, which only are the offences punished amongst them; and certain persons are appointed by them to execute those punishments. The Indians take wives, over whom they are extremely jealous, and expect great continency in them; for, if they take them in adultery, they presently cause their brains to be beaten out. The better sort of persons have every one of them two or three wives, or more, the rest but one; accounting him that hath most wives the greatest man. Their wives, especially the elder sort, are as servants unto them; for they make their bread and drink, dress their meat, serve them at meals, and do all the other business about the house.

These provinces are peopled with divers nations of several languages, namely, Yaïos, Arwaccas, Sappaïos, Paragotos, and Caribbees. The Caribbees are the ancient inhabitants, and the other nations are such as have been chased away from Trinidad, and the borders of Oroonoko. And, forasmuch as they have united themselves in those parts, the

Caribbees have held them in continual wars; but the Yaïos, and the other nations their allies, are grown so strong, that they have constrained the Caribbees of the sea-coast to contract a peace with them, yet bear no hearty love the one nation to the other. But, with the Caribbees inhabiting the inland parts upon the mountains, they have as yet no peace at all; for they do oftentimes come down upon them in great numbers, spoil and burn their houses, kill their men, and carry away their women, which is the greatest cause of war and hatred amongst them; whereof our men have seen experience in Cooshebery, where happened an accident worth the observing, which I will here declare unto your highness. The Indian, Leonard Ragapo, before-mentioned, is a Yaïo, who, finding the country of Cooshebery slenderly inhabited, hath seized upon it for his own signiory; and, at his earnest request, I sent four gentlemen of my company to remain there with him. The natural inhabitants that dwell upon the uttermost bounds thereof, towards the south and west, are Caribbees, and enemies to him and to his nation; for while our men (unknown to the Caribbees) staid at Cooshebery, they assembled themselves together to the number of two hundred, or more, and came down into his signiory, burned and spoiled houses, roasted one woman, took many prisoners, and intended to assault him also; which to prevent, he armed about fifty of his Indians, with their usual weapons, which are bows and arrows, long staves sharpened at the point, and with fire hardened; wooden swords and targets very artificially made of wood, and painted with beasts and birds: he requested also our men to aid and assist him with their musquets, which I commanded them to do upon all such occasions offered. And, so being all in readiness, Leonard, as their captain, led them on to intercept his enemies; and, as I have heard by Mr. Henry Baldwin, who then was present, and (to observe the manner of their wars) gave him leave to command all, he bravely performed that exploit, in good order after their manner, and with great judgment and resolution. For, in the front he first placed our four Englishmen, by two in a rank; next to them, two Indians armed with wooden swords and targets; then two archers; and after them two men with sharpened staves, instead of pikes; and in like manner ordered and ranked all his company. Being thus prepared, he marched against the Caribbees, who, near at hand, were coming in the same order towards him; but when they approached, and, unexpected, perceived our Englishmen amongst the Yaïos, they were much amazed, and made a sudden stand; which Leonard perceiving, guessed rightly at the cause, and instantly made good use of that advantage. He commanded his own company to keep their station; himself with a sword in his hand, which I had given him, and a target of his own fashion, went boldly towards them to parley with their captains. And, having called them out, he reproved them for coming as enemies, into his signiory, for burning and spoiling his houses and his people; he demanded satisfaction for the hurt done, and restitution of the prisoners taken, and warned them forthwith to depart out of his signiory, and desist from war: which if they refused to fulfil, he was there ready with his friends the Englishmen to fight with them, and revenge his wrongs: and said further, "That, if in the conflict any of the Englishmen were slain or hurt, he would then fetch all the rest from Wiapoco, and return to burn their houses, and cut them all in pieces." Thus he boldly spoke with such a courage, shewing also our men unto them, (who had their match in cock ready to discharge) that he struck such a fear into them all, by reason of our men's presence, that they presently agreed to peace; performed what conditions he required, and then departed home with all their company.

Here may your highness note the factions among the Indian nation, the discipline and order they hold in war, the fear the Caribbees conceived at the sight of our Englishmen, and the policy of the Indian, Leonard, to take advantage of their fear, and make our men his guard, and chief protection against them. These things in time will much avail us, being well observed, and rightly applied according to occasion. But to our former discourse. The power and strength of these countries, being so thinly peopled, is not very great to withstand the might of foreign enemies: the usual weapons of the Indians are before described, saving that their arrows are oftentimes poisoned. But, since our trade and

commerce with them, they have gotten a few good swords, musquets, calivers, and some small quantity of shot and powder, and have learned to handle their pieces very orderly, and some of them are good shots.

The seasons of the year upon this coast, and in this climate, are divers: for in the east parts of Guiana, towards the Amazones, the dry weather, which we call their summer, beginneth in August; and the violent rains and tempestuous winds, which we count their winter, begin in February. But in the western parts, towards Oroonoko, the dry season beginneth in October, and the rains and winds in April. There is little difference of heat and cold in this diversity of seasons, being so near the equinoctial, where the day and night are always equal; the sun ever rising and setting at six of the clock, or near thereabout; which climate by the ancient philosophers (in respect of the nearness of the sun, which causeth excessive drought and heat) was accounted the uninhabitable and burning zone. But our daily experience doth assure us of their certain mistaking in that point: for, in those parts we find, that when the sun declineth furthest from them towards the tropick of Capricorn, the air is then clearest, and the season of the year most dry; as in the eastern parts of Guiana, in August, September, October, November, and December; and when the sun returneth towards the tropick of Cancer, then do the rains begin, increase, and decrease, from February to July. But sometimes they begin to fall, and the rivers to rise, swell, and overflow, sooner or later by a month; and the year is sometimes more or less windy and wet, according to the disposition of the heavens, and of the planets; and as the sun approacheth or declineth, little or much, even so the earth wanteth or aboundeth with water and moisture.

The reasons of these strange diversities from other regions without the tropicks, are very excellently declared by Joseph Acosta in the second book of his *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*; to which author I refer you for your better satisfaction therein. But withal I must advertise you, that when you read his first and second books, you have regard to the place where they were written, which was in Peru, (reputed by us to be beyond the equinoctial towards the south, or pole antarctick,) lest you err by mistaking his meaning; for in those two books, when he mentioneth any place beyond the equinoctial, he meaneth towards the north, or pole arctick. And also you must note, that this general rule, for the heavens temperature, is only limited to the region of the burning zone, within the tropicks.

They have no division, or account of times or numbers: they only reckon by the moons, as one, two, three, four, or five moons; or by days, in like manner. Their numbers they reckon thus, one, two, three, and so to ten; then they say ten and one, ten and two, ten and three, &c. And, to shew their meaning more certainly, they will hold up one, two, three, or more of their fingers, expressing the numbers, still making signs as they speak, the better to declare their meaning. When they reckon twenty, they hold down both their hands to their feet, shewing all their fingers and toes; and, as the number is greater, so will they double the sign. When they appoint or promise any thing to be done by a time limited, they will deliver a little bundle of sticks, equal to the number of days or moons, that they appoint, and will themselves keep another bundle of the like number: and, to observe their appointed time, they will every day, or moon, take away a stick; and when they have taken away all, then they know that the time of their appointment is come, and will accordingly perform their promise.

As touching religion, they have none amongst them, that I could perceive, more than a certain observance of the sun and moon, (supposing them to be alive,) but use no religious worship towards them, nor offer sacrifice to any thing; unless they use a superstition in their drinking-feasts, by sacrificing jars of drink. For, at the death of any of their cassiques, (captains,) or great friends whom they esteem, they will make a solemn feast; (their chiefest provision being of their best and strongest drink, which they call parranow,) which feast shall continue three or four days, or as long as their liquor lasteth; spending their time in dancing, singing, and drinking excessively; in which vice they exceed all other nations whatsoever, accounting him that will be drunk first, the bravest fellow.

During this solemnity of their drinking, some woman, being nearest of kin unto the party dead, doth stand by and cry extremely. Thus their manner is, until their drink be spent, and then the feast is ended. Whether they use any superstition in this custom I know not; time will reveal, and also reform it. It is most certain, that their *peeaios*, as they call them, (priests, or soothsayers,) at some special times, have conference with the devil, the common deceiver of mankind, whom they call *wattipa*, and are by him deluded: yet, notwithstanding their often conference with him, they fear and hate him much, and say that he is naught; and not without great reason, for he will oftentimes, to their great terror, beat them black and blue. They believe that the good Indians, when they die, go up; and will point towards the heavens, which they call *caupo*; and that the bad Indians go down; pointing to the earth, which they call *soy*. When any cassique, captain, or chief man, dieth amongst them, if he have a slave or prisoner taken from their enemies, they will kill him; and if he have none such, then will they kill one of his other servants, that he may have one to attend him in the other world.

The quality of the land, in those countries, is of divers kinds. By the sea-side the land is low, where the heat would be most vehement, if it were not qualified and tempered by a fresh easterly wind or breeze, most forcibly blowing in the heat of the day. In many places this low land is very unhealthful, and little inhabited, by reason of the overflowing of the waters: but, for the most part, it hath goodly navigable rivers, a fertile soil, much people, and is a healthful habitation. Upon the mountains there is a high land, where the air is coldest. In some places it is fruitful, in others not: but, generally, is full of minerals, and mines of metals, and yieldeth as many as any part either of the East or West Indies, both of the best and of the basest; whereof we shall, by God's permission, give good testimony, to the benefit of our country, and honour of our nation, in time convenient. And, in most places upon the mountains, there is sound and healthful dwelling. There is also a middle sort of land, which is of a mean height, and is most temperate, healthful, fertile, and most inhabited of all others. It aboundeth in meadows, pastures, and pleasant streams of fresh water, in goodly woods, and most delightful plains, for profit, pleasure, sport, and recreation; and also is not void of minerals.

The provisions of this country for victuals are many. First of the root of a tree called *cassaui*, they make their bread, in manner following: they grate the root upon a stone, and press out the juice thereof; which, being raw, is poison, but boiled with Guinea pepper, whereof they have abundance, it maketh an excellent and wholesome sauce: then they dry the grated root, and bake it upon a stone, as we bake our oaten cakes in England. This bread is very excellent, much like, but far better, than our great oaten cakes, a finger thick, which are used in the Moorlands, and the Peake in Staffordshire and Derbyshire.

There is a kind of great wheat, called *maiz*; of some it is called Guinea wheat; which grain is a singular provision in those countries, and yieldeth admirable increase, even a thousand or fifteen hundred for one, and many times much more. It maketh excellent meal, or flour for bread; and very good malt for beer or ale; and serveth well for sundry other necessary uses for the relief of man. Of the aforesaid *cassaui* bread, and this wheat, the Indians make drink, which they call *passiaw*. It will not keep long, but must be spent within four or five days. They make another kind of drink of *cassaui*, called *par-ranow*, very good and strong, much like unto our best March beer in England; and that kind of drink will keep ten days. Many sorts they have, which I have tasted; some strong, some small, some thick, some thin, but all good, being well made, as commonly they were amongst the Yaïos and Arwaccas, which are the cleanliest people of all those nations.

There is great store of honey in the country, and although it be wild, (being taken out of trees, and holes in the earth,) yet is it as good as any in the world; of which may be made an excellent drink much used in Wales, called *meath*. The honey and the wax are also good commodities for merchandize. There are no vines in that country, but, the soil being rich and fertile, and the climate hot, if they were planted there, they would

prosper exceedingly, and yield good sacks and canary-wines; which, in those parts, we find to be very wholesome.

Many other necessary provisions, sufficient for the sustenance of man, do there abound in plenty: namely, deer of all sorts, wild swine in great numbers, whereof there are two kinds; the one small, by the Indians called *pockiero*, which hath the navel in the back; the other is called *paingo*, and is as fair and large, as any we have in England. There is store of hares and conies, but of a kind far differing from ours. There are tigers, leopards, ounces, armadils; maipuries, which are in taste like beef, and will take salt; baremoes, or ant-bears, which taste like mutton; and other small beasts of the same taste, coloured like a fawn; elks, monkies, and marmosites of divers sorts, both great and small; of these beasts there are innumerable, and, by experience, we have found them all good meat. Many other kinds of beasts there are, of sundry and strange shapes, which hereafter shall be figured in their true proportion, according to the life, with their names annexed.

Of fowls there are divers kinds: namely, wild-ducks, widgeons, teals, wild-geese, herons of divers colours, cranes, storks, pheasants, partridges, doves, stock-doves, black-birds, curlews, god-wits, wood-cocks, snites, parrots of sundry sorts, and many other kinds of great and small birds of rare colours: besides great ravenous fowls, and hawks of every kind.

Of fish the variety is great. First, of sea-fish; there is sea-bream, mullet, sole, scate, thornback, the sword-fish, sturgeon, seal; a fish like unto a salmon, but, as the salmon is red, this is yellow; shrimps, lobsters, and oysters, which hang upon the branches of trees. There is a rare fish, called *cassoorwa*, which hath in each eye two sights, and, as it swim-meth, it beareth the lower sight within the water, and the other above. The ribs and back of this fish resemble those parts of a man; having the ribs round, and the back flat, with a dent therein, as a man hath; it is somewhat bigger than a smelt, but far exceeding it for dainty meat: and many other sorts there are most excellent. Of fresh-water fish, many kinds unknown in these parts, but all exceeding good and dainty: and I dare be bold to say, that this country may compare with any other of the world, for the great variety of excellent fish, both of the sea and fresh waters. There is also a sea-fish, which usually cometh into the fresh waters, especially in the winter and wet season; it is of great esteem amongst us, and we account it half flesh, for the blood of it is warm; it cometh up into the shallow waters in the drowned lands, and feedeth upon grass and weeds: the Indians name it *coiumero*, and the Spaniards *manati*, but we call it the sea-cow. In taste it is like beef, will take salt, and serve to victual ships; as in our knowledge hath been proved by our countrymen. Of this fish may be made an excellent oil for many purposes: the fat of it is good to fry either fish or flesh; the hide, as I have heard, will make good buff; and being dried in the sun, and kept from wet, will serve for targets and armour against the Indian arrows. In the wet season the store of them is infinite; some of these hides were heretofore brought into England by Sir Walter Raleigh.

The several kinds of fruits are many; the pina, platana, potatoe, medlar, plums of divers sorts, and nuts of strange kinds. The excellency of the pina I cannot express, for I dare boldly affirm, that the world affordeth not a more delicate fruit: in taste it is like strawberries, claret-wine, and sugar. The platana is also a very good fruit, and tasteth like an old pippin. The potatoe is well known. The medlar exceedeth in greatness. The plums I cannot commend; for to eat much of them doth cause fluxes, which in those countries are dangerous. The nuts are good, being moderately eaten.

Having thus, most excellent prince, declared the several sorts of provisions for victuals and necessary foods, it remaineth, that I now make mention of the variety of commodities found in the country for the trade of merchandise; which in a few years, by our pains and industry, may be brought to perfection, and so settled in those parts, that not only the undertakers may receive reward for their endeavours, but our country also may grow rich, by trading for the fruits of our labours.

The first and principal commodity of estimation are the sugar-canes, whereof, in those parts, there is great plenty: the soil is as fertile for them, as in any other part of the world;

they do there grow to great bigness in a short time. By orderly and fit planting of them, and by erecting convenient works for the boiling and making of sugars (which at the first will require some charge and expense) may be yearly returned great benefit and wealth. The long experience of the Portuguese and Spaniards, in Brasil and the Island of the Canaries, and of the Moors in Barbary, may give us certain assurance and full satisfaction thereof.

The cotton-wool is a general commodity, beneficial to our merchants, and profitable to our country, by making of fustians, and serving for bumbast and other uses; for making of hamaccas, which are the Indian beds, most necessary in those parts; and also of a fine cotton cloth for clothing of the people. There is a natural hemp or flax of great use, almost as fine as silk, as it may be used: we have now found out the best use of it, and for making of linen cloth it is most excellent.

There are many rare and singular commodities for dyers; of which sort there is a red berry, called *annoto*, which, being rightly prepared by the Indians, dyeth a perfect and sure orange tawny in silk: it hath been sold in Holland for twelve shillings sterling the pound, and is yet of a good price. There is another berry, that dyeth blue. There is also a gum of a tree, whereof I have seen experience, that, in cloth, dyeth a sure and perfect yellow in grain. There are leaves of certain trees, which, being rightly prepared, do dye a deep red. There is also a wood, which dyeth a purple, and is of a good price; and another, that dyeth yellow. There is yet another wood, which dyeth a purple when the liquor is hot; and a crimson, when the liquor is cold. Many other notable things there are, no doubt, not yet known unto us, which, by our diligent labour and observation, in time will be discovered and found.

The sweet gums, of inestimable value and strange operation in physick and surgery, are innumerable; there is yellow amber, gurma, lemnia, colliman, or carriman, barratta, and many more, which I omit. The colliman hath been proved by Mr. Walter Cary of Wickham, in Buckinghamshire, (a gentleman of great judgment and practice in physick,) to be of special regard, for many purposes. This gum is black and brittle, much like, in shew, to common pitch; if you put a little of it upon burning coals, it filleth all the room, with a most sweet and pleasant savour. He further reporteth of it, that certainly, if you hold your head over the fume thereof, three or four times a day, it cureth the giddiness of the head; and is also a most excellent comfort and remedy for a cold, moist, and rheumatick brain. It is also good against the resolution, or, as the common sort call it, the dead palsy; whereof the giddiness of the head is often a messenger, and the foreteller of that most pernicious grief. It is also of great use for the pain, that many women have in the lower part of their backs, which is very common to such as have had children. For remedy whereof, it is to be melted in a pewter vessel, with a gentle fire; then, with a knife, it must be spread lightly upon a piece of leather, and laid warm to the place grieved, until it come off itself. This plaster is also very good for aches, and doth greatly comfort and strengthen the sinews. Thus much hath Mr. Cary written and reported of it, and hath proved by his own experience. This gum is also approved to be an excellent remedy against the gout, and of singular virtue in the cure of wounds. The barratta is a most sovereign balsam, for excelling all others yet known; which, by the same gentleman's experience, is of admirable operation in the cure of green wounds; and, being burned upon coals, is of a sweet and odoriferous savour. There are many other sweet gums of great use for perfumes; whereof one doth make a very rare perfume, much like unto the scent of sweet marjoram, very pleasant and delectable.

For physick, there are also many excellent drugs; namely, spikenard, cassia, fistula, sene; and the earth yieldeth bole-armoniack and terra-lemnica, all which are known unto us. There be other drugs and simples, also, of strange and rare virtue, in these parts unknown: of which sort there is a little green apple, by the Indians called in their language 'the sleeping apple,' which, in operation, is so violent, that one little bit thereof doth cause a man to sleep to death; the least drop of the juice of it will purge, in a vehement and excessive manner, as dangerously was proved by my cousin Unton Fisher, who first found

it: for biting a little of it for a taste, and finding it to burn his mouth, in some extremity, he did suddenly spit it out again; but some small quantity of the juice, against his will, went down into his stomach, which, for two or three days space, did provoke in him an extraordinary sleepiness, and purged him with sixty stools. This apple, for the purging virtue, in so small a quantity, is like to be of good price, and great estimation, in the practice of physick; for the learned physicians do well know how to correct the sleeping quality thereof, wherein the danger resteth. There is a berry in those parts very excellent, against the bloody flux: by the Indians, it is called *kellette*. The juice of the leaf, called *uppee*, cureth the wounds of the poisoned arrows. The juice of the leaf, called *icari*, is good against the head-ach. Many other drugs and simples are there found, of singular properties, both in physick and surgery, which if they should be severally described, according to their value and worthiness, would contain a large volume.

Moreover, the tree, wherewith they take their fish, is not a little to be esteemed: but chiefly the great goodness of God, therein, is highly to be praised and admired, who (amongst so many admirable things by him created, and planted in those parts,) hath vouchsafed to bestow upon those barbarous people so great a benefit, and natural help, for the present getting of their food and sustenance. These trees are commonly growing near unto the places of their habitation for their present use: for when, at any time, they go to fish, they take three or four little sticks of this tree, and bruise them upon a stone, and then go into certain small creeks, by the sea-shore, which, at high-water, are usually full of very good fish of divers kinds, which come in with the tide; and there they wade up and down the water, and, between their hands, rub those small bruised sticks therein, which are of such virtue, that they will cause the fish to turn up their bellies, and lie still above the water, for a certain time: in which space, they presently take as many as they please, and lade them into their canoes, and so with little labour return home, sufficiently provided. There is also a red-speckled wood, in that country, called *pira timinere*, which is worth thirty or forty pounds a ton. It is excellent for joiners work; as chairs, stools, bedsteads, presses, cupboards, and for wainscot. There are divers kinds of stone of great use, and good price; as jasper, porphyry, and the spleen-stone.

There is yet another profitable commodity, to be reaped in Guiana; and that is by tobacco, which (albeit some dislike) yet the generality of men, in this kingdom, do with great affection entertain it. It is not only in request, in this our country of England, but also in Ireland, the Netherlands, in all the easterly countries, and Germany; and most of all amongst the Turks, and in Barbary. The price, it holdeth, is great; the benefit, our merchants gain thereby, is infinite; and the king's rent, for the custom thereof, is not a little. The tobacco that was brought into this kingdom, in the year of our Lord, 1610, was, at the least, worth sixty-thousand pounds: and since that time, the store, that yearly hath come in, was little less. It is planted, gathered, seasoned, and made up, fit for the merchant in a short time, and with easy labour. But, when we first arrived in those parts, we altogether wanted the true skill and knowledge, how to order it; which, now of late, we happily have learned of the Spaniards themselves; whereby I dare presume to say, and hope to prove, within few months, (as others, also of sound judgment, and great experience, do hold opinion,) that only this commodity tobacco, so much sought after, and desired, will bring as great a benefit and profit to the undertakers, as ever the Spaniards gained by the best and richest silver mine, in all their Indies; considering the charge of both.

The things, which the Indians desire from us, by way of trade, in exchange for the above-named commodities, (whereby we hold society and commerce with them,) are axes, hatchets, bill-hooks, knives, all kinds of edge tools, nails, great fish-hooks, harping-irons, Jews-trumps, looking-glasses, blue and white beads, chrystal beads, hats, pins, needles, salt, shirts, bands, linen and woollen cloaths, swords, musquets, callivers, powder and shot; but of these last mentioned we are very sparing, and part not with many, unless upon great occasion, by way of gift to special persons. For these toys, and such like trifling things, the Indians will sell unto you any of the above-mentioned commodities.

ties that can be gotten or prepared by them, or any thing they have, or that their country yieldeth; and will perform any reasonable labour for them.

Thus have I delivered unto your highness the particulars of the several commodities, which hitherto we have discovered, and found likely to be profitable in Guiana, whereof examples are remaining to be seen in the hands of Mr. Henry Hovenaer, a Dutchman, who, in the year of our Lord 1610, performed a voyage to Guiana, to the places where our company was seated, and now abideth in Thames-street, near unto Cole-harbour; and I make no doubt, that by continuance of time, our painful travels, and diligent observations, we shall discover and get knowledge of an infinite number of others as rich, necessary, and beneficial as these already spoken of, or any other whatsoever, if it please Almighty God to favour and bless our proceedings.

When the rains ceased, which was in July, I began to travel abroad, in search of those golden mountains, promised unto us, before the beginning of our voyage, by one that undertook to guide us to them; which filled my company so full of vain expectations, and golden hopes, that their insatiable and covetous minds, being wholly set thereon, could not be satisfied with any thing, but only gold. Our guide, that vainly made those great promises, being come unto the wished place, to make performance, was then possessed with a shameless spirit of ignorance; for he knew little, and could perform nothing. What other intelligences of mines, already found, I had from other men in England, and from the master of the ship, who had been heretofore in those parts, I found them by experience false; and nothing true concerning mines, that was in England reported unto me.

Our greedy desire of gold being thus made frustrate, divers unconstant persons of my unruly company began to murmur, to be discontented, to kindle discords and dissensions, and to stir up mutiny, even almost to the confusion and ruin of us all; and were upon the point to shake off all obedience to their commanders; to abandon patience, peace, and unity; and wilfully to break out into all mischief and wretched disorder, only because they were deceived of their golden hopes and expectations: but, with good words, and comfortable persuasions, I pacified them for the time, and made them acquainted with my better hopes conceived of the commodities above-mentioned. I persuaded them in general from idleness, to travel abroad, to search and seek out amongst the Indians what other novelties they could find (though gold were wanting) whereby we might hereafter benefit ourselves: and still I employed them, some one way, and some another, to occupy their minds by doing something; the better to prevent dissension, which commonly is bred of idleness, the slothful mother of all filthy vices.

As I daily conversed amongst the Indians, it chanced one day, that one of them presented me with a half-moon of metal, which held somewhat more than a third part gold, the rest copper; another also gave me a little image of the same metal; and of another I bought a plate of the same, which he called a spread eagle, for an axe. All which things, they assured me, were made in the high country of Guiana; which, they said, did abound with images of gold, by them called *carrecoory*. These things I shewed to my company, to settle their troubled minds; which gave much contentment to the greater part of them, and satisfied us all, that there was gold in Guiana. Shortly after that, my Indian, Anthony Canabre, brought me a piece of a rock, of white spar, whereof the high country is full. And if the white spars of this kind, which are the purest white of all others (for every sort of mine hath a spar, and, for the most part, white) be in a main rock, they are certainly mines of gold, or silver, or of both. I made trial of a piece of spar, which the same Indian discovered unto me, and I found that it held both gold and silver, which, although it was in small quantity, gave me satisfaction, that there are richer mines in the country to be found; but the best lie deeper in the earth, and we had not time nor power to make search for them.

Being thus informed, and sufficiently resolved of the commodities of the country, and well satisfied of the minerals, I bent all my endeavours to find out the fittest places, and most convenient for our first plantations. At the last I found out many, and some of

special note, which are, for many respects, of great importance; and when time serveth, our forces and number of men being answerable, I will lay them open to the knowledge of the world. And, for wealth, I hope they shall fully answer all men's expectations.

I travelled up the river of Wiapoco, to view the overfalls; but, the waters being high and strong, I could not pass them. In August, when they are fallen, with some labour they may be passed. This river hath very many overfalls; one lying a good distance beyond another, even to the head thereof. Above some of the first falls there dwelleth an Indian, called Comarian, who is an old man, of a free disposition; by him I learned, that, a certain distance above the first fall, the river Arwy falleth into Wiapoco: moreover, that certain days journey beyond him, towards the high land, upon the borders of Wiapoco, there is a nation of Caribbees, having great ears of an extraordinary bigness, hard to be believed, whom he called Marashewaccas. Amongst these people, (as Comarian reporteth,) there is an idol of stone, which they worship as their God; they have placed it in a house made on purpose, for the greater honour of it, which they keep very clean and handsome. This idol is fashioned like a man sitting upon his heels, holding open his knees, and resting his elbows upon them; holding up his hands, with the palms forward; looking upwards, and gaping with his mouth wide open. The meaning of this proportion he could not declare, although he hath been many times amongst them, and hath often seen it. What other nations were beyond these, he did not know, having never travelled so far; but he saith they be Caribbees, and also enemies unto them. It seemeth there are many nations of those great-eared people; for, in the river of Marrawini, I heard also of the like, who dwell far up, towards the high land, as hereafter you shall hear; and I suppose, by the trending of the rivers of Wiapoco, and Marrawini, are all one people.

Upon the fourteenth day of August I went unto a mountain called Gomeribo, being the uttermost point of land to the northward, in the bay of Wiapoco: I found the soil of it most excellent for tobacco, maiz, cotton-trees, annoto-trees, vines, and for any other thing that should be planted there. When I had taken good view of the place, and found it commodious for many purposes; then, in the presence of Captain Fisher, divers gentlemen, and others of my company, and of the Indians also, I took possession of the land, by turf and twig, in the behalf of our sovereign lord King James. I took the said possession of a part, in the name of the whole continent of Guiana, lying betwixt the rivers of Amazonas and Oroonoko, not being actually possessed and inhabited by any other christian prince or state; wherewith the Indians seemed to be well content and pleased.

In like manner my brother, captain Michael Harcourt, and Captain Harvey, (whom I left as his associate, and he esteemed as an inward friend,) in a notable journey, which, to their great honour, they performed to discover the river of Arrawary, and the country bordering upon it, near adjoining to the river of Amazonas, did take the like possession of the land there, to his majesty's use.

The dangers and great difficulties, which they in that attempt encountered, were memorable, and such, as hardly any of our nation, in such small canoes, being only somewhat longer, but not so broad as our Thames wherries, and flat-bottomed, ever overcame the like. First, the number of their own attendants, besides themselves, was only one man and a boy: their troop of Indians sixty persons: their journey by sea, unto the river of Arrawary, was near an hundred leagues; wherein, by the way, they met with many dreadful plunges, by reason of a high going sea, which breaketh upon the flats and shoals, especially at the next great cape to the north of Arrawary, which, (in respect of the danger they passed there,) they named 'Point Perilous.' Then their discovery up the river was fifty leagues more, where they found a nation of Indians, which had never seen white men or christians before, and could not be drawn to any familiar commerce or conversation, no not so much as with our Indians, because they were strangers to them, and of another nation. The discovery of this river is of great importance, and special note, affording an entrance more commodious for the searching and discovery of the inland parts of Guiana,

than any other river yet known upon the coast; for, trending westward up into the land, it discovereth all the countries and nations to the southward of Arricary, Cooshebery, Morrownia, and Norrack, which I have mentioned before.

Many weeks they spent in this adventure, still taking up their lodgings in the woods at night. Provision of meat they wanted not, for fish were ever plenty, and at hand; and the woods yielded either deer, tigers, or fowl. Their greatest want was of bread and drink, which only defect did hinder, at that time, the accomplishment of that discovery. For when the Indians perceived their bread to be near spent, and their drink to be corrupted, they could not be persuaded to proceed; having no means to supply their wants amongst the Arrawaries, the Indians of that river, who would not freely trade with them upon this first acquaintance, but always stood upon their guard, on the other side of the river, where they inhabited; yet they, desiring to obtain some of our English commodities, and make trial of our Indians friendship, afforded some small trade for their present relief, during their abode in that river: so that of force they were constrained to break off their discovery, and hasten homeward. But here their dangers ended not; for, as they returned, arriving at certain islands called Carripoory, and passing between them and the main land, much against the wills of all the Indians, who, knowing the danger of the place, and more respecting their safety than their own (being themselves all expert swimmers) would have dissuaded them from that hazard: but they, being ignorant of the peril, would needs pass on, and at the last met with such a boar, (as the seaman term it,) and violent encounter of two tides coming in, which, like two furious enraged rams or bulls, rushed together, and often retired back, to return again with greater violence, until the one, by force, had overborne the other; that if, next under God, the diligent care and pains of the Indians had not preserved them, they had been there destroyed, and swallowed up by that merciless boar, or breach of waters, which (God be thanked) they escaped, and returned home in safety.

Here may your highness fitly note and observe two things; the one, the assured love and fidelity of the Indians to our nation, who, having in their power, for six weeks space, four only of our company, and two of those the chiefest of the rest; and, if they had been false and treacherously minded towards them, might easily have drowned, starved, or slain them; yet did not only forbear to practise harm against them, but did also safely row their boats, night by night prepare their lodgings in the woods, and daily use their care and best endeavours to discover and prevent all dangers that might happen to them, and to guide them, serve them, and provide them meat. Such trust and faithfulness is rarely found amongst such barbarous infidels; and yet we have had three years experience thereof. The other thing to be observed here, is the store and plenty of victuals in Guiana, where sixty-four persons together in one company, without any provision of victuals (bread and drink excepted) before-hand made, could travel abroad for six weeks space, most commonly lodging in the woods, seldom in any town or village, and yet, in all places wheresoever they came, could readily get meat sufficient for them all; which blessing God hath given to Guiana, for the comfort of all such as shall be willing to be planters there. This, and much more, could my brother have truly avouched, if he had lived; but, since his return into England, it hath pleased God, who gave him life, and preserved him from many dangers, to take him to his mercy. But the other, Captain Harvey, surviveth, whose life hath ever suited with a generous and worthy spirit, professing arms, and following the wars; who also is generally well known to be a gentleman, both honest and of spotless reputation; he will aver, and justify for truth, what is here mentioned. But I will now return from whence I have digressed.

When I had, as before, taken possession at Gomeribo, in presence of the said parties, I delivered the possession of that mountain to my Indian, Anthony Canabre, to have, hold, possess, and enjoy the same, to him, and to his heirs for ever, of our sovereign lord King James, his heirs and successors, as his subject; yielding and paying yearly the tenth part of all tobacco, cotton, wool, annoto, and other commodities whatsoever, which should hereafter be either planted or growing within the said mountain, if it were demanded. The

Indian most gladly received the possession upon these conditions; and, for himself and his posterity, did promise to be true subjects unto the king's majesty, his heirs and successors; and to pay the duties imposed upon them; and so, that business being finished, I returned again to Wiapoco.

Now, most worthy prince, there came unto my knowledge an inconvenience happened by the careless negligence of the master of my ship, who had the charge of providing and laying in the provisions and victuals for the voyage, which was the cause that I gained no present profit by it, but left off all my discoveries in the first beginning. I had a purpose at that time to perform a business, which might have proved profitable, and honourable unto us, if I had been able to have staid the time; but it was not my chance to be so fortunate; for the master, his mates, and the steward of my ship came unto me, and told me plainly, that if I made any longer abode in that country, I would never, in those ships, return into England; or if I did adventure it, myself, and all my company, would starve at sea for want of beer, cider, and water, for all my casks were spoiled, because they were not iron-bound; the wooden hoops flew off, by reason of the heat of the climate; and our beer and cider, whereof we had good store, did leak about the ship, so that we could hardly save sufficient to relieve us, if we made a longer stay upon the coast: which was the master's fault, having had a special charge to be careful of that only point. By this default I was constrained to make a virtue of necessity, and prepare myself for England, and leave my former purposes to be accomplished hereafter; which shall be done (God aiding me) in time convenient.

Then, disposing of my company, I appointed my brother Captain Michael Harcourt to remain in the country, as chief commander in my absence, and to continue the possession on the king's behalf. I gave him directions to travel abroad, as occasion served, to discover the country; to spend some time at Cooshebery, and some time also in other places; but to make his chiefest residence at Wiapoco, the only rendezvous for ships that trade upon that coast, and there to plant good store of maiz, for our relief of bread and drink, which is the chiefest thing to be respected in those parts; for other victuals we need not take much care, being always easily provided. He performed his charge with great reputation, discovered many goodly provinces, and spacious countries, and worthily continued the possession full three years complete. I left with him, for his assistance, Captain Harvey, above-mentioned, who hath nobly vowed his time and fortune to be employed in the prosecution of this honourable action. For his lieutenant I appointed Mr. Edward Gifford, a valiant and worthy gentleman; and I left also with him, of gentlemen and others, about twenty more, with all such necessities as I could spare, and thought convenient for them. And so, commending them to God, the eighteenth day of August I departed from Wiapoco, and the day following arrived at Caiane.

At my coming to Caiane, my pinnance received a leak, which would have proved dangerous, if we had been far at sea; whereby forced to attend the stopping thereof, and new trimming of the pinnace, and unwilling to be idle in the mean space doing nothing, I left my ships there to repair their defects, and in my ship-boat departed thence, the twenty-third of August; taking with me Captain Fisher, who hath ever been, since we first crept into the world, my chief companion, both in arms and travels. I took also with me his brother Unton Fisher, Mr. Cradle, the master's mate of my ship, and about six more. I followed the coast to the westward, steering due west, and, passing by the river of Meccooria, I lodged that night in the mouth of the river Courwo; which hath a narrow deep entrance, and within affordeth a good harbour, which may, in time to come, for some special purpose, be of great use.

The next day and the night following, I proceeded westward with full sail; and, passing the rivers of Manmanury, Sinammara, Oerassowini, Coenannonia, Vracco, and Amanna, I arrived the twenty-fifth day at the river of Marrawini, which openeth a fair river, but is shoal upon the bar, which lieth two or three leagues off at sea, having but two fathom water. Within the bar, the channel is three, four, five, and six fathom deep. Five leagues within the river we passed by certain islands called Curewapory, not in

habited; for at the rising of the waters they are always overflown, of which sort the river hath very many. We lodged that night a little beyond these first islands, at a village called Moyemon, on the left hand: the captain thereof is called Maperitaka, of the nation of the Paragotos, a man very loving and faithful to our nation, whereof we have had good proof. The next day we proceeded up the river three leagues, and staid at a town called Coewynay, on the right hand, at the house of Minapa, the chief carib of that signiory, to provide two canoes to prosecute our journey for the discovery of this river.

The twenty-eighth day we went forward, passing many villages and towns, which I forbear to name; and, having gone about twenty leagues from the sea, we found the river in a manner barred up with rocks, over which the water falleth with great violence; yet notwithstanding we adventured to proceed, and the further we went, the more dangerous we found the overfalls, and more in number. But when we had passed the first mountain, towards the high country of Guiana, called Sapparow; and discovered far off before us other high mountains, called Matawere Moupanana; and had proceeded six days journey up the river, which was more than forty leagues, we met with such a shoal rocky stream, and great overfalls, that there, to our grief, our journey ended.

Being thus, for that time, debarred from our intended discovery, we prepared ourselves with patience to return towards our ships; and the third day of September we turned down the river, shooting the overfalls with more celerity than when we came up, dispatching three days journey in one, and the fifth day returned safe to Moyemon: but, before I departed thence, Captain Fisher told me of certain plants which he had then found, much like unto rose-trees, growing about half a yard in height, whereof, for the strangeness of them, I cannot forbear to add a word or two. These plants, or little trees, had assuredly the sense of feeling, as plainly appeared by touching them; for, if you did but touch a leaf of the tree with your finger, that leaf would presently shrink, and close up itself, and hang down as if it were dead; and, if you did cut off a leaf with a pair of scissors, then all the other leaves growing upon the same tree would instantly shrink and close up themselves, and hang down as if they were dead and withered; and, within half a quarter of an hour, would by degrees open themselves again, and flourish as before; and, as often as you did either touch or cut off any of them, they would do the like; which did evidently shew a restriction of the spirits, invincibly arguing a sense.

However this may seem strange and incredible to your highness, and to them that have not seen it, yet forasmuch as Scaliger and Bartas make mention of the like, I dare be bold to affirm it upon my credit, having seen and shewed it to forty others. I gathered two of the plants, and did set them in pots in their own earth, and carried them a-board my ship, where I kept them fairly growing almost a fortnight, until they were destroyed by certain monkeys that broke loose, and pulled them in pieces; which might have been prevented, but that I was constrained to set them in the open air, the better to preserve them.

The seventh day I went to Wiawia, a great town of Paragatos, and Yaïos, four leagues to the west of Marrawini, whereof Maperitaka, abovementioned, and Arapawarka are chief captains. At this town I left my cousin Unton Fisher, and Humphrey Croxton, an apothecary, to bear him company, and one servant to attend him called Christopher Fisher; having first taken order with Maperitaka for their diet, and other necessaries, both for travel and otherwise; who ever since, according to his promise, hath performed the part of an honest man, and faithful friend.

I gave directions to my cousin Fisher to prosecute the discovery of Marrawini, and the inland parts bordering upon it, when the time of the year, and the waters, better served; and, if it were possible, to go up into the high country of Guiana, and to find out the city of Manoa, mentioned by Sir Walter Raleigh in his discovery. He followed my directions to the uttermost of his ability, being of a good wit, and very industrious, and enabled to undergo those employments, by obtaining the love, and gaining the languages of the people; without which helps there is little or no good to be done in those parts.

When the waters of Marrawini were risen, and the river passable (much differing from the river of Wiapoco, which is not to be travelled, but in the lowest waters) he began his journey for the discovery thereof, in company of the apothecary, his servant Fisher, the Indian Maperitaka, and eighteen others; and proceeded eleven days journey up the river, to a town of Caribbees, called Taupuramune, distant from the sea above an hundred leagues; but was four days journey short of Moreshego, which is also a town of Caribbees, situate upon the river side, in the province of Moreshegoro; the chief captain thereof is called Areminta, who is a proud and bold Indian, much feared of all those that dwell within his territories, having a rough skin like unto buff leather, of which kind there are many in those parts, and I suppose proceedeth of some infirmity of the body.

He understood, by relation of the Indians of Taupuramune, and also of Areminta, that six days journey beyond Moreshego, there are divers mighty nations of Indians, having holes through their ears, cheeks, nostrils, and nether-lips, which were called Craweanna, Pawmeeanna, Quikeanna, Peewattere, Arameeso, Acawreanno, Acooreo, Tareepeeanna, Corecorickado, Peeauncado, Cocoanno, Itsura, and Waremisso, and were of strength and stature far exceeding other Indians, having bows and arrows four times as big. What the Indians also report of the greatness of their ears, I forbear to mention, until, by experience, we shall discover the truth thereof. Moreover, he learned that there fall into Marrawini divers great rivers, called Arrennee, Topannawin, Errewin, Cowomma, Poorakette, Arrova, Arretowenne, Waoune, Anupe, Aunime, and Carapio; whereof some he hath seen himself: that it was twenty days journey from Taupuramune, to the head of Marrawini, which is inhabited by Arwaccas, Sappaio, Paragotos, and some Yaio; and that a day's journey from thence, to the landward, the country is plain, and champaign ground, with long grass. He passed in this journey above eighty overfalls of water, and many of them very dangerous; of some of them I had experience the year before. He proceeded no further at that present, being unprovided for so long a journey; supposing that it had been nearer, than he found it, to the head of the river, by a fortnight's travel; and so returned back in six days space, intending better preparation for a second journey: but his purpose was prevented by an untimely death, for, shortly after, he was drowned by misfortune; whereby we see, that man determineth, but God disposeth.

The tenth day of September, being Sunday, I left the main of Guiana, and, in my ship-boat, stood off into the sea to seek my ships, which were forced to ride four leagues from shore, by reason of the shoals; but, as we passed over them, we were in danger to be cast away by the breach of a sea, which verily had sunk our boat, if, with great celerity, we had not lightened her, by heaving overboard many baskets of bread, of cassavi, maize, pinas, platanos, potatoes, and such like provision, wherewith our boat was laden; by which means it pleased God to deliver us from present destruction, and to bring us safe unto our ships.

When I came a-board, we weighed anchor, and steered away from the island of Trinidad; and upon the eighteenth day in the morning we arrived at Punta de Galea, where we found three English ships at anchor; which was no small comfort unto us, considering our great defects and wants. One of these ships was called the *Diana*, belonging to Mr. Lul, a Dutch merchant, dwelling in London; the other two, the *Penelope* and the *Endeavour*, belonging to Mr. Hall, a merchant also of London. We staid at this place six days to mend our bad casks, and to take fresh water; during which time I was kindly treated and feasted by the merchants, and had supply of all such things as I stood in need of; which courtesy I requited in the best manner I could for the present.

Upon Sunday the twenty-fourth of September we weighed anchor; so likewise did the *Diana*; the other two ships being gone two or three days before us: but the wind shifting to the north-east, forced us back again almost to the same place from whence we departed. The twenty-fifth we weighed again, and plied along the shore towards Cape Brea, about three leagues. This cape is so called of the pitch which is there gotten in the earth, whereof there is such abundance, that all places on this side of the world may be stored

therewith. It is a most excellent pitch for trimming of ships that pass into these regions and hot countries, for it melteth not with the sun as other pitch doth.

The twenty-sixth day we stood along again, the wind being still contrary and variable, intermixed with many calms, and so continued until the second of October, when we arrived at *Porte de Hispania*.

Within two days after our arrival there, *Don Sanchas de Mendoso*, the *teniente* for that year, with certain other Spaniards, came a-board us. We gave them the best entertainment that our means, the time and place would afford, and had much friendly conference together. They told me, that they lately had a conflict with the Caribbees, wherein they had lost seven or eight of their men, and had many others hurt and wounded, whereof some came to my surgeon to have their wounds dressed during our abode there; and they plainly confessed, that they are very much molested by the Caribbees, and knew not how by any means to suppress them.

We staid at *Porte de Hispania* until the seventh day, in hopes to get some good tobacco amongst the Spaniards; who daily fed us with delays and fair words: but, in truth, they had none good at that present for us; which we perceiving, departed thence upon the seventh day, about one o'clock in the morning, leaving the other ships to attend their trade, and stood away for the passages called '*Les sciots boccas de Drago*,' and disembogued about eight o'clock the same morning. Then we steered away for an island called *Meves*, and leaving the islands of *Granado*, *St. Vincent*, *Guadalupa*, and *Montserrat* on our starboard-side, we arrived there the twelfth day, where we stopped to take ballast and more water, for our ships were very light.

In this island there is an hot bath, which, as well for the reports that I have heard, as also for that I have seen and found by experience, I do hold for one of the best and most sovereign in the world. I have heard, that divers of our nation have there been cured of the leprosy, and that one of the same persons, now or lately, dwelled at *Woolwich* near the river of *Thames*, by whom the truth may be known, if any man desire to be further satisfied therein. As for my own experience, although it was not much, yet the effects that I found it work, both in myself and others of my company, in two days space, do cause me to conceive the best of it. For, at my coming thither, I was grievously vexed with an extreme cough, which I much feared would turn me to great harm; but, by bathing in the bath, and drinking of the water, I was speedily cured; and, ever since that time, I have found the state of my body (I give God thanks for it) far exceeding what it was before, in strength and health. Moreover, one of my company, named *John Huntbatch*, servant to my brother, as he was making a fire, burned his hand with gunpowder, and was in doubt thereby to lose the use of one or two of his fingers, which were shrunk up with the fire; but he went presently to the bath, and washed and bathed his hand a good space therein, which soopled^s his fingers in such a manner, that, with great ease, he could stir and stretch them out; and the fire was so washed out of his hand, that within the space of twenty-four hours, by twice or thrice washing and bathing it, the soreness thereof was cured; only the eye-sore, for the time, remained. Furthermore, two or three others of my company, having swellings in their legs, were, by the bath, cured in a day. This can I affirm and boldly justify, having been an eye-witness thereof.

Hence we departed the sixteenth day of October in the afternoon, and, leaving the islands of *St. Christopher*, *St. Martin*, and *Anguilla* on the starboard-side, we disembogued through the broken islands on the north side of *Anguilla*, upon *St. Luke's day*, where I think never Englishman disembogued before us; for we found all our sea charts false concerning that place; those broken islands being placed therein, to the southward of *Anguilla*, between it and *St. Martin's*, and we found them situate to the northward thereof.

When we had cleared ourselves of the broken islands, we stood away north-east, shaping our course the nearest way we could for *Flores* and *Corves*; and so continued with fair

^s [Supplied.]

weather, the wind still mending upon us until the thirtieth day of October. About twelve of the clock that day there began a storm, with contrary winds still variable, which continued until four the next day in the afternoon. In this storm we lost the company of the pinnace in the night, but had sight of her again upon the fourth of November late in the evening; and the next day she came up unto us, at two of the clock in the afternoon. Then the wind came fair at west, and we steered away east by north, and east-north-east. The seventh of November I relieved the pinnace with more bread, and left her to follow after us, not being able to keep way with us before the wind, which then blew strongly at west; for I was very unwilling to lose the benefit of a speedy passage, which the continuance of that fair wind was like to afford us. And so following our course, on the eleventh day in the morning, we had sight of Fayal, one of the islands of the Terceras, which we left on our starboard-side, and steered away for England; the wind continuing fair until the twenty-fourth day; but then it changed, first to the east by north, and then to the east-south-east, and became so violent and furious, that for three days space we were not able to bear out sail, but did drive before the wind at the least three leagues, a watch out of our course, and the first land we made was Cape Clear, in the south-west part of Ireland; where, against our wills, we arrived at Crook Haven the twenty-ninth of November.

Our arrival there at that present was happy for us, considering our extreme wants, and great necessities; for, of all our store, we had remaining but one hogshead of water, half a hogshead of beverage, (all our beer being spent and wasted by leakage,) six pieces of beef, and three of pork, which was all our provision. We had neither fish, butter, oil, cheese, nor pease, left to relieve us; whereby we had fallen into a lamentable distress, if Almighty God had not in time brought us unto this harbour, where we supplied our wants, by the help of Captain Reynolds, commander of his majesty's pinnace called the Moon, whom we fortunately met there altogether unexpected. But the wind continuing contrary at the east, and like to hold still in that corner, presaged new wants to ensue, if a speedy remedy was not provided. To prevent the worst, I resolved to go by land to Youghall, near unto which place remained some friends and acquaintance of mine, by whom I might provide myself of means to defray my charge, until my return into England: and therefore gave commandment to the master of my ship to wage a pilot, and upon the first shift of wind, if it favoured him in any time, to bring the ship about to Youghall, where I meant to abide his coming; resolving thence to go for Bristol. And I appointed, if the wind did hold against him, to send him money to supply their victuals, until it pleased God to alter it. But he, regarding his own private ends more than my command and direction, upon the first shift of wind went away with my ship, without my knowledge, to Dartmouth in the west country, and left me behind in Ireland. Whereof as soon as I had intelligence, I presently took the opportunity of a speedy passage in a barque then ready bound for Bristol; and so the next morning, being the fifteenth of December, I departed from Youghall, and arrived at Bristol the seventeenth day.

My pinnace, which we left at sea to follow after us, was likewise by the aforesaid storm driven into the west of Ireland, to a place called 'Dingen le Coushe;' and there remained a long time wind bound: but at the last, by God's permission, arrived at Bristol the second day of February.

During the time of my voyage, we left but one landman, who died in Guiana; and one sailor, and an Indian boy, who died at sea in our return; and, during the space of these three years last past since the voyage, of all the men which I left in the country, (being in number about thirty,) there died but six, whereof one was drowned; another was an old man of threescore years of age; and another took his death by his own disorder: the rest died of sickness, as pleased God the giver of life; for which small loss his holy name be blessed now and ever!

Having thus, most noble prince, declared the whole course of my voyage to Guiana, performed in the year of our Lord 1609, I hold it needful for the better satisfaction of the favourers, and well-willers of this action, by adding of a special note or two, and by

a brief remembrance of some points mentioned in the former discourse, to express the worthiness of the enterprise; being of importance, and not to be regarded lightly.

In every foreign action, undertaken by the subjects of a Christian prince, they ought to have a special regard to three principal ends and designs. First, That it may be for the glory of God: Secondly, For the honour of their sovereign: Thirdly, For the benefit and profit of their country: which three principal ends and intendments if they faithfully prosecute, and labour to advance with constant resolution, they shall infallibly bring their undertakings to a blessed, prosperous, and honourable end. And now, if it shall appear, that this enterprise for discovery and plantation in Guiana is chiefly grounded upon these three designs; I hope there is not any man (be he never so malicious and full of envy) that can with just expectations scandalise it, or worthily condemn it.

First, then, For the glory of God. It hath been, and ever will be held clear and unquestionable, that God cannot be more honoured, nor his holy name by any means more glorified, than by the prosperous growth and happy increase of the church, through the conversion of those, that are heathen and barbarous nations, to the knowledge of him our true God, his Son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost, the Blessed Individual Trinity; and to the profession and practice of Christianity; which heavenly and ever-memorable work may, through God's good blessing and assistance (without which, indeed, all our travel therein, and all the labour of the world is but lost) be easily effected and accomplished in Guiana; the people thereof being of a loving and tractable nature towards the English, whom they love and prefer before all other strangers whatsoever; and by whom, next under God, I verily hope, and am constantly persuaded, it will be their blessed hap to be freed from the servitude of the Devil, that now so tyranniseth over them, and to be led out of that infernal darkness, wherein they live, and be drawn to Christianity: for they will come unto us already at the time of prayer, shew reverence, and be very attentive all the while, although they understand nothing: they will be content that we baptise their children, and will afterwards call them by the Christian names we give them; suffer us to bring them up, and in a sort acknowledge their ignorance, and shew a kind of willingness to be instructed and reformed.

As touching the Second. By what means may our gracious Sovereign the king's majesty do God better service, and honour him more, or under him be more honoured, than by obtaining and gaining the sovereignty of so many great, spacious, and goodly countries and territories, not yet actually possessed and inhabited by any Christian prince or state whatsoever? Which in that region, by the timely and worthy undertakings of his subjects (without bloodshed, and with the love and affection of the people) may be possessed, planted, and annexed to his crown; as the nations and countries beyond, by the emperor Charles the Fifth, were annexed to the crown of Spain. Whereby, what honour and benefit the Spaniards have gained, and to what a degree of greatness they are thereby grown, these parts of the world can witness; and we, for our parts, have had trial, and might have had woeful experience of, if our God, that always took our parts, had not crossed their bloody designs (Anno 1588) and put them to flight and confusion.

And, for the Third, Who can deny, but that our country by this worthy action may be enriched, through divers and sundry commodities of great worth, in those parts daily found, and easily obtained? Which before are mentioned more at large, and therefore needless here to be again repeated. And, for their further satisfaction and greater encouragement in this enterprise, let them consider the nature and disposition of the climate in this region of Guiana, which for healthful and wholesome air (some few places only excepted) I hold, generally, to be inferior to none other under heaven. For, notwithstanding it be situate under the equinoctial (by the ancient philosophers called 'the Burning Zone') yet such are the wonderful works of God for the benefit of man, that, contrary to their opinion, we find by late experience, that those regions, which were in times past by them accounted uninhabitable, through extremity of drought and heat, are now found out to be inhabited, temperate and healthful countries, as plainly appeareth in divers parts of the East and West Indies, and especially in this country of Guiana (whereof

I have taken possession to his Majesty's use) being plentifully inhabited by people of divers nations. The climate there is pleasant and agreeable to our constitutions, and the soil fruitful, as before hath been declared; affording as many admirable helps towards the leading of an happy life, as any known part of the world: for whatsoever is necessary for the relief of man, either for food, physick, or surgery, or for clothing and architecture, is here (by the providence and goodness of God the Creator) in plentiful store, even naturally provided.

Moreover, the good inclination of the people towards our nation, being willing to trade with us, and become subjects to his majesty our sovereign; their loving and gentle entertaining of us; desiring to have us live and abide amongst them; and their tractable conversation with us, not refusing to be instructed in Christianity; and coveting to imitate and learn any trade or work, that they see used or practised by our men, are no small motives to persuade the prosecution of this action and plantation in Guiana.

Furthermore, all young gentlemen, soldiers and others, that live at home in idleness, and want employment, may here find means to abandon and expel their slothful humours, and cast off their fruitless and pernicious designs; and may worthily exercise their generous spirits in honourable travels and famous discoveries of many goodly and rich territories, strange and unknown nations, and a multitude of other rarities hitherto unseen and unheard of in those parts of the world; which may be thought incredible, but that our own experience, and the general and constant report and affirmation of the Indians, do assure us thereof.

And to conclude. We may, by the gracious assistance of our good God, gain unto our sovereign the dominion of a rich and mighty empire; which, if it may be once possessed by his majesty, and inhabited by his English subjects, will absolutely be invincible; to the unspeakable honour and renown of our nation in all after-ages.

All these things respectively considered, what may be more required to move and induce all noble and worthy dispositions, loving honour and honourable attempts; all merchants desiring wealth and riches, and generally all the inhabitants of this kingdom, freely to give assistance towards the advancement of this noble action and plantation, so much tending to the glory of God, the honour of our sovereign, and the benefit of our country?

The Names of the Rivers falling into the Sea from Amazonas to Desequebe, and of the several Nations inhabiting those Rivers.

RIVERS.	NATIONS.	RIVERS.	NATIONS.
1 Amazonas.	} Caribs.	11 Apurwacca.	} Caribs.
2 Arrapoco, a branch of Amazonas.		12 Wio.	
3 Arrawary.		13 Caiane.	
4 Maicary.	} Yaios and Caribs.	14 Meccooria.	
5 Connavini.		15 Courwo.	
6 Cassipurogh.	} Arracoories.	16 Manmanury.	
7 Arracow.		17 Sinammara.	
8 Wiapoco.	} Yaios and Arwaccas.	18 Oorassowini, not inhabited.	} Arwaccas.
9 Wianary, a creek or inlet of the sea.		19 Coonannoma.	
10 Cowo, not inhabited.		20 Vracco.	
		21 Marrawini.	} Paragotos, Yaios, Caribs, and Arwaccas.

22 Amanna.	} Caribs.	30 Manhica.	} Arwaccas.
23 Camoure, or Comawin, a branch of Se- linama.		31 Wapary.	
24 Selinama, or Surennamo.		32 Micowine.	
25 Surammo.		33 Demeerare.	
26 Coopannomy.	} Arwaccas and Caribs.	34 Matooronnee	} Caribs.
27 Eneecare.		35 Quiowinne, branches of Dessequebe.	
28 Coretine			
29 Berebisse.		36 Dessequebe.	
			Arwaccas and Caribs.

The Plantation in Guiana is most easy to be performed, as is at large expressed in the former Treatise: and many in brief appear by these Notes following, which are here added for the better Comfort and Encouragement of the Adventurers and Planters of the meaner Sort.

FIRST, the climate in Guiana, although it be hot, yet is it habitable, and affordeth healthful habitations: for in three years space, that my brother Captain Michael Harcourt and his company remained in the country, of thirty persons there died but six.

The natural inhabitants of that country are a loving, tractable, and gentle people, affecting and preferring the Englishmen before all other nations whatsoever, and desiring commerce and conversation with them. With those barbarous people we may live in safety, without suspicion of treachery, or dread of danger: if wilfully we offer them abuse, and harm issue, the fault is ours; for a worm, being trodden on, will turn again. If they at any time do give offence to us, they will suffer and abide such moderate chastisements, as we in our discretions shall think fit to lay upon them.

The soil of the land there, as is said before, is exceeding rich, never yet broken up, nor overworn with tillage, but still remaineth in the greatest perfection of fertility.

The provisions of that country, for victuals, are mentioned before. But it is fit they be again remembered for the comfort of the ordinary people, that in person shall adventure in this action. There is great store of deer of all sorts; wild swine, hares, and conies, besides divers other beasts unknown in these parts, pheasants, partridges, wild fowl of all sorts, and every house hath cocks, hens, and chickens, as in England; and the variety of fish is wonderful, without compare. But the chiefest comfort for our countrymen is this, that the beast called *maypury*, and the fish called the *sea-cow* (being severally as big as a heifer of two years old, and of which kind there are very many) are in eating so like unto our English beef, that hardly in taste we can distinguish them, and may as well as beef be salted, and kept for our provision. There is also a beast in colour like a fawn, but fuller of white spots; in stature somewhat less than a small sheep, and in taste like mutton, but is rather better meat. The baremo is also of the same taste. These for the time will give us good content, until we can be stored with the breed of our English sheep and cattle.

The store of maiz, or Guinea wheat, in Guiana, is very plentiful, which grain doth make an excellent good bread, and very wholesome. So likewise doth the cassau, whereof there is also great abundance; and much more may be, as we please to plant. Of the cassau bread, the Indians do make good drink, which, in colour, taste, and strength, doth equal our March beer in England. Of the Guinea wheat, we may make good malt, which also maketh as excellent strong ale as can be possible.

The soil being rich, fruitful, and never nipped with frosts, doth give us hope that in few years space, by planting vines, we shall make good store of sack, and canary wine;

which in those parts are needful, and very wholesome, and will greatly comfort and lighten the hearts of our countrymen, and make them jovial and courageous to undertake and execute the greatest labours and most difficult adventures of discovery.

The commodities, already found in Guiana, are at large declared in the former discourse; yet, for the better memory of those that are disposed to adventure in this action, I have again in brief remembered them. First, within a year, without much labour, there may be transported thence good store of cotton wool; divers kinds of rich dyes; sundry sorts of gums, drugs, and feathers; many kinds of rich woods; jasper and porphyry-stone; balsam, wax, honey, and tobacco. And hereafter, within few years, we shall return thence great plenty of sugars: and I hope discover as rich mines, as ever the Spaniard found, either in New Spain, Peru, or any other part of the Indies.

Forasmuch as it hath pleased his excellent majesty, for the planting and inhabiting of all that part of Guiana, or Continent of America, lying between the River of Amazonas and the River of Dessequebe, to grant his gracious letters patents to Robert Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt, in the county of Oxford, Esq.; Sir Thomas Challener, Knight, and John Rowenzon, Esq.; and to the heirs of the said Robert Harcourt, of all the said countries, lands, and territories, between the said two rivers of Amazonas and Dessequebe, and of all islands, lands and territories within twenty leagues adjacent thereunto, &c. Together with all prerogatives, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises, and preeminences, both for government, trade, traffic, and otherwise, in as large and ample manner, as either his majesty, or any of his noble progenitors, or predecessors, have heretofore granted to any adventurers, or undertakers of any discoveries, plantations, or traffic, of, in, or into any foreign parts whatsoever: to have, hold, possess, and enjoy all and singular the premisses, to the sole and proper use of the said Robert Harcourt, and his heirs for ever. And for that divers honourable personages, gentlemen, and others, who are willing and desirous, for the glory of God, and honour of our nation, to give aid and assistance, either in person or purse, to the undertaking of this worthy action, and plantation, may truly understand and know, how and in what manner, they shall receive benefit and profit by their adventures, and travels therein; it is thought fit and necessary, for their better content and satisfaction, to publish these articles ensuing:

The planters, in general, are all adventurers, either in person, or purse.

The meanest adventurer in person shall have five-hundred acres as a single share.

Every one that adventureth twelve pounds ten shillings, shall have five-hundred acres as a single share; and so ratably according to the adventure, be it more or less.

The plantation and adventure are intended to be partly general, and partly particular.

In the general plantation and adventure, all persons of all conditions and estates, even to the poorest servants and labourers, men, women, and children, may adventure as much or as little as they please, from ten shillings upwards; and shall have in fee simple the assured ratable increase and gain, according to the quantity of his adventure; so as, for every ten shillings adventured, he shall have twenty acres in inheritance, and so much yearly profit as those twenty acres may yield.

A register shall be truly kept of the names of every adventurer in person, and of every adventurer in money, and of the sum by him adventured; to the end that they may proportionably receive the full benefit of their adventures.

During the first three years, the whole benefit shall go towards the advancement of the plantation.

At the end of those three years, a fourth part of the clear yearly profits remaining shall be divided betwixt all the adventurers in purse or person, ratably according to their shares and adventures.

Yearly for seven years after the first three years ended, three parts of the whole clear yearly profit upon every return shall be in like manner divided; and the other fourth part shall go towards the advancement of the plantation.

In those ten years the land may be surveyed, and fit distributions and allotments made thereof to the adventurers and planters.

After those ten years, it shall be free for every one to make the best of his allotment at his own discretion by himself; or else to trade and deal in common, as he did before with others; which perhaps will be most convenient for all small adventurers. And a settled order shall for that end be continued, for a continual, joint, and common trade and commerce for ever: for otherwise it might prove hard for adventurers of small sums to reap any benefit after the ten years ended: but, by a common continued commerce, they, or their heirs, or assigns, shall be sure to have it.

A treasurer-general for the plantations shall be resident in London, and when the return of profit dividable shall be, he shall forthwith deliver to a particular treasurer, resident in every shire, the proportionable part or profit due to the adventurers of that shire; which particular treasurer shall deliver to the high constables of every hundred the proportionable part due to the adventurers of that hundred. And the high constables shall deliver to the constables and minister of every parish within their hundreds, where any adventurer shall be, the proportionable part due to the adventurers of that parish: and the constable and minister shall deliver to every person his due, according to the proportion of his adventure.

To this end a register shall be kept by the constable and minister of each parish, of the names of each adventurer in that parish, with their several adventures, and the time when they brought in the same; so as such as be removed out of a parish where they adventured, to some other place, shall either themselves, or their heirs, or assigns, receive his proportionable profit in the parish where he adventured, without further trouble or travel.

The like register shall remain with the high constables, of the adventurers in their hundred.

And the like with the particular treasurer of that shire, of the adventurers of that shire.

And the like of all the adventurers whatsoever, with the treasurer-general for the plantation.

But yet, such as adventure not before this next intended voyage, which we account the first voyage for the plantation, or before the second, but stay longer, expecting the event, must not expect equal shares with the first adventurers. But, if his adventure come in after the second voyage, and before the third, he shall want a fifth part of that which the first adventurers shall have. And such as come in before the fourth voyage, shall want two fifth parts: and such as come in before the fifth voyage, shall want three fifth parts: and such as come in before the sixth voyage (which perhaps may be the last voyage in the first three years, a voyage being set forth every half year) shall want four fifth parts of what the first adventurer shall have. And so a single share for so late an adventurer, of twelve pounds ten shillings, will be put one-hundred acres in inheritance, and his profit accordingly in proportion, and so for a greater or lesser rate, so lately adventured.

Every adventurer in person, if he die, having neither wife nor child in Guiana living, his next kinsman, that will go in person at the next voyage, or sending after his decease, shall have his share or part. But, if none such will go in person, then the next heir of the deceased person in England shall have a fifth part of that share in inheritance, being about one-hundred acres; and the residue, being four-hundred acres, shall be disposed of to some other that will go in person; that so, by the death of the party deceased, the number of the planters in person may not be diminished, and that yet his next heir here may have some competent benefit by the adventure of his kinsman's person.

If a man and his wife go, each of them shall have five-hundred acres; yet so, that the share of the wife be at the husband's disposal, as is used by husbands in England, that marry women heirs, who cannot alien the same without the wife's consent.

If a man and his wife go, the survivor shall have the other's share, if they have no children born in Guiana; but, if they have children born there, then only the survivor shall have the share of the deceased, until the child be twenty-one years old, and then the child

shall have it; for that the share of the personal adventure of the survivor will be a competent maintenance, so as the child may well have the other share.

If a man and his wife, and a child of theirs go, each shall have five-hundred acres.

The shares of commanders, officers, and men of place and quality, that adventure in person, are not to be rated according to single shares of inferior and common persons, that adventure in person; but according to their place, quality, and merit, in such sort as shall be fit to give them content and encouragement to adventure their persons in so honourable and worthy an action.

Divine preachers, that will imitate the glorious examples of the apostles (who ceased not to travel amongst all sorts of heathen and savage people, for the plantation of the holy Gospel) are worthily numbered amongst the persons of place and quality, and shall have such worthy shares, for the adventure of their persons, in his service of the blessed Trinity, as shall give them good content. Thus much concerning the general adventure and plantation.

In the particular plantation and adventure, there shall be certain signories, or other portions of land, allotted them, and granted to such as like not to be partakers of the general plantation and adventure; but have, otherwise, a desire to join together in several companies, or corporations, of select friends and acquaintance; or else to plant a-part, and single by themselves, as lords of manors, or as farmers.

These signories, or portions of land, shall be conveyed and assured unto them in fee simple, with all such royalties, liberties, privileges, franchises, and commodities, as shall be fit and necessary for the advancement of their plantations, and can, by virtue of the patent, be granted unto them.

They shall plant and people the same at their own proper costs and charges, and convert the profits thereof to their own use and advantage, under the conditions following:

They shall yearly pay unto such officers, as shall be appointed for that purpose, the fifth part of all ore of gold and silver, as shall, at all times hereafter be found and gotten within the bounds and limits of the signories and lands granted unto them; which fifth part of ore is, by the patent, reserved to his majesty.

The fifth part being deducted for his majesty, they shall also pay to the patentees, or unto their officers for that purpose appointed, all such rents and duties, as betwixt the said patentees and them shall be agreed upon; and such as have been usually paid by the planters and inhabitants of the like plantations, whereof there are extant many precedents: and also, from time to time, shall observe, pay, and perform all such other customs, impositions, reservations, and limitations, as are mentioned and expressed in the said patent.

And, for their safety and defence in all the said particular plantations, they shall be aided, protected, and defended, both by sea and land, against all assaulters, invaders, and intruders, according to the power and strength of the undertakers of the general plantation, which I hope, (with God's assistance,) shall be sufficient to resist and repel the malice of our greatest enemies.

A Letter from a Country Clergyman to his Brother in the Neighbourhood, touching some Reproaches cast upon the Bishops¹.

[Quarto; containing eight Pages.]

Dear Brother,

THE unhappy flames which of late have been blown up among us, by interesting ourselves in the disputes between the bishops and the lower house of convocation, and the unkind reflections which are but too often cast upon the greater part of those venerable prelates by many even of our order, I conceive to be so great an offence to Almighty God, so dangerous to the welfare of our church, and to be such a reproach to our holy religion; that I cannot think it a great degree of forwardness in myself, or in any other, to endeavour whatever may lie in our power to compose those sad differences and animosities, the consequences whereof look so very fatal towards us. This is the occasion of troubling you with this letter; in which I shall take the liberty to excuse myself from making animadversions upon any miscarriages of our superiors, which some of them, by inadvertency, and the common frailty of human nature, may have fallen into; that being a part which I cannot think myself by duty called to, nor to be becoming a person who moves in so mean a sphere as I: and besides, I fancy I shall find matter enough to fill up this letter, in pointing at the faults which we are guilty of on our side; and shewing, that we have taken up very mistaken characters of very good and excellent men, by taxing them for actions with which they are no ways chargeable, or for which they are no ways blameable.

I. And indeed it is very dismal to consider what vile reproaches are cast upon the greatest part of those reverend persons by too many of our own coat: to hear us so frequently taxing them as affecting a tyrannical, despotick power over the clergy; as being betrayers of the common liberties of the church, mercenary instruments and parasites of the court, fanaticks in their hearts, and avowed enemies of every part of our ecclesiastical constitution, unless it be the fair revenues which they have the happiness to enjoy under it. For clergymen to utter these things in their discourse, both publick and private, and to publish the like, by writings, to the whole world, can be no ways suitable to the rules of the holy religion we profess, nor to the character we sustain in God's church; and, I think I may add, does bid the utmost defiance to the principles of the Church of England, which bespeak the highest esteem and veneration for the order of bishops. This is a practice which there is none of us, some time past, but would have condemned with the greatest abhorrence and detestation. Let us, for once, suppose some body to have prophesied fourteen or fifteen years ago, that many of us who then valued ourselves so much upon our duty and obedience to our bishops, and passed such severe reflexions upon the undutiful carriage of others, that we should, within a few years, treat them with so unhandsome a deportment, and give them all those good compliments which have been so freely of lately bestowed upon them; would not every one of us have been ready to return, with indignation, that of Hazael, 'Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?' This, my good brother, does deserve a deep and serious reflection; for these gospel-duties, you know, are of eternal verity, and will be as true a thousand years hence, as they were twenty years ago; nor can I imagine that any one of us does think that a part of our religion can grow in or out of fashion, as people's clothes do. If there

¹ [The present tract is supposed to be written by Dr. Wake, a principal figure in that great scene of controversy which opened itself with regard to the convocation at the close of the seventeenth century.]

are no duties owing to our diocesans, we ought to recant the error we were in, by betraying the dignity of our own order, whilst we were, in time past, so liberally paying them; or, if there be any regards owing, the methods which have been of late taken, have been but a pretty odd way of discharging them. And since we are entered upon this point, I will beg the freedom to recommend to your consideration something farther upon it: and let us consider.

II. That the very raillery we, some of us, are wont to exert upon this occasion, if it was not levelled at our superiors, and the ground of it was never so well bottomed, is a part not altogether becoming our function. We that are the ministers of Jesus Christ are obliged more nicely to follow our great Master's copy and example, who 'when he was reviled, reviled not again.' A christian pastor can never look with so ill a grace, as when he assumes the character of a droll, or a satyr. Sarcasm and buffoonery are at best but a sorry part of wit; and, I am confident, no part at all of religion. We frequently are commanded, in Scripture, to afford to those who are committed to our charge a shining example of peaceableness and charity; but I cannot observe, that God has any where commissioned us a power to instruct them in the arts of taunts and invectives. This vile trade, we know well enough, was taken up by the accursed enemies of christianity. The Lucians and Julians, and Celsuses, had singular talents this way, and did a great deal of mischief to the Gospel by them; but I am at a loss to find when it received any benefit from ill-natured wits. The Gospel thrived well by the meekness and patience of its first professors, and by such holy steps made its way over all the Pagan world; whilst heathenism, which was supported by the drollery and satire of its philosophers, did daily lose ground, till it fell at last into nothing. This is argument sufficient to persuade us, that we pursue but very ill advised methods, whilst we are carrying on a cause that we are willing to have succeed, by means which are such a reproach to our profession, which shew so ill an example to our people, and which we have not the least hopes to expect, that God Almighty will crown with any manner of blessing. Now, if we would seriously apply this, we should have an end of such smart books, and fine jests upon our bishops; especially if we considered, that these jests are not only very unmannerly, as being advanced against our betters, but do likewise share a great degree of irreligion and profaneness; for those holy persons, who, by their office, do bear so nigh a relation to our blessed Lord, cannot be so unhandsomely sported with, without reflecting a reproach also upon Christ and his religion.

III. And as I look upon it a great fault to make use of such unhandsome drollery upon our diocesans, so I take it to be a very imprudent and unchristian way for us to trumpet about their faults; although they were guilty of them in those particulars, and in that degree, as some of us pretend. It is a kind of a natural law, which the vilest of men are scarce hardy enough to transgress; not to vilify those of our own body, and which bear any nigh relation to us. Those unkind offices are left for strangers only to execute; every wise person esteeming it a madness to discover those defects which must, in the event, reflect upon himself. For the contempt, which one part of the body suffers, is, by an easy deduction, transferrable to the other. We of the clergy are apt to be loaded enough, of all conscience, by other people without doors; and the bishops of the church do find sufficient opposition from papists and sectaries: therefore, I presume, we clergymen are not, at that time, in the most warrantable employment, when we ourselves are proclaiming to the world what ill actions we impute to our bishops. If, as a late ingenious author says, 'That those men who read lessons to princes, how to strain ecclesiastical power to the utmost, without exceeding it, be church Empsons and Dudleys;' I think I may as well conclude (if I delighted in hard words) that those who accuse the bishops of their own church, for such ill men as some of our order do, are church Hams and Judases; for discovering their father's nakedness, and betraying their spiritual governors.

IV. In the next place, it behoves a little to consider, before we make too bold with our bishops' characters, how much we gratify our common enemies of all sorts; and expose our mother-church, by such a representation of the governors thereof, to the scorn

and obloquy of those who greedily watch for such opportunities to revile us. Don't you think, that this must needs give a powerful encouragement to the several sectaries among us to come into the church, the governors whereof they see set off in those delicate colours, which some of us of late have so liberally adorned them with? What a curious history of English bishops must we expect from the next Popish pamphlets that come over from Doway and St. Omers? And what domestick authorities will be vouched to make their slanders good? It is easy enough to imagine, and common enough to observe, what fine sport the quarrels with our bishops make among our atheists and deists. Sometimes they take a handle from these differences to expose the bishops for 'affecting an incompetent power; and for minding no part of their office so much, as to lord it over their fellow-shepherds. Deny this, and they call upon the authorities of many of the clergy 'to assert it; and then it goes for undeniable.' At other times they are pleased to be quiet with these authorities themselves, and call them all 'a parcel of hypocritical sparks, that make a world of stir with duty and obedience, till it begins to pinch them; and then they fly in the face of the king and bishops without fear or discretion.' One would think, that we are under a perfect insatiation to make ourselves, and the religion and church we are ministers of, a jest and mockery to these profane wretches. But the highest degree of madness is, for some of us, to court the favour of these very men to support us against our bishops, and lay open their character so unhandsomely before such men. Certainly, the affairs of the church are safer in the hands of the most tyrannical bishops, than of them who are enemies to all religion: neither are the presbyters like to find any extraordinary redress from them, who look upon the whole function to be impostors alike.

It is no excuse to say, 'that this freedom taken with the bishops is but by way of reprisal, to be even with a writer on the bishops' side, who took as great a freedom with the 'inferior clergy.' I must confess that I, for my part, and a great many other indifferent persons, never liked that part of that writer's book; and I think his cause had not been the worse, if it had been spared. But let him answer for that.—Now as these reproaches did not proceed from the bishops, so this is the unjustest way of retaliation, to make them suffer for the faults of others; or, if the bishops had any share in promoting them, our holy religion has taught us a better lesson, than to 'return evil for evil.' If one part of the clergy have been falsely traduced, we should be cautious how we involve the remaining part under the same imputation. What sad events will follow upon the keenness of these disputes God alone knows; but this I am sure of, that between this writer and his answerer, the Church of England has suffered more in her reputation than will easily be retrieved: for the bishops are represented in such a dress by the one, and the presbyters by the other, that it wants only the hand of a Sanders² or a Parsons³ to put them both together; and then out comes such a picture of the English reformation, as will make us all curse these unhappy disputes which have brought such shame upon us.

V. If these considerations be not of weight enough to make us leave off this prevailing custom of aspersing our bishops, I shall add one more, and that is our oath of canonical obedience. Now we all know what canonical obedience is, *viz.* All that respect and submission, which the canons require to be paid to our diocesans. An injurious accuser of a bishop is by the canons to have a perpetual brand of infamy fixed upon him, and to be excommunicated. An obedience is to be paid them *in omnibus licitis & honestis, &c.* Now I cannot tell, how to reconcile an ignominious treatment and bespattering their character, with the ecclesiastical precepts which we swear to. Our guilt must needs stare

² [Nicholas Sanders, a bigotted Papist, is termed by Wood, the most noted defender of the Roman Catholick cause in his time. See Athen. Oxon. i. 204. where some account is given of him and his writings. His best known tract is intitled '*De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani*;' which gave occasion to Dr. Burnet to write his '*History of the Reformation of the Church of England*.' Vide Appendix to the first volume.]

³ [Robert Parsons, an intriguing English Jesuit, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, well known by his sanguinary efforts for the subversion of the Protestant religion. See a list of his voluminous writings in Wood's Athen. Oxon. i. 356.]

some of us in the face, when we reflect upon this; as having taken no more care to discharge these obligations which we have so sacredly engaged to perform. This were a grievous crime, though there were sufficient ground for these clamours against our diocesans; especially to do it in the way that is generally practised: but, when there is so little foundation for these heavy imputations, I conceive it to be such an aggravation of the fault, as we can never be easy under, when we seriously lay it to heart. And, therefore, in the remaining part of this letter, I shall set myself to vindicate our present bench of bishops from these aspersions, which either by unthinking, or designing men, have of late so plentifully been thrown upon them.

VI. One fault, which is mightily laid to their charge, is, their being of latitudinarian principles as they are called; that is, no hearty friends to our ecclesiastical constitution, but are rather inclined to the dissenters tenets, and endeavour by all means to bring the church to the conventicle level; and that it is in order to this end, they are so very fond of setting a comprehension on foot, thereby to destroy our present church establishment and discipline, and set up something else which likes them better. But what a ridiculous calumny is this! To think that the bishops, who enjoy so great a share in the church's revenues, should be engaged in a design of pulling it down: this would be such a degree of self-denial, that their adversaries in other cases would hardly allow them. But how do they know that these bishops have such a disliking to the ecclesiastical settlement? If men's principles are to be discovered by their words and actions, the present bishops have both on their side, to vindicate them from this aspersion. Their frequent subscriptions to the articles, their usual discourse both in publick and private, together with their sermons, are all of them in contradiction to what is here objected. There are several of them, who have strenuously wrote in defence of our constitution: witness the cases against the dissenters, which were mostly wrote by the pens of those very men who are thus calumniated. Though, by the way, I do not find in my accounts that any great number of those who bear so hard upon the bishops, and put so much upon this head, did give any hand to this noble work; therefore methinks it is pretty strange, that the present bishops should commence fanaticks for writing so bravely against the schism, and others should be the only Church of England men, for being silent under it. As for the matters of alteration which were on foot about a dozen years ago, these present bishops are not more to be blamed for them, than those other bishops who declared to the late King James⁴, that they would be willing to come to such a temper, as that all differences in religion, as far as possible, might be composed among us. This was not thought such an offence, when the resolution was first made; and therefore, why are they so much to be blamed for endeavouring afterwards to make their words good? The unlucky disputes, which then happened, run up men's bloods so high, and frightened them with such misapprehensions of some strange designs upon the church in that affair; that those bishops, who appeared in behalf of that project, could hardly recover the hearty affections of their clergy ever since. And, if we consider the loud clamours which have been raised against some of their lordships about this business, one could not think but that they were contriving at that time the very unhooking of our whole constitution. And yet I am fully assured, that all that was then designed, was no more than the changing a few apocryphal lessons for canonical scripture; appointing the new translation of the Psalms for singing and reading, in lieu of the old; making all the Collects agree more with the Epistles and Gospels, (as was begun, though abruptly left off by the commissioners at the Savoy, in 1662,) and changing an exceptionable passage or two in the other services. I could wish their lordships would be so just to themselves, as to publish the resolutions of the committee in Jerusalem chamber; and then I am persuaded, that we should all be of opinion that their lordships are so far from meriting the reproach, which is for that reason thrown upon them, that they would appear to deserve the highest commendation. And, since people have grown cool upon that matter, I hardly find any sensible man, who pretends to find

⁴ [Jac. II.]

more fault now, than ill timing of that design. But, by the way, is it not a little hard, that we should bear a perpetual enmity to our bishops for the ill timing of an action? Nay, this was no more than what was before designed in the comprehension bill in the lords-house, which was liked well enough by some of those persons who appeared so keenly, against the commission, and the treating of that affair in convocation, afterwards: though, upon what reason, they changed their opinion, I pretend not to secret history enough to understand; unless they began to dislike it, because some other persons, besides themselves, came to take a part in the doing it.

VII. Another misapprehension of their lordships' actions, and which the generality of people, at present, seem to be the most incurably possessed with, is, concerning their voting in parliament, always (as it is said) on the government's side; whereby, it is pretended, they give occasion to suspect, that they are not always led by impartial considerations; but exert their zeal in that interest, which is best able to reward them with higher preferments. This, I know, is a terrible cry, among the atheists and jacobites, and some other unthinking people, who have the wit to be made tools to their designs; which are by weakening the king's interest, and bespattering all men of high station in the church, to compass the glorious ends, they are pursuing, of irreligion and slavery. But this imputation, false and scandalous as it is, carries a compliment with it, which the objectors did not design, when they say, 'That the bishops vote always on the court side.' And I will assure you, this very virtue of constancy deserves, in this age, no small commendation: for we have seen some others, who are not bishops, to have changed sides two or three times, since his majesty's accession to the crown; who never were against the king's affairs, when any thing was to be got by them; and always against them, when nothing was to be lost by the opposition. But, why is it such a crime to vote on the king's side? His affairs are not the more unjust, because he has the happiness to be able to reward the assisters of them. Nay, I am confident, though it was out of the king's power to shew any further marks of favour, upon any of the present bishops, who are hereby calumniated; the king would not have much fewer votes from that venerable bench, than he has. There is nobody doubts, but that the archbishop of Canterbury is as hearty in the king's interest, and gives his vote as frequently on his side, as any of his comprovincials; and yet, I dare say he has no hopes of a translation, on this side Heaven. And why should we not expect a like sincerity from the rest? Methinks, their bare gratitude to the king, for being advanced by him, should sooner engage them to his majesty's interest, than to side with some ambitious and disobliged men, who are known enemies both to the king, and them too. But there is a higher motive, which, I am persuaded, the bishops are swayed by, in giving their suffrages in parliament; and that is, to support the present government, on which all our liberties and religion depend. And, let me tell you, Sir, (for all the talk of thoughtless and intriguing men,) the bishops have had their share, and have gone a good way, in the securing it. In the midst of warm disputes, they have held such a temper and moderation, and acted with such a steady resolution, for the support of the government, that future ages will be bound to bless their memory for it. Therefore, upon the whole, it can be no fault in the bishops to give their votes, with regard to the king's interest; unless it can be proved, that the king has any interest separate from the church and nation; which he is so far from appearing ever to have had, that he has all along, under God, been the greatest preserver of both. But if it should please God, that this, or any other king, should ever pursue methods contrary to the good of these: I do verily believe, no temporal expectations will engage men of their goodness and sincerity, to act any thing in compliance with them, that may be inconsistent with their honour and conscience.

VIII. Another matter there is, which we of the gown do chiefly quarrel with our bishops for; and that is, their hindering the clergy to act in convocation, for eight or ten years together; and when at last, after a great deal of baiting, they were wearied into a concession for their sitting, they were pleased to trump up a right of adjournment of the lower house, to all times, and upon all occasions; whereby, the whole end of their meeting is

utterly defeated. But I have some reason to be of opinion, that our grounds do not a little fail us, when we suppose that this long intermission of a convocation did proceed from any arbitrary resolution of the bishops: for it is not improbable to think, that this whole affair was adjusted, by wise and mature deliberation, without any mixture of private pique and resentment; and that all due regard was had to the case and welfare, both of church and state. The nation had been afflicted by a long and expensive war, which afforded neither leisure, nor sufficient maintenance for the clergy, to stay long off from their cures in a synodical attendance. Neither was it so proper to venture, then, upon any warm ecclesiastical disputes, which do usually attend such meetings; at a time, when contests in the state had raised men's bloods but too high already. Afterwards, since the end of the war, upon the seeming desire of the generality of the clergy, that a convocation should meet, they accordingly did; had several sessions, and were going upon very commendable business in both houses. But alas! these noble designs were blasted by a dispute, which arose about the right of adjournments; which the members of the lower house were prompted to claim, having found something, in a dark part of history, and in registers, (then not so exactly scanned,) which seemed to make in some measure for them. How far these few instances of adjournment against those multitudes, which are produced on the archbishop's side, will maintain a right; I leave those, who understand these matters better than myself, to judge. But, if the lower house have a right of adjourning themselves, it is a power, which their predecessors have thought fit very seldom to claim; it is not pretended more than two or three times, in almost as many centuries: and why should the clergy, in our times, set such a value upon a right, which our forefathers did hardly think worth the claiming in theirs? It is sufficient to remove a bar, against their right, to have claimed it, and put themselves, for once, in an actual possession of it; and so to leave the nice dispute of it, till better times: or, if no more be said of it in our times, they are so far from betraying a right, which our forefathers have bequeathed us, (as it is said by some,) that the last convocation did as much in that affair, as can be pretended any of our forefathers did. In short, there is no doubt, but that the convocation may sit and act, if they please, for all the archbishop's power of adjourning, and the king's right of license, upon humble desire thereof; for neither of them both have ever given any occasion to suspect, that they will be at any time wanting to hearken to any proposals, that may be for the good of their church and people. And, when the necessity of a convocation, in the present conjuncture, as we all of us confess, does press us so hard; it is not worth while to dispute from what authority, the power of their acting or their adjournments do proceed. The lamentable growth of irreligion, the abuses in spiritual courts, and the very low ebb of all ecclesiastical authority, do call aloud for synodical meetings; to consider, with the utmost wisdom and application, for speedy remedies to such growing evils. These matters require an immediate redress; whilst those other questions will keep cold, to a more convenient season. Now since the archbishop had been so long in possession of the right of adjournment, and his comprovincials have some reason to believe that the lower house, by assuming this privilege, do prepare a way to an equality with their order, and to be a co-ordinate power with them; they cannot be blamed for asserting their own, and their metropolitan's dignity; and are less I think to be accused for hindering the advantages of a synod; because all the advantages, which a synod can pretend to confer, may, upon the ancient accustomed way of application to superiors, be obtained, without the insisting upon these claims. When the lower house shall desire to meet upon intermediate days for dispatch of business, and a license, by humble petition asked for, to frame ecclesiastical laws, and these requests shall not be gratified; it is time to begin a clamour then, when more reason is given to think it deserved, than now there has been. Power, I know, is a sweet thing; and those, who hope to have a share in it, are wont to contend eagerly for it: and therefore it is no wonder, that for this reason, the controversy is carried on, with some warmth, on both sides: but when common danger does on every side threaten profaneness and irreligion at home, and popery and slavery from abroad; I hope, we shall follow the example of the gallant old Romans, who left off their squabbles

among themselves, whenever they were attacked by their enemies, and never resumed their contests, till they were sure, that all was so safe from without, that a little scolding at home could not hurt them.

IX. The last prejudice which is advanced against our present bishops, and handed about to the detriment of their character, is their interesting themselves in elections to parliament; and appearing, as is suggested, for fanaticks and whigs; in opposition to those who are true sons of the Church, and well grounded in their principles too, in relation to the monarchical government of the nation.

But why, I pray, have not the bishops as good a plea to exert their interest in their country to serve their friends, as any of the lay lords to assist theirs? And if there be any thing in this objection, it arraigns the whole house of lords, as well as the bench of the bishops. The bishops have frequent occasion to make use of the authority and friendship of many of their neighbouring gentry, for the redressing hardships which are too frequently thrown upon some of their clergy, and for their bestowing preferments upon others whose merits deserve further encouragements: and can any bishop handsomely refuse to obtain a few votes from some of his dependants, for a person to whom he stands obliged for services both to the church and himself? Why should the bishops, of all the men in the nation, be abridged the privileges of serving their friends upon such a publick occasion? Shall every petty freeholder, and some who have no property at all, be allowed to canvas about for any one they have a fancy for; and must not the bishops, who have so large estates, and so much greater prudence to judge of the fitness of a choice, be tied up from assisting a person of merit in his competition? But the persons they appear for, are whigs and fanaticks. And this is all vile calumny. I do not think there can be an instance given, in the whole nation, of a bishop's appearing for any gentleman, but who is an habitual member of the Church of England. They have never opposed any gentleman's interest, but who has been of known, or, at least, suspected disaffection to the government; and to endeavour to keep out such, in this juncture of affairs, can need no apology. Every hearty lover of the king and our present constitution is a whig and fanatick to the Jacobites; and this is all the title they have to those ill names, which their enemies so unkindly bestow upon them. Now, though the common people are frequently imposed upon by such slanderous characters, the bishops have sagacity enough to penetrate through the artifices of malice; and cannot think it just, that the nation should be deprived of the assistance of a member of worth and fidelity, for the sake of a few bespattering reflections without any ground.

X. And now having, I think, sufficiently vindicated our present bishops against these imputations, by which some have endeavoured to sully their character, I beg leave to say something farther to engage our hearty love and esteem for them; and to let you understand that we have reason to bless God for raising up amongst us such excellent fathers in the Church, that do so eminently adorn the high station they are in, by all the good qualifications which are desirable for that calling. For, as to their life and conversation, those that are most calumniated amongst them, have nothing that can be objected to them upon this account; they having all along led lives of the greatest circumspection and exactness, and shewn forth shining examples of sobriety, meekness, and charity. Neither is their learning inferior to that of the bishops of the last age; and the books, which they have wrote, have such a vein of reasoning, and a calmness running through them, as is superior to that of their predecessors. That humility, which adorns the life of every christian, renders theirs illustrious; for I will defy the memory of the present age, or the annals of the former, to shew such a set of men so famous for their personal qualifications, and raised to such an eminency of station, that have shewed such an obliging familiarity to those below them, as these bishops have done. This, next to the grace of God, is owing, I believe, to the long and painful discharge of their labours, in their parishes, before their promotion; being thereby freed from that high kind of deportment, which some of their predecessors have been charged with; who, having lived mostly in the grandeur of a cathedraical dignity, were trained up to a superiority over their rural bre-

thren, which they did not, to be sure, forget, as their honour increased upon them. Nay, I will venture to say, that when it shall please God to take to himself these good men, whom some of us do so disesteem, it will not be easy to find a great many amongst us, who will fill those places as well as they have done. Then what a pity is it, that they who are possessed of so much personal worth, and so much obliging condescension, should find so unkind returns from many of their own clergy? This can proceed only from a fore-conceived prejudice and misapprehension of their true character; which arises not from any just ground, but from being engaged in a party, and, for that reason, unadvisedly believing all that is said in their disparagement. If this unhandsome and ungodly custom do not stop in good time, God knows whither it will at last carry us. The ancient heresies and schisms, which so sadly pestered the primitive Church, had their original presbyters quarrelling with their bishops. This gave a rise to the heresies of Arius and Novatianus, and to the schism of the Donatists. But I hope, the good God will afford us more grace and wisdom than to let matters run so far. I do not think this humour to be spread so very wide as to affect any great part of our clergy; the far greater number I am persuaded do stick fast to their ancient principles and duty, and have never ceased to pay that love and respect to their diocesans, which our forefathers were so hearty in; and that ill example, which some disobliged persons have set, will, I hope, be so far from being copied, that they themselves will see their error, and be sorry for it.

But I would not have you mistake me, as if I charged these faults upon the lower house of convocation, in their disputes with the bishops: for though, I confess, I cannot go into opinion with them in all they have advanced; yet they, as acting in a synodical authority, have a privilege to remonstrate upon any grievances they think to be hard upon them, without breach of their duty to superiors: or, if rules of decency be sometimes transgressed, the warmth of the disputes they may be engaged in, goes a good way in alleviation. But my business is, to silence (if I could) the reflecting talk of those, who reproach the bishops without doors; which, though they were of the house, they have no synodical privilege to excuse them for. For every presbyter then is upon the level with you and me, and owe as much duty and regard to their respective bishops. But I am afraid, there are the greatest number of tongues running upon this theme, that have had no share in these disputes, but what they have been pleased to take to themselves, without being called to it. And I think it is time for all, who have nothing to do in these matters to be quiet; when the chief managers of the lower house controversy, and all the worthy members of the body now met, seem inclined to peace, and the ancient good correspondence. Now these, I think, we may both of us, as occasion shall offer, put in mind of their duty, without assuming an authority which does not belong to us. For brotherly admonition is a common duty of christianity; and therefore, to be sure, does not lie out of our way, that have the honour to take a share in the ministerial function. For, if you take seasonable opportunities to speak calmly upon these heads, or others, which yourself may suggest, where you shall find need; I doubt not, but in time, and with God's blessing, your discourse will have its desired effect in the neighbourhood; and, if others would take upon them to do the like elsewhere in the nation, I am persuaded we should all grow into a good humour once again, and love our bishops as we have done formerly. Thus, recommending you to the divine protection, and praying for good success in the attempt you shall make in the kind I advise, or any other good work of your calling:

I am your faithful Friend, and Brother in Christ, &c.

The Proposals of the Committee for regulating the Law, both in Sense, Form, and Practice. Communicated to publick View, by especial Order and Command¹.

[Quarto; containing eight Pages.]

WE, the commissioners of the grand and weighty business of regulating the law, which have taken no small pains in sitting all this while, with the assistance of a single-soaled minister, have at last grown big of these high and mighty articles, and desire to be delivered of them into the world, for the publick applause and consent: for by them we hope to give a free interpretation of modern justice, and a strict account of the reformation of all fees, tedious demurs, and practice of courts; that by it the commonwealth may be eased of the burden of unknown charges, which waits upon buckram-bags, and we richly rewarded for our sweat and travel, in so acceptable and laudable a work.

Proposal 1. That, whereas all the good laws, statutes, and acts of grace in this kingdom, have been derived clearly from noble and heroick princes, and their free grant; and (until they shall be repealed by a *knack* of parliament) are the sole tie and safety of human society, trade, and traffick; it is thought fit, that the charity and love of former kings to their liege people be esteemed nothing to the mercy of the state we now live under, and the famous liberties, properties, and bounty of their generous spirits, we partake; and that it shall be thought reason and law both, that an ordinance of parliament may take the wall of *Magna Charta*, though it be in the middle of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields; and in all causes, and over all persons, to be supreme moderator.

2. That the sword was the first inventor of kings, and the present upholder of states and parliaments; and therefore, notwithstanding any right or equity to the contrary, the sword is the best law-giver: and as it has attempted already to cut off the head of the commonwealth, so it does require all the rest of the members to an observance of its command be it never so unjust, inhuman, cruel, sacrilegious, or profane.

3. That, in all administrations of modern justice, we may be no more bound to conscience, than conscience is to us: for, let a man look over all the anatomy of the law-givers, it is impossible to conjecture, in what part of that body conscience lies.

4. That the King's-Bench bar be subservient to the high court of justice, in regard the one has no power, but merely to distribute *jus suum cuique*, the candid censure of the law between man and man; the other has a sovereignty above sovereigns.

5. That the court of iniquity, *alias* the Chancery (where a man may be suspended and demurred in his just right, from generation to generation, by the power of the purse) may be judged no more by the keepers of the liberties and privileges of England, but rather to be taken in its true and genuine sense by the preservers of the controversies and sins of the people: and whereas a man, after the expense of a thousand pounds to bring his suit to a hearing, was used to be blown off with a non-assumption of the engagement; they shall henceforth be allowed twenty shillings towards their costs and charges, and the half-dozen clerks daggled gowns scoured.

6. That that bloody and deadly term *murderaverunt* may be looked upon as a word in fashion; and, because it concerns many of great quality, it is ordered, that it be always written in capital letters.

¹ [These burlesque proposals appear to have been put forth during the interregnum.]

7. That as many as *swornaverunt* themselves into the high style of the Knights of the Post, are not a jot concerned in the act of degrading late honours conferred: but this being an ancient order of knighthood, and very ready at all times, through the course of these ten years past, to bestead the commonwealth upon occasion; be it therefore confirmed, by all the sinews of the law, that this fraternity be upheld to perpetuity of ages.

8. That no *adjournamentums* of causes shall henceforth be allowed; for, suppose a man, having but one poor *Cotagium* in the world, have a suit depending *pro cabagio*, (*Anglicè*, for a cabbage,) in Michaelmas-term, and, withal, a judgment and execution; the plaintiff must be constrained, perhaps, to wait a twelvemonth for satisfaction, and to be paid in his own coin.

9. That it shall be held fit in a circuit or assize, though it become not a judge itinerant, with his bunch of gravity on his chin, to take bribes, yet it may be convenient, that the price of a pair of gloves, called, 'fifty pieces,' be deposited in his clerk's pocket, to be presented to his lordship the next morning, when he goes to wash his hands, that, like Pilate, he might purify himself to the world in formality and circumstance; as in the case of Martin Sandy and Steyner.

10. That all attorneys of courts errant, passant, or regardant, may no more run up their clients with twelve-pence wet, and six-pence dry; besides baitings, breakfasts, collations, and Banbury cheeses; but that justice may run clear, without proclivity, or irregular bugging of a countryman's purse, it is ordered, *cum warranto*, that the pettifogger shall require no more than his ten groats: and, if so be the free-hearted client tickle him under the short ribs, with an ordinary of boilded beef at Fetter-lane end *gratis*, it shall be thought a considerable *easeamentum* of expense, and no more to be extorted for expedition.

11. That all dashes whatsoever, used in writing, shall be held for a capital crime; for, under the notion of a counter-stroke, the law and Latin cases were so martyred, that it puzzled the worshipful the judges (having forgotten their grammar by long experience) to understand them: and therefore it is desired, that all words be written at length, and not in figures, for the conveniency of the benchers.

12. That it may be thought reason, that the word *villenagium* be utterly expunged out of the terms of the law; since we are all freemen, and no more slaves, than they which row in the Turks gallies.

13. That, by the motion of Mr. Peters; the term *simony* may be looked upon as convenient, if not lawful, since the first day he begun to sell the patronage of South Wales.

14. That the right heir at law is he alone that is in possession; and as, by the outing of the best tenure in England, we see it apparent, *inter arma silent leges*, so, whosoever he be, that is born to an estate, unless he can derive his claim from the engagement, he is no longer to be suffered by the sheriff of the county to live in peace, till such time as he has run the gauntlope at Haberdashers' Hall, and then he shall be freely manumitted.

15. That an under-sheriff, a jailer, a catch-pole, and clerk of assize, being *individuum in natura*, or *termini convertibiles*, shall no more be dashed in their reputation with the circumflex of a *K*, but rather to be considered as publick officers; which, in this catching age, ought to have a little touch of *hocus pocus* in all their performances.

16. That the excise, notwithstanding there be no law extant, or conscience, to warrant so sore an imposition upon a free people, may be thought *jure divino*; because it enlarges the hawking-bags of the saints.

17. That no expedition be henceforth used in any court, practice, or procedure; but rather, all delays and labyrinths to dwindle out a bumkin's patrimony to the last thread: that the puny clerks may be prevented in the vein of their spending-money, and the masters of offices may be enriched with double fees, to the capacity of buying bishops' lands and fee-farm rents: besides, the law being just shaking hands with us, it is necessary we make the most of it, while it is here.

18. That whereas a country solicitor, vamped up to the singularity of a vinegar cloke, and a green bag, is wont to dun the offices with a pitiful importunity; more especially when his novice is at hand to quicken him with a piece of four; it is desired he may make the benefit of a *fallacia signi*, when the term is ended, to keep his under-vamper in town to bear his charges, until the poor fellow is compelled to pawn his cloke in Long-lane, to carry him home; and then take his leave, with a philosophical bill of charges at his back, like an indenture in folio, to bemoan his lawship to his admiring friends.

19. That the term *prerogative*, being a sequestrable phrase, a malignant and dangerous word, full of plots and treasons, a word prayed and preached against by many well-wishing and confiding divines and godly souls of this nation, may be laid aside, and charmed into the happy conversation of the people's birth-right. And since the representatives of the plebeians have the managing of all delinquent incumbrances: be it proposed to be enacted and made law, that all such tyrannical expressions, denominations, or inventions be pocketed up; to raise the wages, salaries, stipendiaries, or allowances, of the aforesaid representatives from this time forth for evermore.

20. That whereas *meum* and *tuum* have been the old pronouns of distinguishing titles and claims in this blind and ignorant patch of the world; in regard they are Latin, and so of grievous consequence to a people new-lighted; in respect of their alliance, relation, affinity, and consanguinity to the pope, being their countryman: be it confirmed by a perpetual decree, that those words are no better than Jesuits, and have nothing to do with us in the decision of rights of the new model.

21. That the thing called a *king*, a title of usurpation, to whom, by compulsion and imminent necessity, men of greatest rank, nobility, and professions, took most formally the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; because we, that are wiser than our forefathers, know there is an inconvenience in having any one above us, to call us to an account, or controul the liberty of our concupiscence: it is beseeched, that all Britain, of what tongue, language, or speech soever, would be pleased to forget that obligation, and to acknowledge no supremacy but in themselves.

22. That, in all contracts, covenants, or agreements, it shall be considerable for every man to have a mental reservation, or intricate meaning; that upon advantages we may turn weather-cocks, and adore those mighty and modern deities, profit and self-ends.

23. That all records, or registers of antiquity, may be burnt and embezzled; for fear, lest, in reading and turning over those slighted and moth-eaten papers, we may unwillingly be put in mind of a neglected and forgotten duty and obedience to magistracy, ministry; nay, I had almost said, sovereignty.

24. That every country-fellow may have the privilege of pleading his own cause, merely to humour the high shoes; notwithstanding we, in our known wisdom and integrity, shall give sentence according to our underfeeling and proper discretion.

25. That all committee-men shall be held forth saints at their death, and be enthroned in the church-windows, at the charge of the parish; because they have been most eminent instruments in the engrossing and monopolising of all church-lands, glebe, and tythes.

26. That there may be a provincial pair-royal of judges selected for the determining of suits in the same county where they first take breath: always provided, that if the parties be rich, fat, and well-liking, and of good credit in the sheriff's books, and withal able to endure the heat of a London trial: that, in such cases, there must and ought to be a further appeal to our palace at Westminster, where such differences are most peculiarly required to be decided with a wet finger.

27. That as the oath *ex officio*, or an injunction for a man to discover himself against himself, has always been held a most injurious, circumventing and unjust invention amongst grandees (except in matters of sequestration); it shall be lawful henceforward for no man to unrip, untruss, or divulge the least syllable of his own privy, or hidden knowledge of deluding, deceiving, or cousening the commonalty, against his own conscience.

28. That the damnable expensive fees of all offices and officers shall be brought to an *abatamentum*, and be left to the pleasure of every man's heart to gratulate and requite his trustee: and so, the lawyers being brought into subjection to the mercy of the bores and swads, they may not flaunt so stately in their *pontificalibus*; being but publick servants, and a hickle of animals, which breathe by the iniquities of the land.

29. That, whereas incontinence has been evermore held by the ancients a most decried and punishable vice, and trick of youth in most countries, it is conceived fit to be esteemed venial, and more pardonable in this cold climate; and to permit all men of experienced activity, the freedom of a wife and an intimate, for the fructifying of the sisterhood, and the enlargement of the number of the Geneva fry.

30. That the old proverb, 'Change is no robbery,' be put in practice in these moderate times. And whereas the grievous and mighty tax, called *ship-money*, imposed by the royalists, hath been esteemed tyranny, injustice, and covetousness: the easy and frivolous sess of sixty-thousand pounds a month, loaded by the reformed sighers and groaners, shall be construed by all sorts of pay-masters a trifle, a piece of nothingness, necessary to the supportation of the armies; and other small disbursements, which do not amount to half the sum.

31. That whereas the taking up of arms in former ages against a prince, by his own subjects, was by the law found treason: in respect that now we know he is but a man, obnoxious to death and mortality at pleasure, it shall no longer be judged treason, but convenience; and that such ought to be rewarded for it, under the notion of good service and gallantry.

32. That whereas in case of manslaughter, and other casual offences, men were allowed the benefit of their clergy; it is granted necessary, in this metamorphosis of things, that no man be put to his book again: for there is hardly one in a hundred can read his *neck-verse*², and so many of the good intenders to the weal-publick may incur the hazard of the hempen twist.

33. That all subsizing, quерpo, gizzard clerks, which farm a parcel of scribbling at three-pence a day, shall not be suffered henceforward to lay out their father's allowance, and their own lamentable revenue, upon a suit of clothes, and a horse collar of ribbands. For, as it is even in the greatest order of the bustling gallants a most unseemly, ranting, loose, profuse, ugly garb, to be dressed about the hips like a morris-dancer, and to have more variety of strange colours than good conditions; it is judged commendable both in state policy and common civility to enact, that all such which are found whiffing in such antick dresses, be accounted no better than w—masters, tooth-drawers, and mountebanks, from this time forth for evermore.

34. That all lawyers' wives, which have come sneaking into the inns of court, with their bag and baggage; whether it be to be proficient in their husbands absence in the practice of fee-tail, or whether it be to convert those gallant edifices from a nursery of law, to a shambles of laundry-women, I know not; but it is requested to be voted, that all such presumptuous whipsters, with their litter and lumber, reduce themselves either into Ram-alley, Purple-lane, or Castle-yard, (more fit stages for such comical subjects than seminaries of learning,) and there to set up for themselves, where only such kind of cattle are to be expected.

35. That the corruption of courts has been a most horrid and crying crime in this nation, in that the poor have been overborne by the rich in a most high way, and all by intercession of the lady *Pecunia*, a gentlewoman much idolised of late: it is therefore ordained, that no more money be produced to attempt the frailty of a clerk's conscience, but that every thing be carried in a round way between man and man; and by that time the excise, sequestration, monthly taxes, &c. have continued their reign over us one year more, be it accounted treason for any man whatsoever to be able to offer an attorney,

² [The 'neck-verse' is the beginning of the 51st Psalm, *Miserere mei*, &c. anciently read by criminals claiming the benefit of clergy.]

solicitor, or council, more than his just fee ; except it be a rasher of bacon, to relish his morning's draught.

36. That there may be a distinction made between clerks of the children's threes, and staggers of the long twelves, men of the tribe of Anack in their profession, and tipplers of the stock of Benjamin, whose goose-quill fancies were never elevated beyond the Parnassus of a green nogging in their master's absence : it is therefore proposed, that such niffling fellows be distinguished by the childish wear of yellow ribbands, from the marshal seniors with their fiery faces.

37. *Item*, That all indentures, bills, leases, conveyances, and bonds obligatory, shall no more be dated from the year of our Lord God, nor the coronation of the king, but *stilo novo*, from the first day of the eleventh month, in such a model of the state government, under the conduct of such a party.

38. *Item*, That all impropriations, college-holds, lapses, or patronage of church means, be all referred to a jury of saints to dispose of : because it is the patrimony of the elect in this world, and to sustain the indigency of the spirit of talking.

39. That all right might be judged by the touch-stone of affection, and if so be the plaintiff, or defendant, cannot bring proof, that he is one of such a collected church of the marching ministry, it is fitting he should be reprobated in estate, as well as point of salvation.

40. That no married persons may justify themselves by the old Common Prayer Book, but he, that means to be dabbling with his mistress now, must permit himself to be posted three several Sundays upon the church door ; and, when every country hogo has spent his greasy year upon him, then he must be examined by two justices of peace upon oath, whether he has his and her friends consent ; and then if it please the parties, they may go to bed together without any further ceremony : *Qui aliter maritaverit perdit dotem*.

41. That the multiplicity of heriots be reduced to nothing, and the *marketa mulieris* be set up in their place ; or rather the forfeiture of that money by the occupation of the feminine feature by the three articles of the lord of the manor.

42. That the lottery and the public faith may walk hand in hand together from town to town, to see if it be possible to inveigle any more silver spoons or bodkins into the common (or the commons) treasury.

43. That it may be lawful for any man to exercise, own, preach about, or practise any religion, heresy, or diabolical tenets ; that the law may be brought into six words, ' Do as thou wouldest be done to ; ' that divinity may be made mercenary, and the fundamentals of church and commonwealth laid waste and abolished ; that one man may be as good a gentleman as another ; and for all these, we beseech you to hear us, great lords.

Sic tetigi portum quo mihi cursus erat.

The Pope's dreadful Curse. Being the Form of Excommunication of the Church of Rome¹. Taken out of the Leger-Book of the Church of Rochester; now in the Custody of the Dean and Chapter there. Writ by Ernulfus the Bishop.

London: Printed and are to be sold by L. C. on Ludgate-Hill, 1681.

[Folio, containing two Pages.]

BY the authority of God Almighty the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of the holy canons, and of the undefiled Virgin Mary, the mother and patroness of our Saviour, and of all the celestial virtues, angels, arch-angels, thrones, dominions, powers, cherubims and seraphims, and of the holy patriarchs, prophets, and of all the apostles and evangelists, and of the holy innocents, who in the sight of the Holy Lamb are found worthy to sing the new song, and of the holy martyrs and holy confessors, and of the holy virgins, and of all the saints, and together with all the holy and elect of God: We excommunicate and anathematise him or them, malefactor or malefactors,——and from the thresholds of the Holy Church of God Almighty we sequester them; that he or they may be tormented, disposed, and delivered over with Dathan and Abiram, and with those who say unto the Lord God, 'Depart from us, we know not thy ways.' And, as fire is quenched with water, so let the light of him, or them, be put out for evermore, unless it shall repent him or them, and they make satisfaction. Amen.

May the Father, who created man, curse him or them. May the Son, who suffered for us, curse him or them. May the Holy Ghost, who was given to us in baptism, curse him or them. May the holy cross, which Christ for our salvation triumphing over his enemy ascended, curse him or them. May the holy and eternal Virgin Mary, mother of God, curse him or them. May St. Michael, the advocate of holy souls, curse him or them. May all the angels and arch-angels, principalities and powers, and all the heavenly host, curse him or them. May the laudable number of the patriarchs and prophets curse him or them. May St. John, the chief fore-runner and baptist of Christ, curse him or them. May St. Peter and St. Paul, and St. Andrew, and all other Christ's apostles, together with the rest of his disciples, and the four Evangelists, who by their preaching converted the universal world, curse him or them. May the holy and wonderful company of martyrs and confessors, who by their holy works are found pleasing to God Almighty, curse him or them. May the holy choir of the holy virgins, who for the honour of Christ have despised the things of the world, curse him or them. May all the Saints, who from the beginning of the world to everlasting ages are found to be the beloved of God, curse him or them. May the heavens and earth, and all the holy things remaining therein, curse him or them. May he or they be cursed, wherever he or they be; whether

¹ [To this specimen of papal anathematism may be added the following, denounced against robbers, A. D. 988.

'Obtenebrescant oculi vestri, qui concupiverunt; arescant manus, quæ rapuerunt; debilitentur omnia membra, quæ adjuverunt. Semper laboretis, nec requiem inveniatis, fructuque vestri laboris privemini. Formidetis, et paveatis, à facie persequentis, et non persequentis hostis, ut tabescendo deficiatis. Sit portio vestra cum Juda traditore domini, in terra mortis et tenebrarum; donec corda vestra ad satisfactionem plenam convertantur.——Ne cessent a vobis hæ maledictiones, scelerum vestrorum persecutrices, quamdiu permanentes in peccato pervasionis. Amen. Fiat. Fiat.'

Bouquet. Recueil. des Hist. tom. x. p. 517.

Hen. Labertus, a German writer, has given an *Anathematologia*; or, a Discourse upon the Church-Curses.]

in their house or in their field, or in the highway, or in the path, or in the wood, or in the water, or in the church. May he or they be cursed in living, in dying, in eating, in drinking, in being hungry, in being thirsty, in fasting, in sleeping, in slumbering, in waking, in walking, in standing, in sitting, in lying, in working, in resting, in pissing, in shitting, and in blood-letting. May he or they be cursed in all the faculties of their body. May he or they be cursed inwardly and outwardly. May he or they be cursed in the hair of his or their head. May he or they be cursed in his or their brain. May he or they be cursed in the top of his or their head, in their temples, in their forehead, in their ears, in their eye-brows, in their cheeks, in their jaw-bones, in their nostrils, in their fore-teeth or grinders, in their lips, in their throat, in their shoulders, in their wrists, in their arms, in their hands, in their fingers, in their breast, in their heart, and in all the interior parts to the very stomach: in their reins, in the groin, in the thighs, in the genitals, in the hips, in the knees, in the legs, in the feet, in the joints, and in the nails. May he or they be cursed in all their joints, from the top of the head to the sole of the foot. May there not be any soundness in him or them.

May the Son of the living God, with all the glory of his majesty, curse him or them; and may Heaven, with all the powers which move therein, rise against him or them to damn him or them, unless it shall repent him or them, or that he or they shall make satisfaction. Amen, Amen. So be it.

The publication of this is to shew what is to be expected from the Pope, if he come to be supreme Head of the Church in this nation.

The true and wonderful History of Perkin Warbeck, proclaiming himself Richard the Fourth¹.

Nullus sibi similis in periculis homo, quoties ad audaciam ex metu venerit.
Eurip. Iphig. in Tauris.

London: Printed by E. G. for Nathaniel Butter; and are to be sold at his Shop in Paul's Church-yard, at the Sign of the Pyed Bull. 1618.

[Quarto; containing one-hundred and twelve Pages.]

Historia est { *Testis temporum.*
Lux veritatis.
Vita memoriæ.
Magistra vitæ.
Nuntia vetustatis.

Historia nihil aliud est nisi annalium confectio, cujus rei memoriæque publicæ retinendæ causa, ab initio res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat literis Pontifex maximus, efferebatque in album, & proponebat tabulam domi, &c.

Cicero de Orat. Lib. ii.

¹ Vide Oldys's Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 232.

To the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Arundel, first Earl of England,
one of his Majesty's most honourable Council, &c.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

SUCH as my poor self, that am only a looker-on of your virtues, as a passenger in a street beholding the frontispiece of some delicate edifice, but debarred the entrance and search into the inward rooms, must be contented, or, if you please, indebted to the opinion and report of others; which I have found so ample and enlarged concerning your great honour and greater worthiness, that I will forbear any further insinuation, lest I step into a kind of flattery; a vice incident to most men, refused of none, yet in all fortunes to be disclaimed of a gentleman. Only I must add this, that I am proud of mine own assurance, that you are born to adorn our country, and illustrate our court; wherein your industry, loyalty, and immaculate truth shall make your virtues complete and triumphant. Therefore, great lord, have I chosen out this history, merely for the strangeness, and charactered you the patron of my endeavours for the observations, that the remarkable passages herein proposed, (of which even Scotland had a part,) may serve for all persons in such dignity and eminent places, both for precept and caution.

For precept; to flourish in their own honours, and move in their own orbs, sticking close to the glory of their country, and clinging to the sides of majesty, that the king may ask, what shall be done to the man, whom he would honour, and the commonwealth follow them with panegyric applauses, who preserve her peace from the ravishing and deforming of strangers, be the hopes to the contrary never so probable or inducive.

For caution; not once to put any confidence in deceivers, nor believe the devil himself, though he promise to give the kingdoms of the world, which are none of his: yet, I confess him prince of the same; that is, of the abuses and impieties therein both raging, and reigning; and the rather, because the end hath ever been perdition of body, soul, honour, estates, and posterity. Nor can the pleading of simplicity in the seduction, or ignorance in the credulity, serve the turn. For though princes many times have been drawn to pardon the offences of subjects, and refractory delinquents, wallowing or rather sunk over head and ears in the miry bogs of such convulsions; yet are they not always to be presumed upon, nor will the commonwealth endure the indignity, or give way to any person whatsoever in vilipending the government.

I humbly therefore request your honour to read over this true and strange story, and take in worth my good meaning, which presenteth the same unto you (I protest) without any other motive, than to see you flourish, as a supportation of our commonwealth, and jewel of our kingdom. As for the faults and my presumption, I expect, that that virtue and goodness, which must make you famous in this world, and happy in the world to come, will extend but her own properties to my pardon and admission: knowing that, if I have done ill, wisdom is not bought in the market, and yet God bids us come without money; if well, it is in your honourable favour, and noble acceptance.

Your honour's humble observant,

THOMAS GAINSFORD.

*Destruit ingentes animos, & vita superstes
Imperio, nisi summa dies cum fine bonorum
Affuit, & celeri prævertit tristia letho,
Dedecori est fortuna prior, quisquamne secundis
Tradere se fati audet, nisi morte parata?* *Lucan. Lib. viii.*

A PREFACE.

Nec adulatori, nèque detractori.

TO speak of the commendation of history is not my meaning; nor of the necessity my purpose: for besides the definition, and explanation of Tully himself, you have at least forty several books, which begin (as I do) with a preface, as a preparative to the reader, to take their books within their gentle embraces, merely upon the commendation of history. I leave all unnamed, except Sir Henry Savil for Tacitus, Sir Walter Raleigh for his History of the World, Dr. Hayward for the Three Norman Kings and Henry the Fourth. In whose writings (let us write what we can) as much is written, as either delight, profit, or private respect can extend unto: so that I say, I desist from that general insinuation concerning the credit or particular satisfaction of history, and come to more familiar opening the carpet of the business proposed. Only this I will add, that I had rather read one true story handsomely set upon the frame of precept and caution, than a thousand fictions diverting my imaginary conceits to think upon, and (as we say) spend themselves on impossibilities, and corrupt my meditation with vain, foolish, beastly, and trivial devices; which are the more ridiculous, because there is substance, and matter enough in verity, to set on work any humour and invention whatsoever and satisfy apprehensions even in their wanton and exotic wanderings.

For in this house of repast, which my ivy-bush invites you to; wouldest thou be made partaker of the attributes appropriated to the Divine Majesty? Here are manifested his providence, wisdom, mightiness, power, justice, mercy, prevention, love, goodness, majesty, &c. Wouldest thou be made acquainted with the secrets of religion? Here are demonstrated the vanities of ceremonies, the necessity of adoration, the encumbrances of superstition, the simplicity of times, the darkness of popery, the fear of excommunication, the reverence of priesthood, and the folly of devices. Wouldest thou know the policies of government, and dignity of a king? Here you shall see, what the desire of sovereignty can do, the jealousy of a prince's estate, the revenge of wrongs, the fear of troubles and innovation, the inconstancy of the people, the danger of factions, and the several passages of a prosperous, or declining estate. Wouldest thou be quickned with the remembrance of pleasure? Here are particulars of delight, courtings of ladies, amorous encounters, triumphant shews, deceitful vanities, and some idle relations. Wouldest thou see virtue mounted on a pinnacle of her palace? Here are wisdom, gravity, constancy, magnanimity, endurances of misfortune, and moderation of power and greatness. Wouldest thou behold vice in her deformity? Here are envy, hatred, malice, pride, ambition, desire of revenge, rebellion, contumacy, stubbornness, and such like. Wouldest thou be acquainted with passions? Here are joy, fear, sorrow, gladness, jealousy, mistrust, and all of that sort. Wouldest thou see other varieties? Here are princes deceived, hopers abused, liars execrated, traitors punished, and the devil himself confounded. In a word, wouldest thou hear of strange adventures, painful endeavours, heroic actions, dangerous attempts, or military proceedings? Here is fortune (as we profanely run away with the emblem) set upon a wheel, and turned round about by the hand of an invisible and invincible Deity. Here is the stage of variety, and table of wonders. So that I am sure, from the Conquest to this hour, there is no story so remarkable, and so full of observation, either for the ridiculous beginning, dangerous continuance, or lamentable effects.

For, although the first contentions between the houses of York and Lancaster began, questionless, from the wrong intrusion of Henry the Fourth, when the right of the crown was in Mortimer, and his line, by the daughter of Clarence, King Edward the Third's third son, and elder brother of John of Gaunt; yet there was some probability and inducement to the revengers; either mighty armies, strong factions, many confederates, or the next of blood powerful in his own possession and friends, with such like. But here, besides the fanatical invention, men were transported against their own conscience and

knowledge, and assumed arms to do they knew not what, only because they would be counted factious, stirring, and resembling the fish sepia, which, cast into any water, be-froths the same: and, in the conclusion, the end as the beginning, and both, like a paper castle, quickly set on fire; or, if you will, a confection of spicery, which, after it is carried round about the house, is placed upon the table with great wonder, amazement, and delight, both at the stuff and contriving. But what is the issue? The lookers-on at last fall to, and pull even the guns and houses a-pieces, and eat them.

In Ireland, I remember, they lay an imputation of baseness and cowardice on any man that hath not been in action, (as they term it,) or hath not had his pardon and protection; so that custom makes them traitors, and the vain glory of reputation, many times, brings their necks to the halter: yet it is somewhat tolerable for the generality of the fault, and enforcement of the motive, being bards, rhimers, harpers, priests, whom the very women hug in their bosoms, for seducing their noblemen and gentlemen, and exciting them to revenge. Upon this ground they must prosecute, first, some things worthy the honour of their ancestors, and next remember the deploation of religion, liberty, and the usurpation of their country; all which the English have, from time to time, intruded upon, and are not to be endured in their tyranny, as they make them believe. But in this our story, there is nothing savouring true heroism, nor worthy the name of commiseration and assistance: for the best excuse ariseth from shadows, smoke, vapours, foolish enterprises, and unjustifiable actions, wherein only the power of God is manifested and made apparent, that from so small beginnings, and slender a fountain, such turbulent streams, and raging rivers, should arise, even to endanger one of the flourishingest kingdoms in the world; yea, my heart trembles to imagine, that so great a prince, in the unity of a right by an unpreventable marriage, should be heaved at, in so formidable a manner, by an upstart, and (as I may say) puppet stuffed with straw, to scare away crows.

I have read of one Spartago, a fencer, that, taking upon him the person of Scribonianus, drew a great party together; which as Nero laughed to scorn, so, indeed, the commonwealth quickly put to flight. Likewise, the other day in Venice, Florence, and many principalities of Italy, a strange impostor, after thirty years, or thereabouts, made them believe he was Sebastian King of Portugal, slain in Barbary at the battle of Alcazar, as was supposed; but, in truth, recovered, and obscured for a time, &c. I might also add the cunning of Richard Duke of York, who, being in Ireland, animated the Kentish rebel, Jack Cade, to personate the name of Mortimer, for a trial how the people would affect that title. But these flourishes were only the rash burnings of a bavin, as soon extinguished as in a flame, and quickly overthrown, upon the first discovery. Only this story, for the variety, the continuance, the manner, and all other circumstances, hath made me (as I said before) amazed; and may, in the reading, produce the same effects in others. Yet again, when I consider the estate of man's frailty, mutable, troublesome, and full of encumbrances, and overlook the condition of mortality, which, in princes themselves, is subject to inconveniencies, and, many times, fearful convulsions; I wonder the less, because God will be known unto them, and they have, for the most part, prevailed in their rights, and justifiable endeavours: for which I also pray, that they may still hold up the heads of triumphant and unchangeable greatness, wherein, no doubt, the same divine arm of potency, which hath protected others, will also support them from all dangerous enterprizes and fearful treasons, either of foreign or domestick adversaries.

But, amongst other remarkable accidents this is not the least, that so many examples, so many heads cut off, so many armies overthrown, so many honourable families consumed, so much blood spilt, so great revenges taken (as if all such enterprises were cursed in the womb, and brought forth like an untimely embryo) could never affright others, nor be a sufficient warning to succeeding times; but every occasion of innovation, were it never so foolish or exorbitant, still excited one or other to parts-taking, and brought them to untimely overthrows, either by their armies and confederates discomfited, or by their in-

ditements and accusations, enlarged in judicial trial against them. But this is the cunning of the devil ; who, to fill up the vast dungeon of hell, makes men so prodigal of their lives and honours, or so covetous of revenge and vain glory, that so they may have a name with Herostratus, who burned the temple of Diana, they care not for the reproach ; supposing, that as many will extol them for brave stirring spirits, as condemn them for traitors and disobedient subjects. O ridiculous and abominable conceits ! O hateful and filthy imaginations ! O deceivable and imposturing impiety ! Nay, in a word, O horrible and flagitious madness ! without reason, likelihood, or inference, of any probable or persuasive circumstance.

But, lest my preface extend beyond the bounds of my heart's commission, I will attend the particulars of my story, with this expostulation to all noble and generous spirits ; yea, I will kneel on my knees and hold up my hands unto them, that they give no way to any deceivable seduction of pope, jesuit, priest, faction, innovation, repining at the state, private ambition, corrupted malice, and such like ; against the current of government, or the ebbings and flowings of the world and times. For the majesty of kings will not be tied up with the slender bindings of rebellion, nor taught any lesson against their wills, either of favouring or disavouring, whom they please. As for personal faults, alas ! princes, prelates, officers, magistrates, and all sorts of men will run the race of mortality : and, if it were possible to remove offenders at pleasure, the persons may be changed, but the imperfections continue. Let them therefore alone, a God's name ; for they must stand or fall to the estate of their lives, which he hath appointed : only this I will be bold to say, I would have no man, for any private respect, run in the outrageous races of sins himself, or defend any wickedness in others ; bear with great men in their vices, flatter or temporise for profit or preferment, yield unto base or degenerating actions, either for fear or favour ; or, in a word, do any thing contrary to God's word, wherein, as in a glass, men may perspicuously behold the way of life and death ; and the infallible positions, which, in the affirmative and negative, conclude all things either by precept or interdiction.

Parvis enim res magnas quomoddò caperet quis laboribus ? Stultum etiam velle & conari hæc ; quando enim excanduerit populus, ad iram prolapsus, similis est igni ad extinguendum vehementi ; si vero pedetentim quis ei concitato quidem cedens obsecundarit, tempus cautè observans, cum autem emiserit flatus, forsàn exhalaverit. Eurip. Orest.

THE contentions between the houses of York and Lancaster are the subjects of many discourses ; and therefore I will insist the less either upon genealogies, titles, usurpations, wars, factions, encounters, revenges, battles, and slaughters, or other accidental outrages, which, for ninety years, filled the wrinkles of the face of our commonwealth of England, with the blood and sweat of ten kings and princes of the race royal ; sixty dukes and earls ; a thousand lords and knights ; and an hundred and fifty thousand soldiers and people. Only I must make a little continuance and abiding in the wretched and ragged house of envy and malice, governed and overseen by a woman, who was so opposite and adverse to the Lancastrian family, that though King Henry the Seventh had obtained the crown by a strong hand ; and (as we say) *divinitus præmunitus* ; yea, debarred all titles, or fuming shadows of titles, by consummating that marriage with the lady Elisabeth, eldest daughter of Edward the Fourth ; she yet contrived all the ways of his overthrow, and (*invitâ fortunâ*) entertained every occasion, which might add fuel to the fire of her inveterate hate, and blood-thirsty humour of revenge ; as if she had been born like certain antipathies in nature, which cannot endure any neighbourhood or commixture ; such as the yew and palm, the fig and vine, the strings of wolves and sheep, which makes me remember the story of Eteocles and Polynices, the sons of Oedipus, whose hate was so great in their lives, that after death, the bones being burnt together, the flame of the sacrifice divided asunder.

This was Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward the Fourth, and a sworn ad-

versary to cast the red rose of England into the black pit of confusion ; who, perceiving her first hopes frustrated and annihilated concerning the progression of Lambert's enterprises, studied night and day upon further and further instigations ; yea, hovered over and over opportunity, like a hawk for her prey, to torment and trouble the peace of England ; embracing every strange and prestigious illusion, and not caring with what pullies of ridiculous and impossible actions her malice and revenges were wound up, so they might be hurried down again upon the head of the king, whom she cursed on her knees, and hated (even beyond the tenderness of her sex) many of her own friends, for his sake. Therefore, to weary his patience a little more, she set up another puppet like the former ; one Peter Warbeck, a Fleming ; to act the part of wonder on the stage of dangerous innovation, and take upon him the title of Richard the Fourth Prince of England, and white rose of the same. But before I play the midwife, or (if you will) physician to her, to deliver her womb of this monstrous birth of Peter Warbeck, whom she taught the cunning and audacious impudence of personating Richard Duke of York ; murdered with his brother in the Tower, by Richard the Third, some eight years before ; I think it not impertinent to our purpose in hand, to tell you what this Lambert was, and wherein he seemed cozened with the whorish smiles of an adulterate fortune by the only means and coadjutement of this duchess of Burgundy.

The first and second years of Henry the Seventh swelled to so great a height of joy, blessedness, and contentment, from the rivulets of King Richard's slaughter, the corroboration of his estate, the amity of the nobles, the marriage with the eldest daughter of York, the birth of Prince Arthur, the league and amity of foreign princes, and the applause of all his subjects ; that the Divine Providence though it meet to temper and allay the excess of the same with some mixtures of fear and displeasure, lest mortality might presume too far, and man triumph, that his own arm of flesh had contrived his establishment. So that the Lord Lovel, Humphrey and Thomas Strafford, with Sir Thomas Broughton, and divers others, attempted a dangerous rebellion, and drew into the field a great army against the king ; whom to prevent, the duke of Bedford, with such forces as could be raised on a sudden, made haste to an encounter. But his fortune was so good, that with a successful oratory, not striking a stroke, he prevailed to dissipate those threatening and thickening clouds of disturbance : for (after he had intimated the heinousness of their transgression, and nature of their offences, which were capital treasons ; and withal inferred the king's great mercy, which was willing to pardon their rashness, and pitiful oversights, so they would desist, and retire peaceably into their countries) the whole company ceased, and quietly deposed their arms ; whereupon the Lord Lovel fled, and the Straffords took sanctuary in a village called Culnham, two miles from Abington : but because the judges of the law alleged that the towns of refuge among the Jews were ordained for other purposes ; and that Joab was killed, holding by the horns of the altar, and the places of privileges in England were never meant to suborn traitors ; Humphrey Stafford was taken by force from the town, and sent to the Tower, from whence they brought him to Tyburn, and there put him to execution. His younger brother Thomas was, notwithstanding, remitted as a man whom consanguinity and brotherhood had rather deceived, than wilfulness and malice against the king abused. O blessed wisdom ! that can so temper justice with the consideration of men's frailties, and other malevolent circumstances, to keep her a-while from contracting a brow of revenge upon every offender ; and had rather draw some men to a sweet obedience from their penitency, and newness of life, than cut off others by the strong hand of execution. And thus in other cases of state it many times chanceth, that even accessaries are condemned, when the principals go free : yea, in the highest degree of treason, which is displaying of colours, and taking up arms against a prince, it is sometimes better taken in action than in consultation : yet is there no presuming on favour in any of these cases, nor taking hands with example to trace in the bye-paths of any indirect courses.

But as mischiefs, according to Euripides, seldom come alone, and *unda undam sequitur*;

so presently upon the neck of this followed a strange and wonderful trouble, through the insurrection of one Lambert Simnel, taking upon him the person of Edward Earl of Warwick, son of George Duke of Clarence, newly come into the hands of the king, and committed to the Tower. This Lambert was induced (or, if you will, seduced,) to this enterprise, by the devilish impostures of Richard Simond a priest, who was so hasty in his accounts, and forward in his reckonings, that he presently concluded that, if Lambert could be king, he should be an archbishop at least: *O manifesta phrenesis!* where, by the way, you may observe, that never enterprize was achieved to the dissipation of monarchies, and translation of kingdoms; never mischief set on foot, nor wickedness put on the wings of prevailing; but from the contrivance and coadjutement of a priest, and such men as professed the religion of those times, as in histories may appear. But if you descend into Europe, and come lower amongst ourselves; I dare say, that, from the Conquest to this hour, all exorbitant actions, dangerous attempts, terrible enforcements, never-heard-of projects, and monstrous commotions, to the effusion of Christian blood, and weakening the glory of our kingdom, have been achieved and furthered by the means of popish priests and jesuits, and the damnable doctrines and instructions of their associates; mere hypocrites both in life and doctrine: yea, that monstrous terror of Christendom, the family of Ottoman, and religion of Mahomet, was blown so big, as you see it in the furnace of Sergius, a counterfeit monk, and now set on the throne of imperiousness through his supportation and assistance in composing the Alcoran.

When this our priest, Richard Simond, or *Versipellis Sinon*, well perceived and understood the gentle condition and pregnancy of this Lambert, he wrought most cunningly upon him, and thought him a fit instrument to hammer out the devilish plots he projected; whereby, questionless, you may apprehend the cunning and malice of Satan, who can entangle men with such strange illusions, and all in the end to destroy them, and bring them to confusion. How else can any reasonable man apprehend, that a scholar and priest should be so infatuated, as to make a silly fellow take upon him the person of a prince, laid long before in his grave, and murdered by the tyranny of an unnatural uncle? Yet did this novice go forward with these strange disguises, like a sealed dove flying into the hawk's seizure by her own wilfulness and blindness; and as if the poet should cry out,

Medeæ faciunt ad scelus omne manus:

so was he led by the hands of this priest, who was now set upon nothing but wickedness, and at the last plunged into the sea of turmoils.

But the chief original of this disturbance arose from a certain fame and report, that King Edward's children were not dead, but secretly conveyed into some other country; as Edward, surnamed 'The Outlaw,' had in former times been into Hungary, and that Edward Earl of Warwick should be shortly put to death. O simple men! and O vain multitude! that are carried away with every wind, believe unconstant reports, rely on foolish prophecies, and run along with uncertain rumours; which makes me remember one of the foolishhest things that ever happened amongst us, of one Bolton, Prior of St. Bartholomew's, about the fifteenth year of Henry the Eighth, who in a great rain, to prevent a prophecy, (or rather his own atheistical fear,) that the world, (or, if you will, the country) should be drowned again, retired himself to a house made for the same purpose on the top of Harrow-hill; to the great amazement of the people, and his own eternal infamy; that being a clergyman believed in God no better, and understood the Scriptures so weakly. But this was the blindness of those times, wherein men believed any thing was told them by a cozening priest, and durst report what they heard; threatening as they pleased, yet daring do nothing; because, when it came to their own carving, they knew not what to do, nor how to justify their own speeches, which in the best commonwealth, concerning rumour, is remediless; and concerning prophecies, with the best men, is unpre-

ventable. For every man is afraid of the mischief, but never any anticipated the effect, or prevented the danger.

These lies, (for I may now well say *fama malum*,) although they were frivolous and vain, and out of all likelihood, either of verity, or to set up any frame of stedfastness; yet animated and encouraged this priest, to propose a time of Lambert's royalty, with his own exaltation, if he could be persuaded to assume the character of Edward the Fourth's child, and so to lay claim to the crown of England; whereunto he was confidently led (as it were) by the arm of foreign friendship and home coadjutement; partly upon his own experience and knowledge of many wavering hearts in the kingdom, and partly upon a conference he had once with a Burgonian, who spared not to confess the hate of Lady Margaret, the duchess, against the king now reigning. Whereupon, a philosophical meditation flattered him, that where hatred and malice is once rooted in the heart of a woman, it will ever spring green, and never leave, till it have produced some fruit of vengeance; unless it be prevented by being digged up by the roots, and thrown into the fire; whereupon, this poor priest was now brought into this foolish Paradise, through his fantastical imagination; like him that had a brazen target carried over his head, for fear the sky should fall upon him; and so instructed his youth both diligently and effectually in Oxford, where he went to school, that he began to understand from what progeny he was extracted, with what titles he was to be saluted, and to how many families he was allied; all which he said was nothing, without some worthy actions of his own, to which purpose he very often remembered the poet:—

*Nam genus & proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco.*—

He could also discourse of his mother's kindred as well as his father's, and tell the lamentable tragedies of both his grandfathers slain in the wars; especially, how the warlike Duke of York was abused by Queen Margaret, and that his uncle Gloucester had fulfilled the prophecy imputed to George Duke of Clarence. He had also so clerkly and craftily learned his lesson, that he could by name remember his kindred formerly dead, and capitulate his friends now living, and who would stand as supporters to his lawful and princely claim. To which he added, a complete manner of princely behaviour, both in jesture, gait, countenance, elocution, and courage, which was many times adorned with such a natural gravity and temperature, that he wondered at his pregnancy and apprehension; yea, his very heart leaped for joy, to imagine that the people, hearing him in this so wonderful a justification, and lively setting-forth of himself, must needs believe these deceitful pretences, and allow of so well coloured a falsehood.

While all things were thus enacted in the diabolical consistory of this priest's brain, there was a rumour vented abroad, as true as the rest, that Edward, the young Earl of Warwick, was broke out of prison; whereupon our Sir Simond, (even with child again to be delivered of some prodigy,) began to reason of the danger of delay, and benefit of expedition, and so changed Lambert's name into Edward Earl of Warwick; all things serving as well to this as the other: the joy whereof brought him into such an ecstasy, that he quite forgot the union of the houses, and how the king had married the eldest brother's daughter, which must needs be a bar to Warwick's claim, when wise men came to discuss the matter. But, resolved in the error of his illusion, he strongly conjectured, that any of the House of York were of sufficiency to pull down the strength of the Lancastrian family. Besides, he knew that *actio nulla laudata nisi peracta*; and therefore something must be done to set the people on work, though it were with throwing fire-brands of division and falsity amongst them, even to the dazzling of their eyes with smoke, and casting the sparks about their ears. Whereupon both craftily and audaciously, he put his business to the trial, and sailed with his pupil over into Ireland; where his grandfather and ancestors had gotten such love and respect, that even the name of Mortimer and York was sanctified and religious amongst them. For barbarous nations are strong observers of ce-

remonies and customs, and whatsoever hath taken root and impression amongst them will hardly be removed or extinguished; as it is too lamentably apparent at this hour, where the imposturing of priests hath got the upper hand of all religion and piety; and to swear by O'Neal's hand is of more efficacy, than to call God and heaven to witness.

Here he smoothly made relation of his own and the prince's fortunes and escape to certain of the nobility, especially of Geraldine's, whom he knew every way transported against the present government; enlarging his discourse with his miraculous preservation, when, without law or other enforcement, he should have been cruelly put to death by the usurper, and brought in question for never-heard-of treason: all which, by God's providence, and his assistance, was judiciously prevented; and he had, from a mere commiseration of a prince's estate, ventured himself in that manner, and to such a place, where he supposed true-hearted honour was resident, and care of religion and humanity maintained.

Whereupon, Thomas Geraldine, Lord Chancellor of the kingdom, defrauded by this illusion, (under colour of succouring the distressed, and performing a work of charity,) received him into his castle, and, adding all the ceremonies of reverence and honour to his very person, assured him of aid, comfort and supportation. To this you must suppose was an answer ready, and such a one delivered with so smooth and attractive a demeanour, that, though he had not been such as he protested, yet he would have sworn him of high birth and extraordinary bringing-up; which caused him to assemble together all his affinity and friends, to whom he related the matter as it chanced, with intimation of the glory of the enterprize, and the good service to God and the Church, for establishing a prince dejected in his throne, who was the true and only Plantagenet left to spring up into a spreading tree of loyalty; and therefore he requested their loyalty and resolved courages to take his part, that the right heir of the crown might be restored to England, and themselves eternised to future memory for so meritorious a work. 'Little needed a spur, (saith our proverb,) to a forward horse;' all that saw him believed it, and such as heard only the report, according to the poet,

—*Et errorem vocis, ut omen, amo,*

clapped their hands for joy that they should be employed in an enterprize of such wonder and important greatness: whereupon money, horses, armour, men, and all things else were promised, which might be advantageous to such a business. But, alas! Ireland was too weak, and of themselves they did only discover their malice, curbed yet with insufficiency; giving the king notice how their wills exceeded their power, and that they were ready to entertain every opportunity to do any mischief. Therefore, they sent over into England, acquainting many discontented persons with the business; but most principally as to the life of their actions, they submitted to Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, sister to King Edward the Fourth, for her directions. This was a woman of a wonderful composure; so adorned with princely qualities, and settled in majestical authority, (as you shall hear hereafter,) that she was admired of all Europe, and beloved in her own country: only, as stinking flies, lying secretly in boxes of sweet ointments, putrefy the same; an innate malice, and virulent hatred to the Lancastrian family, corrupted her other virtues, and, as it were, thrust up her princely endowments into a mere bog and pool of dirt and filthiness. For, although she knew the blood of York extinguished, and that the Earl of Warwick was in King Henry's possession, (as taken forth, together with the Lady Elizabeth, now his wife, out of the castle of Sherrington in Yorkshire, under the custody of Sir Robert Willoughby,) yet, insatiate in her hate, and so consequently in her revenge,

—*Nam ingentes parturit ira minas,*

she admitted of every motion of disturbance, and invented means of her own to set in combustion the whole state of England, under a hopeful pretence to see the king overthrown and supplanted.

Thus did she pile up together the fire of this disturbance, and countenanced the matter more with her greatness and power, than all the other accomplices besides. But if you ask me, how she continued in this authority, being a widow, amongst strangers, and enemy to so great a prince as the king of England? I will answer in a word, and measure out the chief and principal cord that bound her royalty together: Charles Duke of Bourgoigne, having married this lady Margaret, daughter to Richard Duke of York, and sister to Edward the Fourth, had yet no issue by her, but left one sole daughter behind him named Mary, which he had by his first wife, the daughter of the duke of Bourbon: this was married to Maximilian, son to Frederick the emperor, by whom he had two princes, Philip and Margaret; which children, after the death of Lady Mary their mother, this Lady Margaret, duchess-dowager, so entirely loved, so tenderly brought up, so motherly nourished, and so carefully preserved, that she was highly reputed of and esteemed for the same. To which, when she added a politic ordering her affairs, both for the maintenance of their honour, and administration of justice in the commonwealth, (so that I may say, with the ancient² poet, *Sæpenumero jam per subtiliores sermones ivi, & ad contentiones veni majores, quam conveniat genus fæmineum perscrutari*, &c.) the whole body of the government willingly consented to be apparelled and adorned after her fashion: so that like an absolute prince indeed, she proceeded in the government both for their benefit, and the illustration of her own greatness.

In this orb of reputation, thus moving herself, she still shined like a full planet, from whose influence could proceed nothing but sweet presages; till, stepping aside into a contrary motion of despight and rancour against the king, as an enemy to knowledge and her own conscience, she countenanced this ridiculous and yet unhappy conjuration, which by her means grew a-pace; like broad and stinking burs, unprofitable in themselves, and spoiling all the grass about them, until at last they were, by a politic hand of prevention, pulled up by the roots, and cast under foot into the dirt. For, when King Henry was certified of all these tumults and comminations, and knew the deepness and fulness of the channel, in which the tottered barque of this rebellion steered, he verily supposed the best point of wisdom was *principiis obstare*; and so attempted, with all care and vigilance, to turn the rage of those troubles another way, or else to prevent them from flowing over the banks of his inclosures. And, although the collusion and fraud of the invention vexed him more than the matter or substance of such a rebellion, yet he moderated his anger, and, with Janus, looked both ways; smiling with one face at the ridiculousness and deceit of the project, and marking warily with the other all the means to reduce the confused chaos of this molestation to better order and uniformity; desiring only at God's hands to prevent effusion of blood, which must needs be spilled in any settled war and contracted army. Besides, in well-ordered battles the event was disputable, and many times punishments were ordained, as well to reduce good men *ad correctionem* and amendment, as to bring bad men *ad ruinam* and destruction; and therefore, if it were possible, he would rebate the insolency by other means, and divert it from handy blows and bloody contentions: whereupon he called his council together at the Charter-house, beside his royal manor of Richmond, and there consulted how to pacify this sudden tumult and conspiracy, without any further disturbance or open defiance. This motion of the king's, so tempered with gravity, mercy, and commiseration, was so well accepted of the whole company, that they presently applauded his high wisdom and religious care; and put in practice whatsoever seemed convenient for their intended affairs.

They first began with a general pardon, published to all offenders, that were content to receive the same, and remain obedient to the majesty of England. For although, at this very instant, Sir Thomas Broughton, who had obscured the Lord Lovel, a great sea-son, from the king, was in a manner ready to give him battle, with many friendly coadjutors, and a well settled army; yet did the king think it policy to desist from a forcible overrunning them: because, as desperate of life or pardon, considering their former trea-

sons and abuses, they would hardly be reclaimed in their rages, but now fight for their lives and liberties. Again, in shewing exemplary justice upon them, once subject to accusation or condemnation, he must needs proceed against many; yea such, whose offences, in standing out, could admit of no pardon: and therefore, as I said, he gently proclaimed the same, which was much available to his purpose. For even those, which favoured the Lord Lovel most, began to stagger in their resolutions, when they perceived the king's benignity; and knew with what lenity and commiseration, he was willing to proceed.

Secondly, They thought it necessary and pertinent to their peace, to shew the son of Clarence personally abroad in the city, and other publick places; whereby the rumour might be dashed out of countenance, and the purblind eyes of false opinion extinguished. For such an impression this feigned relation of his escape had made, that though they beheld him present, yet durst some of them swear, it was but a device of the king's: whereby you may observe the danger and inconveniencies of idle reports; which if they be not strangled in the cradle, with Hercules's serpents, and smothered betimes, before they come to stronger growth and life, will viper-like, after they have received warmth in one's bosom, fly in his face. Nay, such is the nature of devices in a tottering commonwealth, that prohibitions, to restrain them, augment them the more: and they who would have spoken nothing but truth, left to their own liberty; being prohibited, divulge more than they meant.

Thirdly, It was determined, that Queen Elizabeth, wife to Edward the Fourth, should lose her lands, and be deposed from all manner of sway in the government, because she had voluntarily submitted herself and daughters to the hands of King Richard; whereby all former contracts and pretences of establishment might have been frustrated, through the inconstancy of a woman: or as the state pretended a private ambition, or covetousness to set any loom on work, to weave the web of her own pleasure and contentment, which although it was a heinous crime, and very dangerous to the present king's peace and tranquillity; yet, questionless, the doom and judgment seemed over rigorous: *durus fuit hic sermo*; and, if ever *summum jus* proved *summa injuria*, it was verified in this verdict. For, doubtless, they forgot the turbulency of those times, the rage of the tyrant, the fearfulness of many accidents, the seducings of a king, and the flattering promises of a whole commonwealth; wherein stronger judgments might have failed, than a woman's. But it should seem, that God hath a special hand in the punishment of sins, and disposing of kingdoms. For, without controversy, if she consented to the murdering of King Richard's wife, for her own ease and emolument; if she seemed an adversary to the good pretended to England, by uniting the families; or if she projected her own advancement in the present glory of the kingdom; forgetting the loss of her husband, the murder of her kindred, the slaughter of her children, the odiousness of the incest, and the curse of heaven upon crying sins; God would never suffer such horrible faults unrevenge, but (as you hear) inflicted her wavering and inconsiderate timorousness with this punishment. For she was presently confined to the abbey of Bermondsey in Southwark, and there deceased; after she had lived a while in some calamitous distress, and excruciation both of soul and body: such are all human instabilities, wordly chances, and the condition of princes themselves. Otherwise, she that being a poor widow, had resisted the king's importunity, and by her chaste and modest behaviour attracted his good-will to marry her; she, that had founded a college in Cambridge, (bearing her name, at this hour, of Queen's College,) for the propagation of learning, and education of children and students; she, that had loved her husband and the glory of England, endeavouring all things to the augmentation of the honour of them both; she, that seemed proud in works of charity, and to help forward the petitions of honest complainants and distressed suitors; she, that kneeled on her knees, for Clarence's liberty, and importuned the king to remember his brother, by the example of Richard the First, who remitted his brother John, a far greater delinquent; had never fallen so low into the dangerous pit of a son-in-law's dis-

pleasure, and seen herself generally maligned through the kingdom: or else, as I said; the revealed things belong to us, the secret to God; who, questionless, blew the coals of this displeasure, to purge the contagion and infection of her heart, which was only known to himself.

Fourthly, Because they knew that reward and hope of gain might do much with corrupted persons, and irresolute men, as all rebels were, they proclaimed a gratuity of a thousand pounds sterling to any one, which would present the state with the body of this counterfeit Lambert: to which they were the rather induced; because, not long before, the tyrant Richard the Third had prevailed with the like against the duke of Buckingham, whom his own servant Banister betrayed, in hope of recompense from the state; which is also a custom in Italy, where the heads of the banditti are valued at so many checkinos, or pieces of gold; and so the Zaffi, or other desperate ruffiani, obtain many preys and booties.

Last of all, it was concluded to have forces in readiness and an army prepared, whatsoever should chance, with all provision and furniture belonging to the setting forth of the fame and honour of such a kingdom; that neither security or presumption, one way, of their own greatness and establishment, might make them too confident of themselves; nor vilipending and slight regard of the contrary, another way, too negligent against their enemies.

When all things were thus befitted to the disposing and ordering their affairs; on a Sunday ensuing, Edward, the young earl of Warwick, was brought from the Tower, through the public streets of London, to the cathedral Church of Paul's, where he remained all procession-time and high mass; having open conference with many of the nobility, especially such, who the king suspected might have been induced to the commotion, upon the full assurance of his escape. But if he had asked them, why he was imprisoned, or what transgression the king could impute unto him, to detain him in durance in that manner, and after put him to death, being an infant innocent, without law or reason; I marvel what they would have answered, or how the council themselves would have satisfied a judicious questioner in that kind? Yet by this occasion the imaginations of divers were settled, and the better sort believed, that these Irish news were simulatory, and represented Ixion's boasting that he had lain with Juno, when it was but a cloud; as, by the monstrous birth of the centaurs, did appear.

But it was not so with all: for, as it often happens in the stopping of a violent inundation of water, that it causeth it the more to rage and make a terrible noise; whereas, running in a deep channel, it would quietly go away: so it fell out, in the suppressing of these rumours, and men's hatred and malice; many were the more exasperated, and by this gentle and fair course to reduce them, thought all but tricks of policy to deceive them: proving, like certain kinds of burs and nettles, which softly handled, sting the more violently, but hardly crushed together, lose their force and energy. Of this sort was the Earl of Lincoln, son to John de la Poole, Duke of Suffolk; and Elisabeth, another sister to Edward the Fourth; who much maligning the advancement of this Earl of Richmond, (far his inferior, as he supposed,) took hold of this open rebellion, as a meet opportunity to beat out his own ends on such a pestilent anvil; and, therefore, determined to uphold, fortify, and support this Irish expedition, and take part with his new cousin; who, as he made himself believe, was escaped, indeed, for all the pretty conveniencies of the state. This Earl of Lincoln, besides his blood, experience, and wisdom in great and important affairs, had a privacy of humour, which many men excepted against, as fantastical and precise; for he was so cautious in his words, and singular in his phrases and actions, that he would neither swear nor tell a lie; by reason his communication was still seasoned with savoury parentheses and breaking off, or if you will, aposiopesises; as, "I will not confidently aver it; but it is so, and so, if men may be credited in their mortality. The

number amounts to so many, if men fail not in their computations: I dare not justify it further than one may credit another, with such like." Yea, in his enterprises, he was both curious and Roman-like for strictness of discipline, yet valiant enough. To conclude, in a word, had not the mantle of greatness overcovered his gesture and actions, the same garb and fashion in an inferior might have been thought ridiculous. But to our purpose in hand.

When he apprehended a kind of fear and jealousy in King Henry, through this false rumour, he determined with the same water that drove the mill to drown it; and, out of this fiction, to raise a matter of consequence: whereupon, he presently repaired to Sir Thomas Broughton, and others, who (like the thieves of Egypt, lying in the reeds by the river Nile, breaking out upon any hope of advantage upon the silly passengers,) watched all occasions to be revenged on the king, and yet could render no just account of their discontentments; and after divers consultations, concluded to sail into Flanders, to his aunt the duchess, being his mother's own sister; and so, without further delay, after the king had dissolved the parliament in London, put the same in practice, whither he was welcomed with all worthy and kind embraces. Not long after, Francis, Lord Lovel, repaired unto him well accompanied, where for the time secured, and assembling themselves with this position, that *omnia efficit consilium, quod & ferrum hostile efficere potest*; lest the world should laugh them to scorn, for prosecuting idle and vain attempts, they resolve that the Earl of Lincoln and Lord Lovel should repair into Ireland, and add a better countenance to the business by their presence; in attending and honouring their new king, with all graceful ceremonies and marks of majesty: then, with the power of the Irishmen, to bring him into England, by which time the Dutch forces would be ready to join with them. Last of all, to give King Henry battle wheresoever; in which, if they prevailed, they might, at their pleasure, depose this counterfeit Lambert, and deliver the true Earl of Warwick out of prison: in all which they proceeded accordingly, and with expedition.

But King Henry, supposing he had settled and appeased the minds and unstable humours of his nobility, by the personal presence of Edward Earl of Warwick, began to be less moved and disturbed; yea, as it were, secure and careless of any further malice and dangerous attempt, against his estate and dignity; mistrusting nothing less, than any man to be so foolish and mad, as to believe that Lambert could be the earl: so that he conjectured nothing but the suppressing of those barbarous Irish, and the appeasing of that trouble; until he heard how the Earl of Lincoln was fled out of the realm; until he heard how the Lord Lovel was confederate with him; until he heard how divers were united unto them; until he heard how the Duchess of Burgoine coadjuted the enterprise; until he heard they had raised a strong party, and resolved to give him battle: this somewhat moved him, and exasperated his displeasure. For when he saw no other cataplasm could serve the turn, but that he must cauterise the sore, and sear and cut away the putrefied flesh of this corrupted and rebellious body, he determined, with strong hand and martial power, to do the same. Whereupon, he commanded his musters to go forward, and appointed the several captains a rendezvous where the whole army might meet; as occasion, and his adversaries, should excite him; and lest others might pretend discontentments, wants, debts, devotion, pilgrimages, and such like, and so go out of the realm after the rest; he gave order to all lieutenants of shires, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and officers, to search and watch the ports and havens, for the going out and recourse of strangers, or passengers unlicensed and unlimited.

Thus, what he could not with the fox's, he was fain to compass with the lion's skin; and yet knowing, that *victoria est tota sila in bonâ consultatione*, he did not cast away the other; but when he saw no counsel nor policy could either soften their obdurateness, nor divert their officious intents against him, he resolved, with an equal strength, to remove the blocks of his peace and quietness, cast thus in his way by flagitious contumacy and ridiculous innovation. But some fires are not so easily quenched, as raised or maintained; for, though all his advices and good order consorted with success, yet were they not suf-

ficient to stop the mouth, or hinder the passage of the present disturbance, with deputies or commissioners; therefore he set forward in person, supposing they would arrive from Flanders side, on some of those coasts; and so came to St. Edmondsbury, where he was certified, that the Lord Thomas Marquis of Dorset, was coming to him, to excuse and purge himself of those crimes enforced against him; or, at least, such oversights, in which he perfunctorily performed his duty, while he was in France. To him was sent the Earl of Oxford, by way of anticipation; to intercept, at this time, his journey. For the king was too full of troubles and cogitations about the suppressing his enemies and new-raised tumults, and so could not attend his business. The earl had only commission to convey him to the Tower, which when some of the council supposed a hard doom, he answered them plainly, "What need further words? If he be my friend, as I am confident thereof, he will be contented a while to suffer a little reproach and rebuke for my sake; yea, peradventure, pleasure and contentment. If he be otherwise, it is a place of security; and would I had my adversaries as safe there, as they would have me in the like either mislike, or contention."

From thence the king went to Norwich, where he solemnised the feast of Christmas, and so departed to Walsingham, under pretence of devotion, as the superstition of those times required; for according to that ancient poet, *ritus vero extra justitiam sunt rejicientes cultus deorum*. It was an instinct of nature to confess a Deity, and maintain the sacrifices and offerings to the same. Now, because the most part of the world knew not the true God, they invented several idols to represent their several deities, to whom they brought their prayers and oblations; nor durst they enterprise any business without offertories and devotion, that their true intents might be acceptable to the God which commanded them: yea, such as professed religion and abused their knowledge, invented images and devices, to please the natural man; because, with the reason of the idolater, they would not kneel to the air in vain; which was, and is, the error of Christians, both of the Greek and Latin church. Now, because our lady was in these times the mediator of the Papists, and the lady of Walsingham, the most famous shrine of our country, (as that of Loretto is at this hour for Italy) the king went thither for the impetration of prosperity in his affairs, and overthrow and dissipation of his enemies: which finished, he returned to Cambridge, and so to London.

In the mean while, the firebrand and fuel of this contention, (Lady Margaret Duchess of Burgundy,) had blown the coals to such a heat, that there were two thousand Germans in a readiness, under the conduct of Martin Swart, a nobleman of Germany, and a martial man by profession, bold, expert, and daring; whom, after great rewards and secret directions from a well-contracted oratory, she sent into Ireland, with all his company; where they arrived at Dublin, and were joyfully welcomed by the prince, and other lords the confederates; especially, the Earl of Lincoln, who well knew that no enterprise was to be entertained without men and money, and good beginnings were the drawers on of success in the end. Thus they made no more ado, but, in the pride and strength of their conspiracy, they proclaimed young Lambert King of England, with all the glorious titles, and glorious manner appropriate, (as the time and country afforded,) which ended, with other ceremonies and some circumstances. To set as upright their business as they could, they protracted no time, but knowing the secret of expedition, which, as their case stood, must be their best friend, prepared for England; the army consisting as yet, principally, of high Germans, and a multitude of beggarly Irish, which (according to the Roman saying) were many men and few soldiers. For their best defences were skains and mantles, and here and there a slender dart; fitter for a May-game, and to move wonder, than to oppose against good defences and well-ordered troops. Of these the lord Thomas Geraldine was captain, and with these and the rest, they landed for a special purpose (or, if you will, to unite themselves with Sir Thomas Broughton, one of the chief commanders in this unhappy conspiracy) at the Pile of Foudray, within a little of Lancaster.

These affairs, so notorious and so public, could not have so secret a passage and contrivance, but the worthy and wise king must needs be made acquainted with the same;

whereupon he dispatched certain horse and scout-masters, through the west parts of the realm, to attend the arrival of his enemies abroad; yea, peradventure, to overwatch the actions of his friends at home, as much troubled with the unconconstancy of these, as disturbed with the rebellion of them. Presently after he raised a sufficient army over which the Duke of Bedford and Earl of Oxford were principal commanders, whom he sent forward before him; then he came in person to Coventry, where the principal rendezvous was appointed, and where he first heard of the landing of his enemies. Within a while he could fill up a schedule with the chief traitors name, and the manner of their troops and proceedings. Last of all, he called a council, proposing only two principal matters unto them: first, whether it were better to encounter with his enemies out of hand, (as Achitophel persuaded Absalom to do against David,) and so to dissipate them by main force and expedition, according to the poet;

Tolle moras; semper nocuit differre paratis.

Secondly, or weary them out by delays, and detracting of time, as *Quintus Fabius*, sir-named after Maximus, did by Hannibal; and so sent him far enough from Rome into Brutia and Apuleia; whereupon, he was eternised with

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.

The conclusion was, that though many times great armies, whose fury at the first rushes could not be rebated, were at last spent with time, expectation, and many inconveniencies; as want of pay, commotions, mutinies, incumbrances in a strange country, fear of foreign people, mortality, famine, and such like: yet, as the affairs of the kingdom stood, all speed, and an orderly festination, was to be put in practice, lest (like a ball of snow in a moist, cold, and misty country, which, by often rolling, groweth greater and greater,) they might augment their numbers with their rage and madness, being so near the Scots, open enemies, and in the north parts, dissembling friends. Whereupon the king removed to Nottingham, and took a field near unto a wood, called Bowers; whither came unto him the Lord George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Strange, Sir John Cheney, and many other commanders, with sufficient forces and furniture, to encounter better men than heavy Germans, and unarmed Irish; and so the king's army wonderfully increased, and had the fulness of his subjects' obedience, to his great satisfaction, and the comfort of all the rest. For a prince can in nothing be so well pleased as in the loyalty, love, and observation of the subject; nor the soldier so contented, as in the amity and full assurance of one another, especially being all of a nation and language, to understand the wants of such as would be supplied, and be relieved with the willingness of those which are ready to perform the same.

In this space, the Earl of Lincoln entered Yorkshire, by easy journies; for, not overwearying his princely nephew, unaccustomed to travel; and after his precise manner, he both commanded that no violence should be offered to any of the inhabitants, and commended all those which repaired unto him; using such humility and affable demeanour, that it won the hearts of many as yet unsettled unto him, and strengthened the love of such, as had already submitted themselves. Notwithstanding, being much frustrated in his expectation of many coadjutors, and failing in that sufficiency, which he presumed upon; he began a little to entertain an ill companion to all noble designs, fear and mistrust; casting up an untoward reckoning of his proceedings in this manner: to retire back again were to meet death and destruction by a way which he looked not for; to go forward he was yet too weak, the king being so strong and enabled; which irresolution made the poet cry out;

Non satis est muris latebras quæsisse pavori?

And again,

———*facilis sed vertere mentes*
Terror erat, dubiamque fidem fortuna ferebat :

at last remembering, that *audaces fortuna juvat*, and the adventures of war are not always bound to numbers and multitude ; (for King Henry himself had, not two years before, with a small power, vanquished King Richard and his mighty army ;) he absolutely determined to try the fortune of a battle, and encounter with his adversaries, who not only expected the like, as being in the same forwardness and resolution, but determined to rouse them, in despite of any protraction, in what den or place soever they meant to obscure themselves. Whereupon, he marched from York to Newark upon Trent, presuming the king to be two or three days journey from him ; and so he was sure not to lose by the bargain. But, before he came thither, King Henry was in his bosom ; as understanding his egress, regress, and progresses, which he undertook, and when he came there, was ready to fly in his face ; for he settled himself the night before the battle, approaching within three miles of the earl.

The valiant and over-hardy Earl of Lincoln, nothing terrified at the matter, but rather

———*duro admisit gaudia vultu,*

and came forward a-pace ; yet not in any over-daring manner, but, unstartled in his resolutions, retained his accustomed gravity, and very near the king's army, at a village called Stoke, quartered his forces, and took the field ; with resolution the next day to call fortune to the deciding of the controversy. The king likewise prepared himself, and (only acquainting the company with matters of necessity,) in an equal and plain field divided the troops, and ranged the battalions.

To tell you of any signs, wonders, prodigies, prophecies, dreams, devices, fore-warnings, or portentous accidents, making sometimes a cause either good or bad, would spend time to lose time, and procure small thanks in the pains : for the superstitious and ignorant would be angry at the opposition and repugnancy ; and the truly religious offended at the vanity and superfluity, as abhorring the participation of divine power to men, devils, or angels. To enlarge my discourse concerning military proceedings, of intrenchings, fortifications, encounters, divisions of squadrons, and setting forward the forces, would prevent me from a fitter and more opportune occasion hereafter. To discourse of the captains, the soldiers' encouragements, the Earl of Lincoln's orations, the king's forcible and gracious speech, the intimation of the imposture, and discovery of the treasons at large ; were to prolong the history without further profit than a poor invention, which would, questionless, extenuate the worthiness of the business ; therefore, I desist from all extraneous and superfluous discourses, and apply myself to a more succinct enarration of the matter.

When the field was fully and orderly agreed upon, the precise earl (as if he would animate the king with a kind of precedency) set forth the vanguard of his army, and with a manly courage, only animated the soldiers that day to remember his honour, the king's safety, and their own lives and liberties, and so gave a sign to the battle : whereat the Irish began their accustomed cry, or, if you will, ' Lullal lullo ; ' which neither affrighted nor troubled the English on the contrary side, but ministered occasion rather to laugh at. The Germans, perceiving the skirmishes and violent meetings of these warlike bodies, contrary to their usual keeping of their stands and close fights, set upon the king's vanguard ; and as they were approved and expert men in many encounters, so did they, for the time, in all things, as well as strength and policy could execute ; equalling and answering the English, man to man, or battle to battle : and, for the generals, had the Earl of Lincoln been as nimble and active as he was vigilant, valiant, and wary, he might well have paralleled the best of his adversaries. But to decypher, and truly to speak of Martin Swart, I shall much disable his worthiness and merit : for he was heroick in spirit, strong in

heart, and of great ability in body; expert, experienced, and failing in nothing but his fortune. For when the Irish, being most of them (as I said) unarmed, were put, by their light manner of skirmishing, a far off, and charged with strong horses on the flanks, and as strong bodies of pikes in the front; to which you may add the cunning of the king's artillery, and violence of the arrows, which fell down like hail upon these poor and naked souls; they knew no way of resisting or retiring, but were subject to a terrible encounter and slaughter. And, although they held out a while, as long as an equal met manhood protracted the victory; yet were they so pressed and oppressed, that they quickly yielded, and shrunk under the strokes of a mightier arm. Again: the king's forward, being full of company, and well furnished, continually supplied with wings and archers, and wonderfully encouraged with the high deserving of the commanders, at last broke the body of the Germans, and scattered their company with a lamentable discomfiture. Yet I must needs say, they were first more terrified to see the Irish killed so confusedly, than exanimated with their own disasters. What should I report? It is with staggering troops and dispersed companies, as with a man falling down a pair of stairs, who never leaves tumbling till he come to the bottom; so these yielded to the fortune of a defeat without recovery, and only met honour in the way to a glorious death: therefore I will stand the less on descriptions. For never was a victory so soon gotten, nor a business more quickly ended; many being slain, many taken prisoners, many hurt, and few or none escaped. The chiefest reason is, because the Lord Lovel, the Earl of Lincoln, and other commanders, desperate of mercy or reconciliation, and wondering at the valiant German's manhood and exploits, joined with him in a new adventure, and cried aloud, "We will die with thee, noble heart, for thou art worthy to live with kings and die with princes; yea, to be buried in the fields of everlasting renown." And so they were as good as their words: for, after men and manhood had acted their parts on this bloody stage of fury and slaughter, they were all found dead in the field; that is to say, the Lord Martin Swart, (or, if you will, Sward,) the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Geraldine, the Lord Lovel, Sir Thomas Broughton, with the most part of the commanders, and five thousand soldiers.

The report was, that the Lord Lovel took his horse, and would have fled over Trent; but not able to recover the highness of the banks, he was drowned in the river. Some also maintain, that the king, out of the generosity of his spirit, commanded that none should kill or hurt the Earl of Lincoln, that, being brought unto him, he might discover the secrets of this mischief, and the viperous brood of false-hearted subjects. But the soldiers would not permit it, lest the saving of his life might, by detection, endanger divers others, as good as himself; and so killed him by way of anticipation.

After this victory, the king would needs solemnise a thanksgiving to God in the open field, as well to avoid ingratitude, as to give good example. And when it was urged, he might better defer it till he came to some religious place, or house of devotion; he more religiously assured them, that God was every where, and neither the place, nor the manner, graced the sacrifice, but the intentiveness of the heart, and true meaning of the soul; which he had learned of the poet; and so alleged these verses out of Lucan:

*Estque Dei sedes, ubi terra, & pontus, & aer,
Et cælum, & virtus: superos quid quærimus ultra,
Jupiter est, quodcunque vides, quodcunque moveris?*

This the bishops present durst neither deny, nor would willingly approve, for fear of any diminution in their settled ceremonies and glorious cathedrals. But at this time the king's ardency prevailed, and he kneeled down on the bare ground in the open fields, and rendered thanks and praises to God. Afterwards, he gave order for the funerals of the dead, shedding tears himself, in commiseration of so many worthy men slain for such an unjustifiable business; the people yet unmoved, and the soldiers not so much as daunted, though they saw the bleeding carcasses and wounded bodies, according to the saying;

*Exemploque carens, & nulli cognitus ævo
Luctus erat, mortem populos deflere potentis.*

Then he proceeded to the casting up a new account of mercy and forgiveness; proclaiming pardon to all, that would penitently admit of the same, and (to his eternal fame) not only gave Lambert and the priest their lives, but commanded, that no man should abuse them, with contumely and reproach; as perceiving the one, for his years, incapable of the apprehension of treason, or flagitious circumstances concerning the same: the other (for his orders and profession) to be a privileged person; yet most heroically and wisely he told him, "That he, which rolleth a stone up a hill, may, peradventure, have it fall upon his own head; and he, that looketh too high in a dangerous intrenched ground, may fall into the ditch." Notwithstanding, for his penance, he was committed to perpetual imprisonment; but Lambert admitted into the palace, and, from place to place, came at last to be one of his majesty's falconers. Last of all, he looked joyfully on his own company, and in remuneration of their loyalty and noble services, spread the mantle of honour over divers, and imparted several rewards to the rest, according to their places of eminency.

This battle was fought on a Saturday, the sixteenth of June, 1489, and in the end of the second year of Henry the Seventh. And thus was all this high enterprize of Lady Margaret, represented to a ball blown out of a box of soap and water, which when it comes to a swelling fulness, at last burts in pieces of itself; of which when she was advertised, and had cause sufficient of exclamation and repining against her misfortune, and disastrous prevention of her malice; yet was she so far from relaxation or pacifying her hate, that it rather exasperated the same, and made her more forward to contrive more hellish projects, as we shall see by and by; so that I may well exclaim:

————— *O rabiosa mulier!*
Quàm sit manifesta phrenesis! ———

Yea, she set up such a loom out of her pestilent invention, that a man would think it impossible for a woman to contrive, or prosecute, but that the old poet hath so long ago told us:

*Præterea nos sumus mulieres,
Ad bona quidem ineptissimæ,
Malorum verò omnium effectrices sapientissimæ.*

Eurip. Medea.

Yet, for the time, she deplored the miscarrying of the matter; but was not ashamed to confess, that she cared not, by what means, King Henry might be debased.

After this great mischief, like a piece of ordnance overcharged, was thus broken in the fulness; and that with little trouble, tumult, and expenses, compared to many other wars: the king (as you heard) returned thanks to the Decider of all Controversies; and presently sent word to London, of his prosperity and adventure; seeming sorry for nothing, but the death of the Earl of Lincoln; assuring the Duke of Bedford and Earl of Shrewsbury, that he delighted in his humours, and had a determination to have saved his life; adding yet this by the way, "that he was amazed at nothing more, than the audaciousness of the man, that durst (so meanly accompanied) set upon such a great and puissant an army. Therefore it must needs be, that he presumed on further supplies, or some breakings out among themselves. But seeing it hath pleased God, that we have not only escaped this threatening storm of commotion and disturbance, but also, choked with the dust of their own dissension, the interior divisions and conspiracies of the kingdom; let us, my lords, I pray you, be somewhat considerate, touching tumultuous and discontented persons, that they may be orderly satisfied in their honest demands, and discreetly prevented from un-

lawful conventicles, or associated assemblies of unquietness, and murmuring against our government, under colour of hunting, fairs, markets, horse-races, weddings, and such like. Let us also have a care of our ports, harbours, and havens, to prevent wanderers and travellers, who, from the excuses of devotion to visit Rome, and curiosity to explore foreign countries, do many times deceive our trust with indirect and preposterous business."

In this triumphant prosperity he returned to London, and was as well welcomed by the people, as contented in himself; and so ran forward in the race of all mundane felicity and majestic happiness. But neither his own wisdom, the vigilance of the officers, the fidelity of his nobles, the policy of his counsellors, the loyalty of his subjects, nor the whole regard of the commonwealth, could turn the frame of Heaven about, nor prevent his destiny, concerning following mischiefs;

Nam fato prudentia minor :

That is to say, could put a scarlet cloth over the sting of that serpent Envy, to pull it out of the heart, no not out of the mouth, no not out of the hands of the Duchess of Burgundy : but she must be tampering with the edge tools of devilish spite, and beating on the anvil of malicious calumnation, (or, if you will, conspiracy,) hoping, at one time or other, to hammer out such a work of disturbance, that neither the king should be able to quench the flames, nor the subject daring to disable the enterprize. Whereupon, to prevent all claims, exceptions, and means of distrust; some four years after, she set up another idol of defiance, personating Richard Plantagenet, second son to King Edward the Fourth and Duke of York, supposed to be murdered with his brother Prince Edward in the Tower; who, as it were, resuscitated from death to life, or rather reserved by miracle, must be at last a scourge to the usurping house of Lancaster; which, as it began with the blood of that innocent Richard the Second, must now be revenged with the destruction of the conqueror himself. Nor was this barely alleged to her friends and followers; but adorned with certain illustrations of example and precept. First, concerning the wonder and deliverance of the prince, she alleged the example of Joash, kept from the rage of Athaliah, and after advanced to the throne of Judah. Then, for the business of the war and revenge, she proclaimed herself another Thomyris, who overcame the Persians; and in recompense of her son's death, cut off the head of Cyrus, and slew two-hundred thousand of his people. Nor seemed this mischief simply to be acted on the stage of fiction, like an historical tragedy, or ridiculous innovation; but a work of pestilent contriving and settled resolution, from the policy of many circumstances, and prevention of former inconveniencies. For she not only stood on a guard of circumspection, reforming all such errors as had passed in Lambert's disaster, but took a time according to the poet,

Ingeniosæ mulieres ad inveniendum fraudes,

when the king was walking in the fields of renown and victory, before the city of Bulloigne in France, and had newly returned to Calais; not with an intent to leave the war, but with commiseration of his people, and to preserve them from a certain destruction in assaulting the town, without further assurance of spoils, renown, or enlarging his territories.

Here he understood first of this project; so that he was compelled to make peace with France, for fear of this strange eruption at home; which he well perceived, upon further enlargement of her proceedings, would resemble a smith's forge, which, sprinkled with a little water, must needs recover a greater heat; but either scattered abroad, or extinguished, could not further prejudice, which was not to be done by two armies at once, both in France and England, without hurrying, as it were, the kingdom to extremities. He was the sooner (as I said) induced to contrive his business from a treatise of pacification with the French king; not once mentioning any domestic suspicion or insurrection. Nay,

he kept this rumour close from his own subjects; and when he certified the mayor of London of all his affairs, he only mentioned, that his army in France was dissolved upon an honourable composition, and receiving eight-hundred-thousand ducates to defray the expenses of his journey: and so with a kind of applause and satisfaction of all sorts, he returned into England to attend the proceedings of such enemies, as this devilish woman, the duchess, would animate and support against him. All which happened in the beginning of the seventh year of his reign, presently after the birth of Henry his second son, created Duke of York.

For all this wonderful haste, which the Duchess of Burgundy made to King Henry's destruction, you must consider that he never gave occasion unto her of displeasure, or affront: but the malice (viper-like, who, being full of poison, must needs spurt it abroad, or burst in pieces with the venom) sprang from herself, because he was of the house of Lancaster, and adverse lineage to her family; according to that authentic saying,

*Mulier enim aliàs quidem metus plena,
Ignava autem ad pugnam, ferrumque aspicere:
Quando verò in matrimonio injuria affecta fuerit,
Non est aliorum mens truculentior;—*

which caused her to devise and invent how to cast a scorpion in his bosom, or infect the whole realm with a discord most violent and pestiferous. And, because she would intermingle reason with her enforcement, she made the death of the Earl of Lincoln, (a man every way answering Henry of Richmond, as she termed the king,) the motive to her revenge, and desire to infest the whole kingdom: not caring what became of him, so she might satiate her rancorous hate, and set up some of her own faction, to give her joys the fulness of hope in prevailing.

Thus, like a dog, she returns to her vomit; or as a spider, who, perceiving her caul broken and torn in pieces, still spinneth a new web; she inventeth far-fetched devices and (as we say) rather than sit out will play a small game; nay, be contented with poor acates, though she know the devil provides the sauce. But it should seem her venomous stomach is prepared for corrupter and fuller banquets, and she means to spread a cloth of insatiate gluttony, to feed on the several dishes of envy, hatred, malice, spight, vexation, deceit, wickedness, and devilish invention; whereupon she casts her eyes towards a young man, not fully sixteen, of visage beautiful, of countenance majestical, of wit subtle and crafty; in education pregnant, in languages skilful; of behaviour extraordinary, and of manners audacious; called Peter Warbeck, a Fleming, and yet in scorn nicknamed both by his countrymen and English, Perkin, according to the Dutch phrase; who character cowardly and timorous younglings in that manner. His lineage and bringing up he shall shew you hereafter, in his public confession. His actions and proceedings, till then, (or if you will fatal ruin,) I will undertake, and (as far as my ability may extend, or the dangerous business in hand require,) delineate unto you: desiring all estates whatsoever to behold the attributes of God in this history, as his power, wisdom, providence, justice, mercy, and what else belongeth to the humbling of mortal men, or pulling on their knees the proudest presumption and security: but especially confounding the inventions of men, and policies of Satan, as laughing all to scorn, that submit not to his greatness and unmatchable power, according to our Lucan. *Lib. ii.*

*Jamque ira patuere deum, manifestaue belli
Signa dedit mundus: legesque & fœdera rerum
Præscia monstriifero vertit natura tumultu,
Indixitque nefas:*

First, a mighty prince was not only terrified with an idol and puppet, as it were, made of straw and painted cloth: but threatened to be shouldered aside, out of his firmness and

throne of majesty. Secondly, when the wheel was turned about, God derided the devil and brought this mountain of pride down with a vengeance, seeing the noble king's innocence, patience, and humility. Thirdly, he taught all abominable and diabolical practices a new lesson; condemning both the actors and contrivers, as frenetical, and foolish. Fourthly, he instructed the best of men, to consider they were but men subject to the inconveniencies of life, mutability of the world, counterchangeableness of times, and inconstancy of people. Last of all, to make us know that all actions grounded on irreligious foundations and wicked conventions, must needs fail in the end; for, rather than punishments shall not follow sins, God will scourge one wicked man with another, as you saw how all the monarchies of the earth were dissolved, and the kingdoms of the Gentiles brought to ruin and desolation. But now to our story.

After the Duchess of Burgundy had fastened on this anchor-hold for her revenges, she caused the young man to travel into many countries to learn as many languages; whereby he was so perfect in the English, that she rejoiced to think in what a well-manured ground she had sowed the seeds of her hopes; by which occasion, the baseness of his stock and birth was so obscured, that few or none discovered the same, or durst detect the secrecy. Thus she kept him a certain space privily with herself, and used such diligence and instruction concerning the house of York, the affairs of England, and the lineage, descent, and order of her family; that, by that time he came to repeat his lesson, she verily believed he was the same she had supposedly contrived, and he quite forgot that ever his first original came out of the dunghill. For, without any difficulty, or sign of subornation (such a forcible impression hath the hope of honour and preferment, according to that common saying, *honores mutant mores*) he kept such a princely countenance, and counterfeited a majestical royalty, that all others firmly approved he was extracted out of the blood of Plantagenet, and observed him accordingly. She again grew proud of nothing so much as the wonderment of her own handywork, and that out of so little a cloud, she should raise such a tempest of trouble and distraction: but our Ovid indoctrined her,

Flumina magna vides parvis de fontibus orta;

and she knew she was a woman fit to be such a work-mistress.

Whereupon, taking an opportunity of the king's wars in France, she sent for her youngling out of Portugal, and privily conveyed him into Ireland, with sure and forcible instructions how to inveigle and incite this rustical people to admit of him; who, besides their natural inclination to rebellion and disorder, would now be glad of this new occasion and business, to revenge the slaughter of their countrymen. And although it might seem to reasonable men, and understanding apprehensions, that the unhappy proceedings of Lambert, and his counterfeit associate, (the priest I mean,) might have been a sufficient warning unto them for ever being taken again in the net of such abuses, or entangled with the snare of collusion; yet did he so demean himself, that he made these doubts the very ground of his acceptance. For, once again, insinuating with the houses of the Geraldines and Butlers, he played the orator with them, and, as we say, *captare benevolentiam*, thus persuaded them to give credit and affiance to his false and wonderful demonstrations, as though he had been the very son of King Edward indeed.

“MY worthy lords, and gracious friends, (said he) for the generality of my business, I hope you are not unacquainted with many instances of distressed princes, flying to one another for refuge and succour, when an overdaring hand of a more mighty enemy hath suppressed them, of cunning insinuation spread abroad a mantle of more forcible reasons to admit of his title in prevailing, rather than to look after the weakened estate of his wronged and abused competitor: for so Jeroboam and Hadad the Edomite were entertained in the court of Pharaoh, merely from charitable commiseration against Solomon, who had yet formerly married a daughter of Pharaoh; and amongst ourselves, the sons of that valiant Edmund Ironside fled from Canutus into Hungary, and were there protected;

yea, advanced in marriage, for the further and better recovering their inheritances. But what need I go further, than the usurper now reigning, who (in spite of my father, and uncle of Gloucester,) was entertained by the Duke of Bretagne, and the French king; and, as it were, secured from all treasons and corruption, (or, if you will, policy of searchers,) to bring him to destruction: wherein, questionless, those princes, as they obtained a perpetual renown for so noble and glorious a charity, so did they repute nothing so meritorious, as the extension of favour, and a helping hand to the perfecting such a work from princely compassion. Therefore, I will say the less, in this point, unto you; because you have ever been faithful to my progenitors, and willing to be counted a nation for the defence of virtue, and repulsing of injuries. As for the ill success of Lambert in personating my cousin, the Earl of Warwick; and setting a-foot that title, whereby you may be terrified in future prosecutions. Alas! I confess it was for my sake, and a mere device to sound the ford of the troublesome streams of those times and proceedings; wherein, if my uncle of Lincoln had any way thrived, you must be assured, though they would not hazard my person so young, yet it was only to make way to my fortunes: for small recompense should have stopped his mouth, and, *ut major lux extinguit minorem*, my presence quickly have turned the stream, and, with the sun, exhaled the strength of his meteor. This trick my grandfather put upon the state, when he was governor amongst you, by Jack Cade of Kent, who proclaimed himself Mortimer; to see how the people affected the title, or could remember the genealogy in the truth of his precedency, as marrying the daughter of Lionel Duke of Clarence, third son of our great Edward the Third of England, and heroes of his time: so that I hope this shall be no bar or interception, either to my interest, or your good will; considering I am now come in person to offer up myself a sacrifice, if need be, for you all; and promise you, by the secrets of my birthright, to make you a glorious and free nation under me, if I prevail by your means."

These words were uttered so audaciously, and yet with simulatory majesty, that they conceived every thing in his behalf, and not once disputed on the craft or cunning conveyance of the business, but exalted and applauded him with all reverence and due honour, combining themselves with affectionate obedience to his aid and assistance; wherein, that they might be the better induced just at the same instant, as if honour made haste to welcome him, according to our poet;

Nunc festinatos nimium sibi sensit honores:

and fortune determined to smile on them all. Charles, the French king, in some displeasure with King Henry of England, sent for Perkin out of Ireland, with resolution to make him the royal head of an army against England; which, although it much animated the Irish to believe the former seduction, yet, it was but a device of the French king's to divert the war, which the King of England pretended out of France; and so to force him back again to look home to his own affairs. Howsoever, this our counterfeit was not a little revived with such a message, and supposed himself exalted to heaven, in being thus called to the familiarity and acquaintance of kings and princes; so that, coming into France accordingly, he was royally accepted, and after a princely manner entertained, having a guard assigned him, whereof the Lord of Congreshall was governor. Hither also repaired unto him, especially while he lay in Paris, Sir George Nevil the bastard, Sir John Tailer, Rowland Robinson, and a hundred English rebels. But, alas! all these were but smocking illusions; for, on a sudden,

——— *Ingemuit rector, sensitque deorum
Esse dolos, & fata suæ contraria menti.*

And, when a peace was to be determined and concluded between England and France,

the French King quickly dismissed the young man and all his associates; under colour of excuse, that he durst no longer protect him against his new confederate, and brother of England: but some others attending upon him yielded a more forcible reason for his departure, that he himself suspected how King Charles would deliver him into the hands of the King of England; and therefore he beguiled the Lord Congreshall, and fled from Paris by night. But, howsoever this may be disputed, and whether he departed without the king's consent or no; he was, questionless, deceived in his expectation, and, in a manner, desperate of success: so that, loth to remain amongst such distrustful enemies, he quietly returned to his most assured friend, the Lady Margaret of Flanders, the master-builder of this work.

The duchess, before he came, thought every hour from his departure, a whole year, till his return. For to hear, how he proceeded, was a quiet to her thoughts; and to know, how fortune would deal with him, a joy to her heart; but to see him, a very ravishment. Yet, when she understood how he was abjected and repudiated in the French court, it could not choose but be a great agony and amazement unto her. Notwithstanding, to prevent all suspicion, she seemed at his arrival no less revived, than a mother is glad for the return of her long absent son, or a person condemned, for a pardon and restoration of his life and dignity. At his first approach she received him with large embraces, and hanging over his neck, seeming to shed tears of joy and comfort for his escape from many dangers and adventures. O dissembling and deceivable hypocrisy! that ever a woman should be the author of such devilish devices and hellish projects, and yet over-daub her mischievous imaginations with the sugared shows of love, and regard of pity towards a prince in distress; but this made Hippolytus long ago cry out,

O Jupiter! quodnam adulterinum hominibus malum

Mulieres, ad solis lucem habitare fecisti, &c.

Eurip. Hippolytus Coronatus.

And this she had learned of her own physicians, who, in administering of bitter pills, had shewed her to roll them over in some candied powder: and this we have taught ourselves out of God's own mouth, who, in several places of Scripture, hath published wherein a bad woman doth exceed all the creatures of the world.

After this ecstasy was past, she proceeded with a cunning desire to have him relate his first miraculous preservation; his after-travels and exploration of countries; next his entertainment in Ireland and France; and, finally, his resolution to go forward in his noble and necessary intendment for his inheritance, and recovery of the crown of England: wherein he proceeded so effectually, and orderly, without stammering or stuttering, that the whole company verily believed it; and such as were not present, the rather, induced by the report of others, sorrowing for nothing but that they heard him not *vivâ voce*, and endeavouring what they could to present their personal obedience unto him. Whereupon when she perceived how every thing consorted to her own wishes, she assigned him a guard of fifty persons in murrey and blue, and honoured him with a cloth of estate, and denomination of the White Rose, and Prince of England.

From thenceforward the nobility of Flanders, and divers of England, with all obsequious diligence attended him, and from a reverend estimation of his ancestors, performed all the good offices which belonged to the exornation of his majesty, and extension of their own loves and duties: so that, in a word, this Sinon's horse entered the broken walls of Troy; and feigned invention, shadowed with the pretence of verity and truth, prevailed with their credulity, that they adhibited the more faith and undoubted trust unto it; supposing verily he had been preserved by the will and providence of God, and so committed to the trust and custody of some faithful friend, either by King Edward, or his mother when she was in sanctuary; relying also on this impossibility, that any tyrant would so rebel against God, as infringe the orders of Holy Church, and take him per force from thence, as yet the story manifesteth was to be done even by the cardinal himself.

By this time the fame of this juggled miracle was not only blown over Flanders and the territories adjacent, but so rumoured in England, by reason the present government suppressed all public reports, libels, and writings, that in the very whispering,

Nam fraudibus eventum dederat fortuna,

it was more forcible than if it had been published by license and authority. Thus have I seen a fire smothered, and inclosed in some secret place, never to be quiet till it were vented out; and, when it came to eruption, made the more forcible and outrageous noise. For it was here received as an infallible truth, and not only believed of the better sort, but entertained of the common people; who, being more liberal of audacious behaviour, and less fearful to offend God, began to confirm it with oaths as a matter of truth, which others barely affirmed as a report of uncertainty.

Thus began trouble upon trouble; and as the spring putteth forth the buds and blossoms, like the messenger of summer and pleasant times to ensue; so did this fantastical fable, thus divulged, prognosticate following calamity and consequent desolation. For, after it was known with what honour he had been entertained in Flanders, and revered in other places of Europe, there began sedition on every side in England, and no man was sure of his friend, the times grew to such distraction. Some, that were fled to sanctuaries, for great and heinous offences perpetrated, discharged themselves, and went beyond the seas unto him. Some that had confined themselves to privileged places, for debts and accounts, began to shew themselves under his support and combination, then being safest when the state is unsafest. Some, even of the better sort, through rashness and temerity, because they would be counted factious and stirring, drew a-pace unto him. Some, out of the nature of inconstancy, or rather impression of melancholy, never to be removed from the opinion they have once entertained, believed verily, that this Perkin was the undoubted son of Edward the Fourth. Some, through simplicity and easiness of apprehension, without examining the probability and likelihood of the matter, yielded to any thing which was told them. Some temporisers, to curry favour in the change of princes, persuaded and solicited others to their opinions; that so, bringing many coadjutors, they might not only be reputed of strength and reputation in their countries, but the better welcomed and entertained with the prevailer. Some, through indignation and envy, murmuring at their slender advancement, or grudging they were not more condignly rewarded for their former pains and adventures in his majesty's business, resorted to this new prince, in hope of better acceptance. And some, overwearied with ease and placability of idleness, grieving to see the world stand at a stay, with desire of change ran headlong into this fury, madness, and seditious conspiracy:

O tempora ? ó mores ! ó flagitiosa voluntas !

But, for all this rumour of this twice-born Duke Richard of York, and that England was divided and drawn into parts-taking and several factions, so that the minds of men were vexed either with the hope of gain or preferment, or fear of loss and confusion; yet were the king and his council not much disturbed or affrighted, more than their marvel and modest anger at so many persons, seeming in their right wits, to be seduced either in the contriving such a manifest and notorious lie, or assenting and preparing themselves to countenance the same, without fear of God or men; not once forecasting the dangerous penalty of treasons, contempts, conspiracies, and practices against their natural prince, and so sufficient a governor. For it was not only a pernicious fable and fiction, strange and marvellous, but prodigious and unnatural, to resuscitate a man from the dead, and with impudent asseveration to set it forth, and palliate it with the vesture and garment of a professed verity. But in such cases, be kings never so wise, nor matters so trivial and unlikely, there is no sitting still, nor giving way to the business; especially, there is no rebating an enemy with proclamations, writings, and prohibitions, who cometh forward

with the clamours of war, and well-settled preparation of offence. Therefore his majesty thought it the best course to look about him, and, both by force and policy, to prevent the mischief impending and threatened; for he perceived how already the fire of rebellion had taken hold of some of the principal houses of England, who, he knew, had underhand already sent messengers unto Lady Margaret, to understand when Richard Duke of York would come conveniently into England, that they might be ready to help and succour him, even at his first arrival.

This business increased to a fullness and ripeness, about the eighth year of his majesty's reign; insomuch that the confederates (by common assent and agreement) posted over Sir Robert Clifford, Knight, and William Barley, into Flanders, to be the better assured of all particulars; who were not only gladly accepted, and lovingly welcomed of the duchess, with full intimation of the truth, and wonderful delivery of the strangeness of the story,

Nec gravidæ lachrymas continuere genæ,

but brought to the sight and sweet entertainment of Perkin, who played the counterfeit so exactly, that his words resembled forcible incantations, according to that of the poet:

*Una per æthereos exit vox illa recessus,
Verbaque ad invitum præfert cogentia numen.*

Lucan. Lib. vi.

For all men praised his virtues and qualities, with a resolved belief of his princeliness; and Sir Robert Clifford swore directly, that he was extracted of the blood royal, and the very son of King Edward the Fourth. Whereupon he wrote letters of confidence and credit to his associates in England, that as the Queen of Sheba told Solomon, she did not believe the half of that which was reported, till she had seen it with her eyes; so he could not be persuaded to so much, as rumour had presented, till he had overviewed him in person. But, when these letters were received in England, the conspirators caused them to be openly published and divulged in many places, with full credence, that it was true and not feigned, which was spoken by the Duke of York; and therefore they need not be afraid to be drawn to such a commotion and parts-taking; all yet was carried so orderly and covertly, that the king, (more than uncertain suspicion,) could not as yet detect any person of name or quality, which troubled him so much the more.

But when he perceived indeed, that this misty vapour was not quite vanished, nor the impression put out of the mad brain of the common people, and understood how Sir Robert Clifford was privily fled into Flanders, he resolved on a conspiracy against him; and thought it expedient, both for the safeguard of himself and his realm, whose reciprocal good or hurt were dependent one upon another, to provide some remedy for the repressing of this abusing fraud and deceit, and suppressing the insolency, if it should extend to force and rebellion. Wherefore he dispersed several companies both of horse and foot, to defend the sea-coasts, that no man might pass or repass unapprehended, who had not license or safe-conduct for his journey, business, and affairs. Then he sent down the lieutenants and justices into their several countries, to detain the people in obedience, and muster the forces of the same, as occasion should serve: which order observed, he underhand authorized wise and discreet spies into all the cities of the Low-countries, to discover of what province, progeny, parentage, and estate, this misnamed Richard was descended and propagated; promising princely rewards to such persons, as could relate the truth, and (as a man may say) enucleate the secret. Besides, he wrote loving letters to certain trusty friends concerning the same; who, to do their prince and country service, dispersed themselves into several towns and cities, both of France and Burgundy; where they were certified and assured, by the testimony of many honest persons (amongst whom, some of special wit and behaviour repaired to the town of Tournay) that this

feigned duke was of mean parentage, and truly named Peter Warbeck; which was principally confirmed by one Nathaniel Osbeck of his own kindred, who, (as it should seem,) in hope of reward, took upon him more than the rest, and exprobrated him, for so counterfeiting, with this taunt out of the poet:

*Sed malè dissimulas ; quis enim celaverit ignem,
Lumine qui semper proditur ipse suo ?*

Paris Helenæ.

And alas! however he is now transhaped into a princely garb and fashion, we of Peter named him Perkin, for his effeminateness and childishness.

With this news and man, the inquisitors returned into England, and made a true report unto his majesty of all they knew and heard, both concerning the assumed presumption and impudence of the counterfeit, as also the proceedings and purposes of all the conspirators; which was seconded by the faithful letters of especial persons, who had larger commission to make their continuance the longer out of England. When the king was thus satisfied, and (as he supposed) to all seeming reasonable understanding, had openly and apparently manifested it, he resolved to have it further published and declared, by open proclamations, and sound of trumpet, both in the realms of England and Ireland, and in the courts of foreign princes; for which purpose he sent over divers ambassadors to many countries, especially to Philip Archduke of Burgoigne, and his counsellors, as a place which nearest concerned him. This embassy was the charge and commission of Sir Edward Poinings, a most valiant gentleman, and William Warham, doctor of the laws, a man of great modesty, learning, and gravity. The general points of their commission had large fields to walk in, but the principal matters to be enforced had these limitations:

FIRST, to declare, that the young man, resident amongst them, with the Lady Margaret, was descended of a base and obscure parentage, having falsely and untruly usurped the name of Richard Duke of York, who long before was murdered in the Tower, with his brother the prince, by the commandment of King Richard, their uncle; as many men living can testify.

Secondly, That from the probability of the matter, and enforcement of reason, there was no likelihood that King Richard, dispossessing the prince both of his life and kingdom, would leave the other brother still to affright him, and trouble him in his government.

Thirdly, That Queen Elisabeth, their mother, was therefore attainted in parliament, for surrendering her daughters into the tyrant's custody, and committing them into his hands, who, she knew, had already murdered their brethren.

Fourthly, To desire the archduke, and the principal lords of his council, not to give any credit to such illusions, nor suffer themselves to be any more blinded or seduced with impostures, or shadowing appearances of truth.

Last of all, To remember how King Henry had (some few years since) succoured and relieved Maximilian, their principal lord, almost oppressed and overcome with the foreign hostility of the French king, and intestine rebellion of his own subjects; and therefore it must be unprincely, and a point of great ingratitude, either directly or indirectly, to abet or maintain any traitor or traitorous practices against him, or the peace and tranquillity of his kingdom.

With these instructions the ambassadors sailed into Flanders, and were gently received and honourably welcomed by the archduke and his council, as appeared by the solemnity of their audience, and quick dispatch of their business; wherein Dr. William Warham, in

a well-penned oration, declared the king's mind, as before you heard, and, by the way, touched the malice of Lady Margaret, saying with the poet,

—*Tantane animis cælestibus iræ?*

And under a kind of reprehension, rebuked her treacherous disposition against a prince of so great worth and deserving, that never wronged her, nor entertained a prejudicial motive, to afflict either her or her's, with any malignant injury; wherein she only might be compared to a weak breath, which, spitting against a forcible wind, had it returned back again into her face; adding withal, somewhat vehemently, that, in her old age, contrary to the nature of all births, she had brought forth two such detestable monsters, that is to say, Lambert before disputed upon, and now this Peter, that the like was never heard of. And whereas, in the conception of children, women were commonly delivered in eight or nine months as nature did require, she could not be released in eight or nine years; nay, the youngest was fifteen years old, before her pains were passed, and they justified to be shewn openly; and this was not sufficient neither, but they must be at least extracted of princes, and able to give king's battle in the open field; whereupon he might well conclude with that ancient poet,

*Sed res excellens est, contra reptiles bestias
Remedia mortalibus deorum præbuisse aliquem,
Quæ vyperas & ignem superant:
Sed nullus contra mulierem remedia invenit adhuc
Malam; hujusmodi sumus hominibus malum.*

Eurip. Andromache.

This oration, so effectually delivered, and in the public assembly, audaciously maintained, did not so much trouble and vex the duchess, as affright and dishearten poor Perkin; who, in a manner, exanimated, lest his fraud and pestilential enterprises should not only be discovered, but discouraged, began to be somewhat appalled, and, by a fearful countenance, seemed to discountenance both his honour and the action, had not the duchess taken the cause in hand with a more undaunted courage, and, like a true virago, raised her spirits to a higher pitch of revenge, thus resuscitating her darling, and answering the doctor:

MY lords ambassadors of England; for the dignity of princeliness commandeth no less, and awful regard of majesty combineth me to such observation: besides, I am no way offended with your persons but your message, wherein I know the orator hath much transcended his bounds, but, speaking for his fee, and doing another man's errand, he is the more pardonable; and therefore, as near as I can remember, I will answer succinctly to every point delivered.

First, Whereas you impeach the miraculous and wonderful preservation of this prince, in which yet my credit and knowledge of the truth shall be of sufficiency to answer all other objections and intercedings, I cannot blame you, nor him that set you on work; for he well knows that sons are to be preferred before daughters, and, ashamed of the treachery of his ancestors, he would put off the blame by a trick of policy, in laying as great faults on the shoulders of his adversary; I mean my brother Richard, whose tyranny and obdurate heart hath only wrought this relenting in me, that, say and do what England can, I will be now the protectrix of this every-way-distressed prince: and so, to conclude this point, assure your king,

Permanet in voto mens mea firma suo.

Secondly, Whereas you infer the improbability and unlikelihood of saving the prince, being in a tyrant's custody, and determining to murder the king himself; I answer in a word, I am of your mind, if ever he had come into his hands. But it is well known, that the cardinal himself was deceived, and the child conveyed away, in spite of the malevolent practices of so cruel an homicide. Yet say it had not been so, I hope eldest brother's daughters are preferred before a younger brother's claim; and he had five princesses, besides my nephew Warwick to wrestle withal, before he could go out of the lists, with his own triumphs. Therefore it was not the fear of him that did accelerate his murder, as you suppose; but his resolution to be king, in spite of heaven and hell.

Thirdly, Concerning the dispossessing of the queen, their mother, by your parliament, I am ashamed of your asseveration, that ever man, and such a man, whom (as you say) the heavens protected, should be attainted of inhumanity, to think a woman might not be affrighted with a tyrant, when he himself ran into every corner from his reaches. But say, there had been a fault perpetrated, (through the timidity of her sex, and tenderness of her widowhood.) Would any man marry the daughter, and hate or distress the poor mother? In whose behalf I may well say with Ariadne to Theseus,

—*Si non ego causa salutis ;
Non tamen est, cur tu sis mihi causa necis ?*

Ovid. Epist.

And therefore, if there were no more than to revenge her quarrel, I will be an enemy to Lancaster, while I live; and am no further moved with your unseasonable oratory, than afraid of his menaces.

Fourthly, Whereas you would insinuate with our nobles, and trusty friends, to desist from my allegiance, and assisting my nephew in his lawful claim: you think belike we are as perfidious as yourselves, that seem glad of treason and turmoils upon the very sound of innovation; yea, the least advantage or disadvantage will cause you to leave your prince in the midst of his enemies.

Fifthly, Concerning your exprobration of Maximilian for ingratitude, and not coadjuting your king in his petty revenges upon France. First, His great designs are not to be compared to your trivial business, and having matters of high consequence elsewhere, he could not leave them to attend your weaker importunities. Secondly, He well knew it was but a folly to assist you in any business of France; for as fast as you got it one way, you would lose it another; so that you cannot now shew any town or fort, either of King Edward's conquests, or Henry the Fifth's enterprizes, except Calais, which lying so near you, you cannot, for shame, but defend. And thirdly, in my conscience, he took pity on you, knowing you had a war at home to attend, and so were not able to prosecute both encounters at once. Go back, therefore, and tell your politic prince, that whereas words are but women's weapons to his imagination, we determine to arm ourselves, and this prince, by God's assistance; and my power shall bid him defiance in his own kingdom with spear and shield, and make an equal combat the decider of both their titles.

Last of all, Concerning your invective against women: Alas! I smile at your scholarship, and am ashamed at your poor discretion in adapting some poetical invention out of fury or spite, to your present purposes, when both the same man, and all others, of the same condition, are as forward to commend as dispraise us: For, to answer your worn-out and thread-bare tragedian, hark what our divine Petrarch affirmeth:

*Hujus mens terrenarum nescia curarum : Cælestibus desideriis ardet : In cujus aspectu si
quid unquam veri est divini specimen decoris effulget : Cujus mores consummatæ honestatis
exemplar sunt : Cujus nec vox, nec oculorum vigor mortale aliquid : Nec incessus hominem
repræsentat.*

De Contemptu Mundi Dial. iii.

With which words she arose, and carried away Perkin with such state and majesty, that Sir Edward Poinings, though he were every way invincible for his courage, and a known man for wonderful and several exploits, yet seemed amazed at her heroical speech, and delicate manner of obstinacy.

Notwithstanding, the ambassadors and council of state often met, and, after long debating the matter, somewhat to pacify the King of England for many reciprocal gratuities and benefits received, they concluded, that the archduke should neither aid nor assist Perkin nor his accomplices, in any cause or quarrel whatsoever, against the majesty of England: only, if the duchess continued in her obdurateness, and would not desist from her feminine rages and terrible prosecutions, they were not to oppose against her, nor was it in their power to let or withstand it. For she was an absolute governor in her own territories, and the signories and lands, assigned for her dowry, were of sufficiency to support her enterprises without their contradiction or restraint.

When this answer was given they returned again into England with a true relation of all occurrences as they chanced, and circumstances impending: whereupon, King Henry, both politic and charitable, (for, of all other things he desired, if it were possible, to avoid effusion of blood, and hazardous danger of battle; supposing that was the last remedy of curing diseased commonwealths, as surgeons do to festered sores,) contrived another work, which, although it was branded by some with the character of traitorous intelligences, yet it served his turn for the present, and so divers were appointed to discover the secrets of the contrary, by feigned dissimulation. Of these were two sorts; one to feign themselves Yorkists, and so learn out what they could prejudicial to King Henry; another, to tamper with Sir Robert Clifford and William Burley, for their return to the obedience of the king; and concerning the plot itself, he reputed it justifiable, as authorized by all authors, ages, and commonwealths, who set down in their politic discourses, that

—*Fraus est concessa repellere fraudem,*
Armaque in armatos sumere jura sinunt.

Ovid. de Arte Amandi, Lib. iii.

These cunning informers so demeaned themselves, and employed their time with such sedulity and care, that they persuaded, though with much ado, Sir Robert Clifford to desist from this foolish and dangerous collusion, which had neither sure ground nor foundation to stay itself upon; but Mr. Burley could not be diverted at this instant, till within two two years after, almost tired out with expectation after Perkin Warbeck's fortunes and success, he returned of himself to the king, and had pardon both for life and liberty. The others likewise proceeded so effectually, that they had sure notice of especial persons confederated, and adjured to this blind and foolish project, of which they presently informed the king; who, by that means, could not only personally name his own enemies, but, to prevent the worst, did as personally attach the most principal: that is to say, Sir John Ratcliffe, the Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaits, William Dawbney, Robert Clifford, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood. With these, were divers religious persons imprisoned; as William Rochford, doctor of divinity, and Thomas Poines, both dominican friars; Dr. William Sutton, William Worsley, Dean of Paul's; Robert Laiborn, and Richard Lesley; with divers others unapprehended, of whom some took sanctuary, and others fled into Flanders to Perkin. But of those whose liberties were constrained, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, and William Dawbney were beheaded, as powerful, factious, and chief authors of the conspiracy: the rest were pardoned, especially the priests, who were, in those times, for their order's sake, sequestered from public executions, what offences soever they perpetrated; which made them so forward in all facinorous actions; and others so superstitious, as to believe any thing they either projected or attempted: from which hypocritical and deceivable manner of life, all poets and philosophers themselves have had both general and particular invectives

against priests, augurs, soothsayers, figure-casters, and religious persons, both for their profane lives and seducing vanities; so that Euripides, amongst many other places, concludes in his *Iphigenia*,

Vatidicūm omne genus ambitiosum malum est.

And all the kingdoms and times of the world have smarted through the pride, covetousness, and malicious wickedness of priests and friars; and lastly, Jesuits, as I said before. But to our story.

Although the Lord Fitzwalter was pardoned his life for the present; yet, coming after to Calais, he was beheaded for attempting to escape, by corrupting his keepers, and so to go to Perkin. Whereby this strange and intricate work so busied his majesty, that he would often compare it to the conquering of hydra; a beast so privileged by nature, that, as one head was struck off, seven others grew in the place. For his turmoils, both at home and abroad increased; and he seemed as much tormented with the suspicion of bosom friends, as affrightings of foreign enemies; which so exasperated him, that, (as he supposed,) to prevent the worst, considering Maximilian, King of the Romans, had trifled with him in his wars against France; and that Lady Margaret with the Flemings, had supported Perkin Warbeck against him; he, in a kind of revenge, banished all Low-countrymen, and their commodities, out of the realm, with restraining the merchants from having access into any of their cities. But, alas! this was to no purpose; and, in truth, rather a custom of anger, than secret of policy; as if a man, because his finger torments him, should cut off his hand to ease himself; for they did the like by us, whereby, the mart being kept at Calais, and no vent elsewhere for our merchandize, many poor house-keepers complained for want of work, many rich men murmured, and were compelled to lessen their families, and abate their retinue; many merchants felt the loss, and the tradesman cried outright, because the Esterlings brought all manner of manual work, ready made, into the land; and took from them both their labour and customers; whereby a riot was made upon them at the Stilyard, and the Mayor of London, with the principal officers, had much ado to appease the tumult; and this was the ninth year's disturbance.

The king, thus turmoiled every way, repaired, for divers reasons, to the Tower of London, whither shortly after came Sir Robert Clifford unto him; partly trusting to the king's promise, partly mistrusting his own company, and Perkin's weakness. But the chiefest policy of his residence in the Tower, was to secure himself, and lay hold of all others suspected, or accused in this conspiracy, who, thither resorting to the council, might with ease, and without any tumult, be committed to prison; as it presently fell out. For, after the king had admitted Sir Robert, and insinuated with him in excellent positions of divinity and morality, by way of disceptation; urging the love and favour of his prince in his true obedience and reconciliation, he not only related the manner of Perkin's proceedings, but on his knees, with tears in his eyes, discovered the matter to be weak and impossible, if it had not factious supportation from some of powerful houses of England, and very near his majesty's person; whereof, though many were punished, and the rest dissipated and divided, yet Sir William Stanley remained unsuspected, and his heart trembled to accuse him. But, when the king heard Sir William Stanley named, he started back amazed, and, in a manner, confounded; so that Sir Robert was afraid he had done him more harm in the relation, than good in the detection.

At last he burst out, "What, my bosom friend? My counsellor? My chamberlain? Then I see there is no trust in men, nor (as the Psalmist says) confidence in princes: for, as we shall not want instruments to go forward with what enterprise we please, as David had his Joab; so shall we not lack enemies, let them be never so careful and desirous to favour the least deserver: but I will cry out, *Heu cadit in quemquam tantum scelus!* and with the kingly prophet exclaim, 'It was not mine enemies abroad, but my companions, and such as eat at my table, betrayed me.' What, Sir William Stanley?"

He had the government of my chamber, the charge and comptrolment of all that are next my person, the love and favour of our court, and the very keys of our treasury. He made me a conqueror in the field, and, by his hand, I scourged tyranny out of the throne: therefore it is impossible, and I cannot believe it." But, when a second reply brought him to the sight of fairer particulars, and that he saw the smoke, though it was but a smother, come from some fire; he quickly recollected his spirits, and, with these verses of Euripides, set himself down at the table of prevention and reposedness:

*Ex amicis autem alios quidem non certos video amicos
Qui vero sunt rectè, impotentes sunt ut juvent :
Talis res est hominibus ipsa infelicitas,
Quà nullus unquam (quicunque vel mediocriter amicus mihi)
Assequatur amicorum exàmen certissimum,——*

Eurip. Herefurens.

The same night, upon better consideration, the lord chamberlain was restrained from his liberty within the square tower, and confined to his own chamber for a season; but when the crime was openly proved, and the council had, as it were, with a charming hand of Hecate, turned his inside outward, and found all his excuses to consist in distinctions, and his reasons of defence manifest astipulations of the matter; he grew out of all patience, and knew not what to say or do. For one way, like a noble prince, commiserating his subjects, he feared lest his brother, Lord Thomas Stanley, the life of his first royalty, as a man may say, should take it grievously: another way, he misdoubted, lest, in remitting the fault, some others might abuse his lenity and mercy, and be the bolder to run forward in the dangerous courses of further treasons. At last, by the advice of his council and general vogue of the court, severity, considering the peril of those days, took place, and mercy was put back: so that, after a solemn arraignment, he had judgment to die; and accordingly was brought, on the sixteenth of February, to Tower-hill, and had his head struck off.

The principal point of his indictment consisted in this, that Sir William Stanley swore and affirmed, that he would never fight nor bear armour against the young man Peter Warbeck, if he knew of a truth that he was the undoubted son of Edward the Fourth; whereupon arose a conjectural proof, that he bare no good-will to King Henry. Again, the principal motive of his distasting and murmuring at the king, was for being denied the earldom of Chester, when his brother, Lord Thomas, was invested with the sword of Derby: yet the king, besides many rewards and other great offices, made him his chief chamberlain! What should I say? It should seem ambition had blinded his eyes, and perverted his judgment. For he still thought on the benefits which the king received from the love and service of his family; never remembering the compensation and gratuities returned back again to himself; supposing that his vessel of oil should still be filled to the brim: or else he harped on a machivellian position; thankfulness is a burthen, but revenge is sweet and reckoned as gain. But it should seem, that, in possessing King Richard's treasure at the conquest of Bosworth field, (which King Henry frankly bestowed upon him,) and the command over the people in the country, he grew proud and elated, and so vilipended the king; or, from a continual melancholy, reverberating mislike and hate upon his staggering conceits, he more and more over-burthened his heart with rage and spite, which, as you have heard unpurged, vented out those words of disloyalty to the loss of his life; or in a word, according to that of our old tragedian:

Animorum Jupiter vindex est nimis superborum,

Eurip. Heraclidæ.

The Searcher of Hearts was weary of his humours and ingratitude, and so took the king's cause in hand, and upon good inforcement thrust him into the house of destruction.

Otherwise, he could not choose but remember, how, not twenty years before, the law had interpreted the profuse and lavish speeches of a grocer, named Walker, dwelling at the sign of the Crown, in Cheapside, who bad his son learn a-pace and he would make him heir of the Crown, (meaning his house he dwelt in,) for which he was adjudged to die: nor forget the story of Burdet the esquire, within whose park King Edward hunting, a white tame hart was killed by chance, which he had brought up by hand; which when Burdet heard of, he wished the horns in his belly that had moved the king to come first thither; for which he was drawn, hanged, and quartered. Thus you see there is no jesting with princes, nor distasting them in troublesome times, nor presuming in such cases on their clemency: for our Ovid tells us:

*Non ideo debet pelago se credere, si qua
Audet in exiguo ludere cymba lacu.*

After this, many rumours and libels, yea defamatory speeches, both concerning the landing of the new Duke of York, proclaimed already, in Ireland, Richard the Fourth; and the king's present fear and proceedings were spread abraad, which compelled as strange prohibitions, yea punishments and revenges; according to the example of that judgment that hanged Collinbroke for a rhyme against the usurper;

*'The rat, the cat, and Lovel the dog,
Rules all England under a hog:'*

So that he was farther forced to have many politic searches through the whole realm for such offenders, and as many strong guards and watches for the defence of the whole kingdom; by which, when he perceived the care, vigilancy, and good-will of the subject, he entertained a greater fulness of contentment, and shewed a better alacrity of spirit than his former griefs would admit. Then he advanced Giles Lord Dawnley, a man of wisdom, experience, and fidelity, to be the chamberlain of his house, and have the guard of his person. Afterwards he took order with the city and merchants of the same, and had their faithful oath and protestation to look to it, and all the places of their traffick abroad, concerning such things as might be offensive and prejudicial to the kingdom. The next thing he took care for, was the manning of the Cinque-ports, and fortifying divers havens, with a strict commanding the lieutenants and justices of each shire to repair into their countries; by which good order observed, he grew somewhat secure and bolder to shew himself in publick assemblies undaunted, or any way discomfited.

But this was yet far from the fulness of his establishment, as long as Ireland remained corrupted, and swelled again in every place, with the overblown reports and rumours of Perkin's royalty; to which each traitorous ear lay open, and abused heart went quite away with the novelty. Whereupon, he resolved on the necessity of purging and cleansing the same, and determined to perform it by new officers and honest surveyors. So he sent thither, with powerful authority, Henry Dean, late abbot of Langton, to be his chancellor, and Sir Edward Poinings, with a sufficient preparation to be lord-general of his army. These had a large commission, under his deputy the Earl of Kildare, to suppress all innovations, and spare no offenders. For it was such a time, that mercy and favour would rather embolden men to abuses, than justice offend with extremity. Besides, the majesty of kings was not to be controuled, either in their favour or revenges; but they would simply command, and have the subject honestly to obey; with which instructions and the doctrine of probity out of our ancient author,

*Probi enim viri officium est, & justitiæ inservire,
Et maleficos punire ubique semper:*

They arrived in Ireland, and disposed of themselves accordingly.

Now, because the country was already infected with a superstitious credulity of the preservation of one of the sons of Edward the Fourth, and that the barbarous Irish, once believing a thing, would never be diverted by reason or persuasion, they proceeded the more cautiously and circumspectly in their business: first, assembling the nobility and better sort before the new chancellor; who, with all attractive demeanour and elocution, persuaded them not only to persist in obedience to the king, and loyalty to the government, but to aid and assist his majesty's forces under Sir Edward Poinings, with their power, strength, and ability; especially against such rebels, as rather through factious malice and wilful revolts, than blindness of error or folly, had adhered unto Perkin, or any of his associates; in which they knew there was reason and sufficiency of enforcement. For, amongst themselves, the petty lords would endure no competition of sovereignty, and their law-tenets established him, that for his heroic actions deserved to be honoured, and by his worthy endeavours obtained the jurisdiction and inheritance: so that their own priests could tell them, *ex parvis magna comparantur*; and if it were so in petty governments, what was it in mighty monarchies, and with regardable kings? amongst whom,

*Nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas;
Impatiens consortis erat:——*

therefore, to avoid the imputation of treason, and the fearfulness of revenge, from a prince's incensed indignation, he advised them to a tenacity and strong continuance in their loyalty.

To this their answer was, (as soldiers in a camp after a mutiny,) sad looks and small repentance: fair words, but little performance. For they all promised assurance of faith, but no man determined the due performance: only the better sort, (or, if you will, such as dwelled within the English pale, or had been ennobled, or inabled by the prince to live in richer form and eminence than others;) answered directly, they would acknowledge no king but Henry; nor supreme lord, but such as should be extracted from the union of the marriage between the two roses; and to this they were the rather emboldened, because the Earl of Kildare, being deputy, seemed to maintain their submission, and justify their intents; so that Sir Edward Poinings had little to say at that time, more than he hoped in the confidence of their promises, and relied on their worthy integrity. Yet I dare swear, if he had been examined on his conscience, and brought to the bar of discovery for his thoughts, he would have cried out with the poet:

*At paucos, quibus hæc rabies auctoribus arsit,
Non Cæsar, sed pæna tenet: &c.——*

Whereupon, he prepared all his forces against the wild Irish; to whom, as he was informed, divers of the rest had fled for succour. I could here enlarge this discourse with a topographical description of the country, and conditions of the people, because I have personally overlooked their actions, and been a passenger even from one side of the country to the other: but the times are full of the experience of many men; and divers explorations have discovered the unswept corners of this savage and superstitious people, whom never man shall see civil, or once affecting the handsomeness and wealth of the other parts of Europe, till either it grow more populous, or the king be as willing, as he is able, to extirpate, as it were, by the roots, the bards, rhimers, harpers and priests, that hang upon them, and stick close unto them, as some deformed wen in a straight growing tree; or, if you will, venomous canker, which will, in time, either eat out root and rind; or, for the time, disfigure and disproportion the proudest comeliness of the best cedars in the forest. But to our story.

Sir Edward Poinings, according to his commission, marched into the North. But, alas! he neither found France to travel in, nor Frenchmen to fight withal. Here were no glorious towns to load the soldiers home with spoils, nor pleasant vineyards to refresh them

with wine. Here were no plentiful markets to supply the salary of the army, if they wanted or stood in need. Here were no cities of refuge, nor places of garrison to retire unto, in the times of danger and extremity of weather. Here were no musters ordered, nor lieutenants of shires to raise new armies. Here was no supplement either of men or provisions, especially of Irish against Irish; nor any one promise kept according to his expectation. Here were, in plain terms, bogs and woods to lie in, fogs and mists to trouble you, grass and fern to welcome your horses, and corrupt and putrefy your bodies: here was killing of kine, and eating fresh beef, to breed diseases: here was oats without bread, and fire without wood: here were smoaking cabins, and nasty holes: here were bogs on the tops of mountains, and few passages, but over marshes, or through strange places: here was retiring into fastnesses and glins, and no fighting but when they pleased themselves: here was ground enough to bury your people in, being dead, but no place to please them, while they were alive: here you might spend what you brought with you, but be assured there was no hope of relief: here was room for all your losses, but scarce a castle to reserve your spoils and treasure. To conclude: here was all glory and virtue buried in obscurity and oblivion, and not so much as a glimmering of hope, that how valiantly soever a man demeaned himself, it should be registered and remembered; which makes me consider what that worthy politician writes of the Swevians and Helvetians in those days, and apply them to these times and people:

*Helvetii, Usipetesque, atque effera corda Suevi,
Queis unumprædæ studium, ac durare sub ipsis,
Corpora fluminibus, teloque assuescere dextram:
Non urbis, non cæra domus, agrivè colendi,
Venatu ducunt vitam, atque è lacte liquente.
Et quod Marte spoliato ex hoste pararint:
Bella placent, fususque hostili è corpore sanguis.*

Whereupon the worthy general, with his other captains, began to complain, but knew no way of redress. His men died, the soldiers were slain, the army decayed, the Irish insulted, the auxiliaries failed, and not a man, which promised assistance, came in to help him: so that he was enraged at the perfidiousness, and compelled to retire to Dublin, all exasperated to spite, by which he aimed at the highest in his displeasure, laying the fault and blame of his preposterous proceedings on Gerald Earl of Kildare, his majesty's principal deputy; who, remembering his own greatness, could not confine it within a little circuit of patience, but answered this our captain somewhat like himself, that he was as loyal to the king as he, as serviceable as he, as loving to his country and crown of England as he, and so defied him to his face; which added only fuel to the former fire, so that the undaunted soldier apprehended and attached him of high treason, which seemed an unsufferable piece of business; and, had it not been within Dublin, or some principal place under the English command, an Herculean and intricate labour. But thus is this great earl under arrest, and, without any more ado, carried into England, to answer the matter.

But, when he came before the king and council, to be examined of treason and matters laid to his charge, either his innocency was a Perseus's shield against this Gorgon's head of calumnation; or his wit and delicate judgment brought him out of the labyrinth of those troubles; or the times afforded not such severity and proceedings; or the king had other matters to think upon; or, indeed, it was no policy to rub these new sores with rude hands, according to the rule:

Horrent admotas vulnera cruda manus.

For he was quietly dismissed, thanked, rewarded, and of deputy made lieutenant, and so sent back again; upon the engaging of his honour to withstand the landing of Perkin, if ever he came into Ireland.

By this occasion, the king was without fear of battle, and determined his progress about Midsummer to visit his mother, lying at Latham in Lancashire, still wife to the Earl of Derby: but, as he was preparing his journey, news came of Perkin's landing in England, which a while diverted him, and forced his retardance from his first determination. For, in truth, when the Duchess of Burgundy had notice of all the king's proceedings, both in England and Ireland, and that the principal offenders were condemned and executed, and confederates dissipated and overwatched; she found too late her own slackness, and the first misfortune of the King of France's retractions from assisting the prince: for, whether I name Peter, or Perkin, or Warbeck, or Prince, or Richard Duke of York, or Richard the Fourth, all is one man, and all had one end. And questionless, if, at his first repairing into Ireland, he had made for England, while that rumour had possessed the people, and the looking after novelty busied them with strange and impossible hope; while every one stood amazed to gaze after wonders; while the conspiracy was in growth, and had divers factious nobles to form it to a larger birth; while the soldiers desired to be doing, and men grew weary of ease and quietness; the business might have plunged the kingdom, and success took a flight with strong wings indeed. Whereby you may perceive the sweetness and benefit of expedition in all dangerous business, and resemble unjustifiable actions to thievish bargains, which either must be made away in the dark, or hastened a-pace in the proudest market-place, according to the saying:

——— *Præceps facit omne timendum*

Victor, & in nulla non creditur esse carina.—Lucan. Lib. ix.

Notwithstanding, our great duchess remained undaunted; and, in a manner of scorn to depend upon others promises, she ventured on her own power, and determined to put him under the wings of fortune, let her overshadow him as she pleased: so, gathering her forces together, and furnishing her ships with a sufficient company, and some valiant captains, she sent him to sea; and only prayed to the wrathful Nemesis, as author of her revenge, for success and thriving in so glorious an attempt. Here were of all nations and conditions of men, bankrupts, sanctuary men, thieves, robbers, vagabonds, and divers others; who, affecting liberty, rapine, and spoil, desisted from honest labour to be the servants of dishonest rebellion. His fortune (as we now profanely abuse that term) drove him on the coast of Kent before Deal-castle; where, being becalmed, he cast anchor; sending divers on shore to certify the inhabitants of his arrival, preparation, purposes, and well-furnished armies; and to put them in mind of their ancient liberties, privileges, and undaunted courages, which have given battle to kings, and made their own peace with conquerors. But, alas! this oratory flew like a shaft without a head, and they had learned other lessons of stability and loyalty; as finding the sweetness of peace, and happiness of government. Notwithstanding, they called a council, and I believe, if they had been fully resolved that he was the true prince indeed, they would have entertained the motion; for some of their fingers itched to be doing: but, suspicious of his original and former weakness, and wisely apprehending how shame and revenge dogged treason and rebellion at the heels, they concluded to continue firm and faithful to the state; and so, with a kind of policy to allure them to land, they sent divers to Perkin, with flattering hopes of their assistance, while they were indeed mustering of forces to surprise them, as fast as they should land. Which when Perkin perceived, he imagined, that all could not be well, or consorting to his expectation: for, in this point, his wit and experience served him to understand thus much, that common people and multitudes, stirred to sedition, use no solid counsels, or settled discourses, but come flocking with their fulness and forwardness to assist their friends, and follow their pretences, according to Euripides's description of a confused company and rebellious army:

——— *In infinito enim exercitu*

Incoercita turba, nauticaque licentia

Violentior igne: malus vero, qui mali nihil agit.—Hecuba.

Whereupon he durst not land himself, and was sorry so many of his company were on shore; but seeing there was no remedy, he sent others, if need were, to relieve them, or bring them back again to his ships.

When the Kentish men beheld such a rabble of strangers and dissolute persons, and wisely foresaw, that there was no man of honour or eminence to give credit to the attempt, they presently conjectured, that they came rather to spoil and forage the coasts, than to relieve a distressed prince in his right; and so, running the right way indeed, stood firmly for their country, and set upon them as they were straggling up and down in the villages, forcing the better sort and better armed back again to their boats, and surprising such, as could not maintain the quarrel, and had presumed too far from the main battle, of whom they took an hundred-and-sixty prisoners; yea, the principal captains themselves, while they laboured to persuade the retreat, and to gather them together after some martial form of resistance, *viz.* Mountford, Corbet, Whight, Bets, Quintine, or Geuge; who were all brought to Sir John Peachy, high-sheriff, and so railed in ropes, like horses drawing in a cart, sent up to London, and there executed in divers places adjoining to the city; whereby Perkin had matter of disconsolation for the time, and time enough to sail back again into Flanders, to entertain better advice, and more company.

The king, as you heard, understanding of this attempt, left his progress and came to London; where assured of this good success, he sent Sir Richard Guilford into Kent, to thank the sheriff and the people for their loyalty, obedience, and valiant circumspection, which had so quickly dissipated his enemies, and quieted the country; giving present order to his navy to scour the narrow seas, to the province to keep the coasts, to the watches to fire the beacons, to the captains to prepare their soldiers, and to all sorts to attend their several charges, according to the ancient and laudable custom of the kingdom.

When Perkin and his captains were arrived in Flanders, and found how their former delays had been a great obstacle and hindrance to their proceedings, they resolved to remedy the same in their following courses, and by the contrary celerity and speediness to wipe away the blots of their weakness, and faint proceedings; as if they had learned of our poet:

*Sic agitur censura, & sic exempla parantur;
Cum iudex, alios quod monet, ipse facit.*

Ovid. Fast. Lib. vi.

Notwithstanding, because they were now resolved, that the king, taking notice of this onset and attempt, would fortify the coasts, and be in a readiness with well-prepared forces: they determined to sail into Ireland, there to augment their company, and corroborate their pretences; which accordingly was effected, and the entertainment yielded him a little comfort and satisfaction. But because he well knew the Irish are weak and unarmed, and so unable to prevail against the strength of England; and still out of countenance, and quickly daunted, when they were drawn from their bogs and woods, to solid battles and strong charges, contrary to their slight skirmishes, and running encounters; they thought it more meet and expedient to pass into Scotland, *gens semper invisa Britannis*, and there make trial of a new friendship, casting up a forward account of their happiness, in this manner. First, they were assured of the natural and general hatred between the nations, which, upon very small occasions and probable opportunity, would burst out into flames of spite. Next, they projected, that the nature of the business would allure them to his assistance, upon hope of vain glory, and a reputation of so charitable a work, as to help a prince in distress. Thirdly, they relied on this hope, that if no other cause would be inducive to this supportation, yet the desire of spoil would quickly incite them to war against so plentiful a country. Fourthly, they persuaded themselves, that the Scots had a good opinion of the house of York, ever since the cruelty of the Lord Clifford against Rutland; for which they utterly abandoned Henry the Sixth.

and the queen. And, last of all, they concluded to promise them the surrendering of Berwick, and to enlarge their territories, if he prevailed by their assistance; which was a sure motive to draw them into any action whatsoever. Whereupon, he departed from Cork and landed on the west of Scotland, from whence he prepared himself to go to the king with some solemnity; wherein his instructions prevailed with his fortune, because for the most part the mass of people are guided by shows and ceremonies, rather than matter of substance and truth: and so he travelled to Edinburgh, whose citizens, unaccustomed to such glorious shows, began already to commiserate his fortune and distress. Yea, the king himself assembled his lords and courtiers, as their manner then was, to entertain him and give him audience: which when Perkin perceived to fall out to his good liking and heart's desire, he thus framed his speech unto him; or, if you will, reduced his instructions to a manner of attracting oratory;

“ Most mighty and renowned King :

Judicis officium est ut res, ita tempora rerum quærere—————

and therefore I come not to you altogether like a cast-away or bankrupt, to recover my estate by a cozening agreement with my creditors for a trifle, when there may be sufficient to pay the principal: nor like a run-away from a hard-hearted master: or, if you will, to take my liberty the better, to cast off the yoke of honest and civil obedience, where there is a duty and necessity of service imposed: but, as a stranger subject to shipwreck, and the hazardous endurances of a tempest, I am forced to your refuge; as much induced with your princely delight in deeds of charity and hospitality, as my own wants or recovery. I might add your famous actions, renown, and heroic commiseration of a disesteemed prince, but *pudor est ulteriora loqui*. And although I may confess myself to resemble the man in the gospel that fell amongst thieves, whom divers looking upon passed by without relief: yet, at last, he found one Samaritan to pay the cost and defray the charges of the surgery: so have I done a worthy aunt, friend, and noble kinswoman to acknowledge her afflicted nephew, who hath helped me accordingly. So that I make no question, that from the example of a woman, your princely commiseration and powerful coadjutement shall open their larger embraces, considering that you above all other princes have been made acquainted with the distractions of our family, and from time to time know how the house of York hath been dilacerated and torn in pieces by the cruel hand of tyrants and home-bred wolves; which whether it were the permission of God, or the secrets of his divine justice, I will not now dispute upon. Only, I must be bold to say, that when my father obtained the crown, and revenged his father's wrongs and death, there were signs of God's favour and assistance in the fair issue prepared, and sweet fruit of such a flourishing tree; namely, two sons and five daughters, who were simply committed to the tutelage and protectorship of an unnatural uncle, who proved a tyrant and destroyer of our blood and progeny; so that I may well cry out as Ariadne to Theseus:

Mitius inveni, quàm te, genus omne ferarum.

Notwithstanding, most mighty king, however my princely brother miscarried, as swallowed up in the jaws of cruelty and slaughter, it should seem the murderers were affrighted at what they had done already, and desisted from a full prosecution of the tyrant's command; or, confounded with compunction of spirit, spared me, and secretly conveyed me out of the hands of such an homicide and blood-sucker, (for so I hope without offence I may rightly term him,) and although by this means and the supportation of high-born Buckingham he obtained the diadem: yet did God follow him with the swiftest pace of wrath and anger, and at last, I must needs say, scourged him with rods of vengeance indeed; for he presently lost his son, and his friend and coadjutor lost himself. What afterwards chanced unto me, as my strange deliverance; my bringing up in Tour-

may, under certain supposed parents of honest reputation; my travels into foreign countries, my adventures abroad, my endurances at home, with such like; it would be too tedious to relate, and therefore I desist to put you now to further wonder and amazement at the same, because I have them as it were registered in a schedule, which at your princely pleasure you may overlook, with the duchess and council of Burgundy's hands, to confirm the same. So that I confess, when the king of France sent for me out of Ireland, I was in a manner secure of my estate, and thought upon no farther assurance, than his gracious apprehension of my undoubted claim. But it should seem, most gracious king, that you are reserved for the glory of this business, and everlasting memory of so remarkable an action, wherein I submit myself, ships, and people to your guidance and direction. Oh, do not then annihilate my confidence, nor reject my demands. For, next to the high Controulour of men's actions, I have put myself under the shadow of your supportation, and altogether rely on the unity of your willingness and power, to bear me through the difficulties of this passage."

When he had made an end and given them cause of some amazement, at his years and tenderness of experience, to deliver yet his mind so freely, and with some illustration of words and readiness of gesture; the king without any further scruple or diffidence cheered him, telling him plainly he would assist him, and whatever he was, or intended to be, he should not repent him of his coming thither, and so concluding with a speech of Medea to Jason;

Hinc amor, hinc timor est; ipsum timor auget amorem.

He gave order for his entertainment accordingly, whereby he had time with his wearied people to repose himself, and the king occasion to think of many matters. Yet, rather for custom than to be diverted from his resolutions, he called his council, and disputed the matter with them: they again, (as it happened to Rehoboam, and shall be with all the princes in the world,) grew to contradiction, and divided themselves; some standing for their country, some for their private affection, some to please the prince, and some to enjoy a good opinion of policy and wisdom. The graver sort, and of greatest experience, disannulled all the former intimation of the prince, with the impossibility of the business; as if he were but a bare assumer of titles indeed. The quiet sort, and such as had smarted with the dissensions between England and Scotland, disclaimed any further war, and were weary with that which had passed. The younger sort apprehended it, as a worthy enterprise; and though it had but colour of commiseration, yet, considering he was befriended from the emperor, king of the Romans, and the whole state of the Low Countries, it could not choose but help them with many friends. There was another sort, who, confessing the poverty of their country, concluded that by this means, by foraging, spoiling and getting good booties in England, much wealth might enrich them without loss or hindrance of their own, and so cared not how the war began, nor how long it continued. The last sort consisted of such, who, because they would have their credit enlarged from an opinion of statesmen, and high reaching capacities, argued, as we say, on both sides, *pro & contra*; and from a kind of enthymema raised profit and emolument to the kingdom out of their sophistry: "that, if the duke were assisted and prevailed, Scotland was sure to confirm their own conditions: if he were countenanced, though not prevailing, the King of England would accord to any offers or demands, rather than King James should take part with his adversary and so strange a competitor.

Whereupon it was resolved, that without further diffidence, or drawing the Duchess of Burgundy's business in question, the king should entertain the prince; who presently honoured him accordingly, and caused him to be proclaimed the 'Duke of York,' shewing him all the favours the country could afford; and affording him such entertainment, as, they imagined, were both befitting his person and condition. He again, as if that *spes bona dat vires*, cheered himself, and assumed a new kind of behaviour; both tempered with gravity, and yet commended for cheerful and well becoming. So that, by the way

of solace and invitation to pleasure and delight, he hawked and hunted; yea, the ladies of the country graced the court, and came with all conveniency, and befitting their estates, to the city. For understanding so great a prince, in possibility to be one of the mightiest kings of Europe, not full eighteen years of age, young, wise, and in the complete strength of beauty, was resident amongst them; they conceived matters beyond the moon, and thought themselves happy, if he would fancy or fasten upon any of them. What should I say, although with the poet:

Tarda solet magnis rebus inesse fides.

Ovid. Epist. Helena Paridi.

Yet here was no mistrust, nor any way given to fear and displeasure, but, as the time, business, and place afforded, shows, masks, and sundry devices invited him to his contentment, and the present overcoming all pensiveness. So, he courted with some, danced with others, jested with the rest, and was acceptable to all; till, at last, the king giving way to the motion, he fancied the Lady Catharine Gordon, daughter to Alexander Earl of Huntley, nigh kinswoman to the crown; and, because she should not think him barren of education, nor heart-bound to his ambitious designs, he took an opportunity, thus to discover his love unto her, and good opinion of her:

“Lady, (said he,) and the first of ladies that ever usurped my liberty, or taught my tongue to pronounce the accent of affection or liking; if I proceed not so passionate as your sex expects, or you may imagine, is the custom of courtiers, I pray you impute it to the multiplicity of my business and greatness of my affairs: besides, it is not seemly with princes to betray their high spirits, into the hands of deceit and overworking fancy; yea, foppishness either of words, or gesture. Yet, concerning your person, I can say with Paris to Helena:

*Si tu venisses pariter certamen in illud,
In dubium veneris palma futura fuit.*

And touching my good-will, if I live, I will make you as great in the world, as myself; and desire no more, but that you keep you within the limits of love and obedience; that our children may be our own, and the commonwealth rejoice, they be not mocked or deceived with extraneous inheritors. What I am, you now see, and there is no boasting in distress; what I may be, I must put it to the trial, and submit to the Divine Providence. If you dare now adventure on the adversity, I swear to make you partaker of the prosperity; yea, lay my crown at your feet, that you shall play with me, as Apame did with Darius, to command, and I obey. Take me now then into your embraces; and I will adore and reverence your virtues, as you commiserate my misfortunes. O! give me leave to say no more, lest I be transported to indecencies: be now conformable, and let me be the servant of your desires, and you shall be hereafter the mistress of my performances. If I prevail, let this kiss seal up the contract; and this kiss be a witness to the indentures; and this kiss, because one witness is not sufficient, consummate the assurance:” and so with a kind of reverence, and fashionable gesture, after he had kissed her thrice, he took her in both his hands cross-wise, and gazed upon her, with a kind of putting her from him and pulling her to him, and so again and again re-kissed her, and set her in her place with a pretty manner of enforcement.

The young lady pleased, as well with the compliment of his behaviour, as the matter in hand, which was the hope of one of the greatest diadems in the world; whether as lovers, who in a sympathy of liking, applauding any thing from their amoroso's, seemed pleased with the very accent of his voice, and variety of the courtship; or, unaccustomed to such wooers, she remained glad of the opportunity; or, taught before-hand what to do, she resolved to cast away all peevishness and nicety; or, indeed, ravished with the thing

proposed, she was loth to be silent, considering she was pleased, and could not be displeased, considering he had begun so kindly with her; and therefore answered him with a pretty blushing modesty, to this effect:

“ My Lord, If I should act a true woman’s part, I might play the hypocrite, in standing a-loof off from what I most desire, and cry out with Ariadne against Theseus;

Non ego sum titulis surripienda tuis.

Whereupon some resemble us to lapwings, that make a great ejulation farthest from their nests: but I mean not to deal so with you, but come as near as I can, in my answer to that which consorteth with reason and probability. If I were then absolutely at my own disposing, I would thank you more than I do; and think you, for your gentleness and fair demeanour, worthy of any creature or thing you could desire. As for your disclaiming deceitful words and flattering oratory concerning our beauty, comeliness, virtues, and such like baits, to draw us into the net of self-love and amazement; I like it the better; and wish, that all women were of my mind, to marry upon fair and reasonable conditions, and not to be hurried away sometimes to their overthrows, with the violence of passion and affection, which is the best excuse they can make for their folly; yea, many times simplicity. But you see I am the father’s daughter, and the king’s cousin, so that I will, in no sort, prefer my own will before their directions, and disposing of me. If then it pleaseth them to hazard me, or, as you please, to bestow me in this sort, I shall be proud to call you mine; and glad, if you vouchsafe to esteem me your’s. Lay then your foundation on them, and you shall see the frame of the building erected to your own liking; for believe it, such wards as myself, may well be resembled to delicate plants in rich grounds, which either grow too rank, and out of order, for want of pruning and looking-to, or thrive not in their situation for lack of refreshing and manuring: all which is reformed by the discretion of a skilful gardener, and advised overseer. Therefore, noble Sir, repair I say, to the master of the family; (leave is light,) and know their pleasures, for your admission into this nursery; and then shall I be glad to be a flower of your own choice, whether it be for profit, pleasure, or exornation.”

What needs more words? The marriage was consummated, and poor Perkin transported in his own contemplation for joy, that if he proceeded no further, his fortune had conducted him to such a harbour, kissing the ground which he trod upon, and swearing the very place was the seat of his genius:

Ipsæ locus misero ferre volebat opem.

But when he more and more perceived, that the Scots, like a piece of wax, were rolled together by his warming hand, and fashioned to what form he pleased, he then made no question to hammer out his designs, on the anvil of prevailing, to their everlasting glory, and his establishment; yet herein he went beyond himself, and deceived both them and himself, by warranting powerful aids in his assistance, from all the parts of the realm, as soon as he should set footing in England. Notwithstanding, they prepared all things for an invasion, and every man was ready to please the king, and pleasure the prince; yea, they were so forward, that, in hope of gain, spoil, victory, renown, and revenge, they cared not whether the duke’s title were good or no: and so with a well-appointed army, and sufficient forces, they marched towards the confines and borders of the north. But the king out of discretion, loth to make more haste than good speed, and understanding policy, conjecturing that the English, by reason of Perkin’s being in Scotland, might always have an army in readiness, or raise sudden troops to lie in ambuscade in the borders, by way of prevention, sent forth divers stradiots and scout-masters, to discover the country, and the behaviour of the English; who returned with full assurance of the coast’s clear-

ness, and, for any thing they saw, they might make both incursions and excursions at their pleasure: which, although it, in some cases, made the king the rather to wonder, as if England was secure from any idle project, or indeed scorned Perkin's title and claim; yet, because it was generally accepted for good news, he would not be a contrary amongst so many, but made the more haste; and so, with fire and sword, as if he did *arma virumque canere*, entered Northumberland; proclaiming the title of the Duke of York, by the name of Richard the Fourth, and promising both pardon and preferment to all such as would submit themselves to the yoke of his obedience: the denial whereof was accompanied with such spoil, cruelty, and insulting, that never, before or since, did they ever triumph over us, or proved so tyrannous; so that I may well cry out, as the poet doth against Scylla;

*Intrepidus tanti sedit securus ab alto
Spectator sceleris: miseri tot millia vulgi
Non piguit jussisse mori, congesta recepit
Omnia Tyrrenus Scyllana cadavera gurgis.*

Lucan. Lib. ii.

Wherein, doubtless, they had gone forward; but that they perceived no aid or succour to come from any parts of England to restore this titular duke. Besides, the soldiers full of spoil and blood, would go no further, till they had sent their presents to their wives and children, or returned themselves to gratify one another, after such a victory; but, in truth, the king, foreseeing it would be revenged, determined rather to retire with this assured victory, than to tarry the nuncupative duke's unsure and uncertain proceedings, and so retreated into Scotland again.

Some remember, that, at this time, though it was but a very simple policy, Perkin used a certain kind of ridiculous mercy and foolish compassion towards the English people; as though that rather moved the Scots to the retreat than any thing else. Whereupon, lest his cozening and illusion should be discovered, by reason so few resorted unto him, he thus complained to the Scottish king, and, as it were, exclaimed of himself: "O! wretch and hard-hearted man that I am; thus remorseless, to forage my native country, and purchase my inheritance with such effusion of blood, cruelty, and slaughter. For now I see, before this business can be brought to any good pass, houses must be fired, countries depopulated, women ravished, virgins deflowered, infants slain, the aged murdered, the goods rifled, and the whole kingdom subject to devastation, which, to my grief of soul, I must needs deplore. Therefore, great king, I request you from henceforth do not afflict my people nor deform my country, in such a lamentable and remorseless manner. For, doubtless I shall never endure it with a peaceable soul and conscience; and had, in a manner, rather lose my part and interest therein, than purchase it with such loss and excruciation of mind, especially effusion of blood and barbarous enforcement."

Surely, replied the King of Scots, half angry, and more than half mistrusting his dissembling; yea, fully resolved on his weakness and pusillanimity:

— *Fletus quid fundis inanes?
Nec te sponte tua sceleri parare fateris?
Usque adeo ne times, quem tu facis ipse timendum?*

Lucan. Lib. iii.

Methinks your care is rather ridiculous than superfluous, to be thus dolent for another man's possessions. Yea, I see not, but your claim is so remote and disannulled, that it must be an herculean labour to settle you in any of their cities and petty provinces. But, for calling England your land and realm, and the inhabitants your people and subjects; it is as wonderful to me, as displeasing to yourself, that in all this time, neither gentleman nor man of worth, hath extended a daring hand, or, if you will, commiserable arm of assistance towards you: nay, though the war was begun in your name, for your sake, and

within your realm; of which, you say, you are the undoubted heir, and invited to the same by your own people and faction."

"Alas! (replied the prince,) I confess as much as you say: but, if it will please you to acknowledge the truth, the falling back of the King of France; yea, when I was in speed of my journey, the failing of many promises to my aunt the Duchess of Burgundy, and the defect and protraction of my business, by the loss of an hundred lords and knights, some in their liberties, some in their lives, some from their own good motives and intents, and all from their true hearts and endeavours, by the king's forces, and vigilant eye over them, hath not only deceived my expectation, but, in a manner, perverted my fortune. Besides, you know with what difficulty the nature of adversity, and men in distress, attain unto any credit and estimation; so that we and you both have had woeful experience of many great princes deposed from their thrones, and left friendless, succourless, and quite destitute of relief in the hands of their enemies: and therefore, as mischief and misery are of my old acquaintance, so am I not now unprepared to entertain the same, but must submit to the calamity, and attend the appointment of the highest God, concerning my lowest dejection; and so I conclude with an ancient saying of Euripides:

—— *Turbam enim recipere me puduit,
Ut oculis viderent hunc meum turpem habitum,
Occultans præ pudore meum infortunium; quando enim vir
Habuerit malè magnus, in ineptias
Cadit deteriores, eo qui fuit dudum infelix.*

Eurip. Helena.

Although this came roundly off, and savoured somewhat better than the former; yet the king replied not at all, but was content with his first reproof: being more fearful every day than other, that this intricate business would be a work of wonder; and to fashion the lump of such deformity, to any handsome or substantial proportion, must be dangerous and prejudicial for ever to the Scottish crown.

After the nobles had been thus startled in Northumberland with the clamours of the people, and saw the inhabitants fly every way from the fury of the Scots, they fortified their holds, mustered their forces, followed the enemies, and certified the king of all this enterprize and invasion: who, not a little abashed at the same, (as more fearing the natural subject's starting out of the sphere of his allegiance, than any foreign comet in the greatest radiance and presages,) presently took order for the repressing of each tumult and insurrection; but, assured of the Scots retreat, and that they were returned loaden with spoils and great riches, he resolved upon another course; having, in the mean while, so great occasions of displeasure against Scotland, that all men, either to please themselves, or animate the king in his willing revenges, cried out, 'To arms! to arms!' and this was the eleventh year's work.

The twelfth year began with a parliament, both for the settling the uncertain affairs of the kingdom, and the obtaining a subsidy, or other disbursements of money, for the furnishing an army into Scotland; to which all the nobility and gentry opened willingly their coffers, and cheerfully their hearts, exclaiming against their immanity, and proclaiming their loyalty and endeavours, to prosecute them with all revenge, that durst so affright the kingdom, and affront the peace and tranquillity of the commonwealth. Of this army was Giles, Lord Dawbney, the king's chamberlain, made lieutenant-general, a man of no less wit than experience, of no less experience than hardiness, of no less hardiness than moderation and government. But see the changes of human life, and the mischiefs to which the best of men and greatest princes are subject, as if the poet were again to cry out;

Heu non est quicquam fidum, neque certa felicitas!

As he was marching forward with his forces, a strange innovation called him back again. For, (as if fortune only meant to play the wanton with Perkin on the one side, and bring him, as we say, into a fool's paradise, and misfortune on the other side) to try the king's patience, a new rebellion in the west had like to have been as heavy a burden on his shoulders, and set in combustion the whole commonwealth. For, when the parliament was dissolved, and commissioners were speedily sent to gather in the money; this *excan-*
descens populus, to whom such taxes and impositions were a kind of drawing blood from their very life veins, began to rebel, especially the Cornish men, inhabiting the remotest parts of the kingdom westward; who not only complained of their own penury and wants, as living in a barren and sterile soil, overcome with labour, watches, and toils in the minerals, and getting a poor maintenance out of the caverns of the earth, with fearful endurances; but threatened the officers, denying the taxes, and began temerarily to speak of the king himself: yea, when there seemed by the justices, and others in authority, a dam to be cast up against this fearful inundation, they desisted from womanish exclamations, lamentings, and ejulations, and fell, inconsiderately, to malicious calumnia-
tion, threatening the council, and naming Thomas Moreton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Reinold Brey, as principal directors and setters forward of these impositions against them; saying plainly, it was a shame that a small incursion of the Scots, (which was not only customary, but as soon extinguished as kindled,) should raise such exactions, and excite the kingdom to unsufferable turmoils, with a general war, and tumultuous hurlyburly: to which things, when the commissioners would have gently answered, and honestly maintained the king's purposes and prerogatives, Thomas Flamock, a gentleman learned in the laws and Michael Joseph, a blacksmith, took upon them the defence of the commons; threatening, without further reasoning the matter, both the receivers, and all such whom they employed as inferior officers under them.

By which occasion, according to that saying, *Res vehemens multitudo, improbos cum habuerit præfectos*; they became a monstrous head to these unruly bodies; exhorting the people to arm themselves, and not be afraid to follow them in this quarrel; for they intended neither hurt to any creature, nor spoil to any place, but merely a reformation of the disorder, and correction of such persons, as were the authors of their grief and vexation; and when any seemed to impugn and reprove these seditious and unreasonable courses; affirming plainly, that from all examples and times, treasons and commotions have ended with lamentable effusion of blood, both of the authors themselves, and many innocents made accessaries; through constraint and wicked instigation, they were called base dastards, cowards, fools, and lovers of ease and arrogance, more than renown and their country's honour and liberty: so that, what with shame of taunts and rebukes, and what with fear of the loss of their lives and goods, they united themselves to this outrageous company, and made up a strong party well armed and too well instructed; for the captains not only praised and extolled the hardiness of the people, but rewarded such as assisted and relieved the soldiers; whereby, after a general muster of forty-thousand men, they came to Taunton, where they slew the Provost of Perin, principal commissioner for the subsidy in those parts; and from thence to Wells, intending to go forward to London, where the king was resident, and such counsellors as they maligned.

O rabies inaudita! O wretched and abused people! that think of nothing but present rages, nor once admit of any providence, to consider of following punishments, (whatever sudden events contrive,) but in their disobedience against God, their prince and country, resemble a violent sea, a burning torrent, a tempestuous wind; all which, with extremity and impetuous force) spoil the trees, over-run and swallow up the lower ground, consume all things; and, in the end, leave the mischief to the wringing of hands, crying of the people, and deprecations of the better sort, who impute such vengeance to the power and justice of God, that punisheth sins, and will not suffer disobedience and horrible villanies unrewarded. For never rebellion prevailed in their greatest forwardness, nor ended without unsufferable damages wrought by their unruliness, which rather tended to thefts, robberies, spoils, and slaughters, than reformation, or honest coercion of disorders. As for

their motives and excuses for such facinorous attempts, breaking out to find fault with men in authority, and audacious invectives against the government: Alas! neither can they tell what to demand or what to redress, when it shall come to true deciding indeed. For a very confusion will hinder their resolutions; and, not knowing wherein to proceed directly, they ask indirectly that which may not be granted. As for their governors themselves, let them be never so good, they shall be sure of enviers and finders of faults; let them be never so bad, they shall have flatterers and supporters; let them be indifferent, and the good which they do shall not be so well accepted, as the bad they procure maliciously taken; yea, remove whom you will, the persons may be changed, but the faults will remain, and so the prince be pleased, and men's private humours satisfied, who regarded the commonwealth, or helped a poor man for charity's sake. Yet I must needs say, that many times honest governors, instead of obedience have good-will; and whosoever loveth his country, without collateral respects, may sit down with a safe conscience; but not unscandalised, or maligned of some of his own rank. Therefore, I would have all generous spirits, either to love virtue for virtue's sake, (once placed in authority,) and in spite of the world, stick close to the sides of religion and equity, though persecution and troubles do follow; or disclaim the affecting such transcendent places, allaying the thirst of ambition with a quiet potion of reposedness and contentment, and leaving the vanity of foppish observation to vain-glorious fools, who are not only called so by God himself, but, peradventure, reputed so even by such as do them reverence, and fatten themselves in the well-soiled pastures of their government.

But to our story:

When the king was advertised of these troubles and exorbitant attempts, which gathered like a cloud, threatening a tempest round about him, and saw into what perplexity he was now detrued, having war on every side, he compared himself to a man rising in a dark night, and going undressed into a room, striking his head against this post, running against that table, meeting with his shins such a stool or form, and staggering up and down against one block or another; and so stood, for the time, amazed, not knowing what to say, what to do, or with whom to find fault, till, with a kind of sigh, he vented out this saying of Euripides:

—*Similes sumus nautis, qui
Tempestatis cum effugerint sævam vim,
Prope terram appulerunt, deinde a terra
Flaminibus pelluntur in pontum iterum.*

Eurip. Heraclidæ.

But to complain of God or men, would rather aggravate his grief than procure his redress: therefore, though he well knew that princes were the tennis-balls of fortune, and subjects of mutability and alteration, and that he must submit to the Divine Providence; yet he also understood there was no lying still in this deploration, without the ordinary practice of such remedies as God had appointed in their several workings, and therefore prepared his armies either to bring this disturbance to a quiet atonement, or whip the rebellion with the scourges of fire and sword. But when again he considered the Scots were his enemies, and must be suppressed; the western rebels were at his doors, and must be repugned; France was wavering, and must be looked unto; Flanders threatening, and must be appeased; Perkin Warbeck lay at advantage, and must be watched; yea, over-watched, as indeed the principal firebrand, that set all this on a blaze; and, in the midst of these hurlyburlies, came over ambassadors from the French king, who must be answered; he grew somewhat perplexed again, till shaking off all the hindrances of his amazement, he fell to practice, and orderly performances.

Whereupon he called his council together, and they, without any great difficulty, determined the business in this manner: to attend upon the Scots, Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, a puissant and politic captain, (prisoner at the overthrow of King Richard the

Third, and within two years set at liberty, and after John Lord Dinham made high treasurer of England,) was appointed to muster the forces of the county palatine of Durham, and the borders round about, and so attend that service. To repress the western rebels, the Lord Dawbney, with his whole power, prepared for Scotland; was recalled to march against them, wheresoever they encamped; to look unto France, Calais and Guisnes, with the garrisons, were much augmented and provided for. To prevent Flanders, the navy was prepared, and the staples for the merchants settled: to keep Warbeck from coming into England, and joining with the rebels, the whole nobility combined themselves, especially the Earl of Essex, and Lord Mountjoy, who came on purpose to London, to offer their service to his majesty; and so all places were looked unto with a vigilant eye, and manned with strength of soldiers. And, to answer the ambassadors of Charles the French King, he sent honourable persons to receive them, and convey them to Dover, and there awhile to detain them, till some of these tumults and rebellions were extinguished and suppressed; which indeed was so wisely and politicly handled, that none of the ambassadors were troubled so much as with the rumours of these commotions.

But see the horror of spite, and with what a contracted brow misfortune can look upon kings themselves! so that a man well may say to this rebellion, as Ovid did to Cupido in his first book of Elegies:

*Sunt tibi magna puer, nimiumque potentia regna:
Cur opus affectas ambitiosè novum?*

For, as these rebels and Cornish men departed from Wells, they entertained for their chief captain, James Twichet, Lord Audley, whose countenance and authority in the country strengthened them much. For, by this occasion, they went, without intermission, to Salisbury, and so to Winchester, and from thence into Kent; hoping for further and further assistance; but they were deceived in their expectation; for the Earl of Kent, George Lord Abergavenny, John Brooke, Lord Cobham, Sir Edward Poinings, Sir Richard Guilford, Sir Thomas Bouchier, Sir John Pechy, William Scot, and many others, with a well-mustered army, were not only ready to defend their country from all mischief and destruction, but determined to offend them in their facinorous attempts, and prejudicial intrusion; which loyalty somewhat rebated the forwardness of the Cornish men, and they began to suspect themselves, being so far from their country, and remote from any supply. Notwithstanding, loth to dishearten their spirits with any depressing humour, they cast away all doubts, and presuming on their own strength and forces, as also animated by their leaders and conductors, they were now as much exasperated against the Kentish men, for refusing their promised assistance, as against the king, for usurping their liberty; swearing revenge against both. In which rage and heat of repining, they came as far as Blackheath, within four miles of London, and took the field in an arrogant, over-daring manner, on the top of an hill; supposing all things conformable to their arrogance, and deceivable hopes, because, as yet, they passed and repassed without fighting, or strong encounters. But, alas!

Blanditiæ comites tibi erunt terrorque furorque;

And they were abused with a veil of ignorance, and covering of obstinacy. For the king disposed of his affairs with great policy and circumspection, not determining to give them battle, or exagitate them at all, till he had them far from their proper dwellings and flattering friends; till they were in despair of relief, and wearied with long and tedious journeys; till their treasure was spent, their vitals consumed, and provision failing; till their company dropped from them like rotten hangings on a moistened wall, and their whole designs and expectation were quite disannulled: and then, when he imagined their souls vexed with the terror of a guilty conscience, their fury assuaged with compunction and penitency, their spirits daunted with repentance and remorse, and all their army

affrighted with madness and doubtful ecstasies, would he set upon them; and, in some convenient place, circumvent and environ them to his own best advantage, and their irrecoverable damage and destruction.

As for the city of London, I cannot but remember and compare it unto Rome, both when Hannibal passed the Alps, to threaten the monarchy, being yet far off himself; and also Marius and Sylla covered her fields with armed men, and trampled on the bosom of their country with ambitious steps, and cruel feet of usurpation. Then spoke the poet in this manner;

—Quoties Romam fortuna lacessit,
Hac iter est bellis, gemitu sic quisque latenti,
Non ausus timuisse palam: vox nulla dolori
Credita: Lucan. Lib. i.

There was chaining the streets, shutting up the shops, making strong the gates, doubling the watches, hiding their treasure; cries, fears, terrors, and every one more disturbed for the loss of his private goods, than the encumbrances of the commonwealth. Here was mustering of soldiers, watching all day in armour, guarding the river, filling the streets with companies of horse and foot, cutting down the bridge, locking up their doors, shutting the gates, and what else named before, to be put in practice, with advantage of many pieces of ordnance, both in Southwark and the suburbs, and the strength of the Tower, which they knew was reserved for the king himself. Notwithstanding, such was the instability of the citizens, being a little disturbed from their quietness and rest, their dainties and ease, their banquetings and meetings, their feasts and sumptuousness, their pastimes and pleasures; that they rather complained of the king and his council for the first occasion of these tumults, than exprobrated the rebels for ingratitude and disobedience. But the king, without further disputing against their peevishness, or laying open the abuses of such refractory people, delivered them of this fear: for he presently sent John Earl of Oxford, Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, Edmond de la Poole, Earl of Suffolk, Sir Rice ap Thomas, Humphrey Stanley, and other worthy martial men, with a company of archers and horsemen, to environ the hill where the rebels were incamped round about. Himself, with the main army and forces of the city, much ordnance and great provision, took St. George's Fields; where, on a Friday, at night, he quartered himself, and on the Saturday, very early in the morning, he posted Lord Dawbney to Deptford, who, by break of day, got the bridge of the Strand, in spite of resisters, which manfully defended it awhile, shooting arrows a full yard long; and demeaning themselves like scholarly and eloquent orators, pleading for the time in a bad cause with good words, and handling an ill matter too well. From thence he went courageously against the whole company; and, what with the former earl's assaulting them on the one side, and his own charges on the other side, (as knowing how the king's business stood to make an end of the war,) the battle began a-pace, and not a man but prepared himself to fight it out; till at last the Lord Dawbney engaged himself so far, that he was taken prisoner: but whether for fear, or through his own wit and policy, they quickly released him, and he as quickly dispatched the matter, and made an end of the war; for he put them all to flight, so that a man may well say unto them:

—Via nulla salutis,
Non fuga, non virtus, vix spes quoque mortis honestæ:

And I may truly report of the contrary: never was a battle so well fought, and so quickly determined. For, before the king was ready to go to dinner, there were slain two-thousand rebels, and many more taken prisoners; the rest hardly escaped home, who, for all their defeat, and uncomfortable news to the people, were rather accelerated to revenge

their companions wrongs, than exanimated from further attempts, or seemed grieved at the king and country's molestation: shewing sad looks, but stomachful hearts, and so remained intoxicated in their brains, and ready, upon every occasion, to a new rebellion, as you shall hear hereafter.

When this battle was ended, and so delicately contrived (for the king lost not above four-hundred men,) some imputed it to the king's policy, who appointing the same on Monday, by way of anticipation, fell upon them on Saturday; and so, taking them somewhat unprovided, had the fortune to prevail and thrive in his advantage. Such as were taken and apprehended had their pardon, except the principal and firebrands of the mischief: for the Lord Audley was drawn from Newgate to Tower-hill, in a coat of his own arms painted upon paper reversed and all torn, and there beheaded the twenty-eighth of June. Thomas Flamock and Michael Joseph were executed, after the order of traitors, and their quarters sent into Cornwall, for the terrifying of the people: some were dispatched at sundry towns, as they deserved; amongst whom the smith, and divers others of his immodest friends, had no excuse to make for this rebellion: but whether they prevailed or no, they were sure to be registered to eternity, for daring to do somewhat in behalf of their country's liberty, and bidding battle to kings and princes at their palace-gates, and before the city-walls, even London itself, that great city, the chamber for their treasury, and strength of their royalty; which makes me remember a saying of Lucan. Lib. viii.

—————*Sed me vel sola tueri*
Fama potest rerum, toto quas gessimus orbe,
Et nomen, quod mundus amat:—

And in another place, Lib. ix.

—————*Quid plura feram? tum nomina tanto*
Invenies operi, vel famam consule mundi:

And this was the end of the twelfth year.

In this time you must know, that the King of Scots lay not idle, but, merely upon supposition of what would follow, prepared himself; nor was so ill befriended, but he had secret intelligences of all King Henry's purposes and intendments; whereupon he enlarged his army, barricadoed his passages, intrenched and fortified the holds, kept good watch and ward, and stood on the pinnacles of a high presumption to encounter with the proudest forces of England; yea, to give defiance, if need were, to the king himself. Notwithstanding he now lay awhile only at defence, watching with what ward the English would break upon him, and wondering at my Lord Dawbney's retraction, and why he came not forward as his spies had advertised: but, when he understood of the western rebellion, he then conjectured the truth, and a-while reposed himself, till a messenger of these western men came unto Perkin and proffered their obedience and endeavours, if he would come and join his army with theirs, and so, as their prince and captain, revenge their wrongs. This was motioned to King James, who though he confessed, that if they would join with the Cornish men, there might be a gate open indeed to prevail and walk in the fields of victory; yet he would by no means adventure his people so far, and confessed plainly he wanted ships for transporting so great an army into those parts; only, because he would be doing to please the supposed prince, he meant to take this opportunity of the king of England's disturbance, and once again adventure into his territories: and so with a sufficient preparation he attempted the castle of Norham, standing upon the river of Tweed, dividing Scotland and England. But Richard Fox, Bishop of Durham, a man of great learning, courage, experience, and fidelity, suspecting as much, had well stored and fortified the same; and was in it with such power, ammunition, and provision, as he was able to raise; sending the king word of the siege, and inviting the Earl

of Surrey to come to his rescue with all expedition. The earl was mustering of men in Yorkshire when this news extended itself, and like a worthy servant hastened his journey the rather; and so with twelve earls and barons of the north country, one-hundred knights and gentlemen of name, and twenty-thousand soldiers, well-ordered and armed, he came to raise the siege, in which this brave prelate was so engaged. Besides, he furnished a handsome navy at sea, whereof the Lord Brooke was admiral, to give their attendance whatsoever should chance. But when the King of Scots, and his counterfeit Duke of York, had full and certain notice of the Earl of Surrey's approach, and that the Lord Dawbney's army was also entire and unbroken, yea, ready to march forward as a second to the former; they thought it better to retire with security, than to tarry the adventure with certainty of loss, if not hazard both of life and honour: and so by a voluntary consent they raised their camp and returned, under colour of commiseration of the people, whom they knew in the best war must be subjected to slaughter or captivity. And to this purpose they could yield a reason out of our poet to certain spirits that wondered at their affrightings and drawings-back, seeing no peril apparent, nor hearing of any stedfast reports concerning a more forcible enemy; and so calling for a book reading to them this lesson of satisfaction:

———*Potuit tibi vulnere nullo
Stare labor belli, potuit sine cæde subactum,
Captivumque ducem violatæ tradere paci?
Quis furor ô cæci scelerum, civilia bella
Gesturi metuunt, ne non cum sanguine vincant?*

Lucan. Lib. vii.

This answer of the king did rather harm than good to poor Perkin. For they perceived the king was weary of this war, and loth to take his part any longer; and so they rested awhile displeasingly pleased.

But the truth was, the Earl of Surrey was so enraged at the bragging and over-daring prince, that he followed him at the heels, and in revenge of many mischiefs perpetrated by him in such audacious manner, he entered Scotland, defaced the castle of Cundrestins, demolished the tower of Hedonhall, undermined the tower of Edington, overthrew the pile of Fulden, and sent Norroy King of Arms to the Captain of Haiton castle, (the strongest fortification between Berwick and Edinburgh,) to deliver the same; which he absolutely denied, until the worthy general set himself down before it, made his approaches, and cast up a strong rampart, or battery, for the expugnation; prevailing so far, that at last it was surrendered, their lives only saved, who were no sooner departed, according to the condition, but our general quite overthrew and demolished the same.

The King of Scots was within a mile of the siege, and yet durst not rescue the same only, by way of ostentation, he sent Marchmount and another herald to the Earl of Surrey with a kind of defiance and challenge either to encounter with him army to army, or body to body: conditionally, that if the victory fell to his majesty, the earl should deliver and surrender for his ransom the town of Berwick with the fish-garths of the same; if the earl again were victor, the king would pay one-thousand pound sterling for his redemption. The noble general welcomed these heralds, and like a courageous, yet understanding captain, quickly answered all the points of their commission. First, he was ready to abide the battle in the plain field, and would, if he pleased, for the same purpose lay open the trenches, and make the passages so easy, that victory should have comfort of coming amongst them. Secondly, he thought himself much honoured, that so noble a prince and great a king, would vouchsafe to descend to so low a degree of contention, as a private duel with him, for which he would not only repute him heroick and magnanimous; but, setting his loyalty to his prince aside, perform all good offices, which belonged to the sweet contract of a perpetual amity, if it were possible, between them.

Thirdly, for the town of Berwick, it was none of his, but the king his master's; which he would not so much as conjecture upon, without his consent and advice, as he himself might well judge in the affairs of princes, what was to be done. Fourthly, he thought his own life worth all the towns of the world, and so would gladly hazard himself; yea, was proud (as he said before) that so great a majesty would parallel him in such a kind; only he desired pardon for a little vain-glory, that if he conquered the king, he would release him freely; if the king vanquished him, he would either yield him his life, or pay such a tribute and competency, as is befitting the state and degree of an earl: to all which he was the rather induced, because he was confident, that

Causa jubet melior superos sperare secundos.

But it should seem, these affronts were mere flourishes. For neither battle, nor combat, nor any enterprise worth the recording was put in practice; although the English forces had lain long in the country, to the same purpose. Whereupon, the lord general, loth to spend his time so inconsiderately, and somewhat wearied with the distemperature of the climate, and unseasonableness of the weather, (the country affording nothing but mists and fogs at this time of the year,) raised his camp, and retired to Berwick. But when the truth was farther enlarged, the king commanded him so to do, by his letters of private intelligence: for now came a time, in which the windows of heaven seemed to open, and the God of Mercy thought to recompense his patience and goodness, with a quiet end of his troubles, and happy success in his enterprises, which fell out upon this occasion.

Ferdinando King of Spain, and Elisabeth his wife, having a purpose to marry their daughter Lady Catharine, to Arthur Prince of Wales, and very loth that any contention between the King of Scots, (whom he much favoured,) and the King of England, (whom he highly respected,) should be, as it were, a wall of partition between their projected amity and royal affinity; especially that either probability of an interest, or counterfeit device of the issue male from the house of York, should cast any blocks or hindrances in the way of these pretences; he most providently sent one Peter Hialos, a man of great learning, experience, and prudence, as an ambassador to James King of Scots, by way of mediation to contract a league of peace and absolute amity between the King of England and him; who proceeded with such fair conditions, and prevailed so well in his proposed message, that he perceived a glimmering sun-shine of this peace a-far off, but that there were certain thickening clouds of mischief and disturbance, which by some effectual heat from the King of England's breath must be removed and dissipated: and therefore he wrote to King Henry, that if it would please him to send some worthy man to be his associate in this enterprise, he persuaded himself, that an honest oratory would quickly conclude the profitable articles of amity. For the poet had assured him, and he found by some experience, that

Addidit invalidæ rebus facundia causæ:

And, for an entrance into the same, he assured the king, that there was a great likelihood to lay down the bloody colours of defiance, and flourish the pleasant ensigns of tranquillity. For the King of Scots had already protested, he was only emulous of King Henry's virtues, and neither maligned nor spited his person; and for Perkin's title, he made it a matter of conscience and charity: for he knew him the right heir, if he were the right creature; and the clergy warranted the actions as meritorious. The better sort disclaimed all tyrannous prosecutions: for, except their obedience to the king, they spent and consumed their estates, and only returned with tears and lamentations for the loss of their friends. The inferior sort imputed all to the superior commands; and as for the formidable effects and bloody issue of war, it was only the chance and fortune of encoun-

ters, the action of fury, and the vengeance or curse appropriate to dissensions; according to that worthy author of excellent sentences and propositions,

—Sed mentibus unum
Hoc solamen erat, quod voti turba nefandi
Conscia, quæ patrum jugulos, quæ pectora fratrum
Sperabat, gaudet monstris, mentisque tumultu,
Atque omen scelerum subitos putat esse furores.

Lucan. Lib. vi.

Whereupon King Henry boasting of the character of Prince of Peace, (so that he might not be branded with ignominy of baseness, pusillanimity, and dishonour,) quickly consented to such agreement; and for the same purpose sent Richard Fox, Bishop of Durham, who still lay in the battered castle of Norham, as his chief commissioner; who accordingly associated himself with Peter Hialos, at the town of Jedworth in Scotland, whither the ambassador from King James likewise repaired. Here were many matters disputed upon, many conditions laid open, many difficulties raised, many grievances urged, and many conclusions argued: but, because they failed in the main point, nothing was determined. For the King of England required Perkin Warbeck to be delivered into his hands, as the principal fountain of this venomous stream, the chief occasion of his unquietness, the perturber of his realm, the seducer of his subjects, and the author of many rebellions. But the King of Scots, like a prince indeed, would not buy his peace with the blood of innocents; especially a man coming to him for succour, shewing all the marks of a distressed and abused prince, allied unto him by marriage, commended by the emperor, assisted by the Duchess of Burgundy, and himself of fair demeanour, sweet behaviour, and of a most royal and well-esteemed spirit. Therefore, I say, he would by no means betray him into the hands of his enemies, that was so long admitted into the bosom of his friends: nor should it be said, that in any such degree, for any worldly respect whatsoever, King James of Scotland would be base or perfidious; which he had learned from the example and punishment of Prusias King of Bithynia, whom the Romans deposed, for consenting to betray Hannibal into their hands, though they had promised large rewards, and threatened severe vengeance.

The commissioners answered directly, "That they intended not by way of defamation, or contumelious discovery of the vanity of the man, or impossibility of his business, to make him odious or corroborate their own purposes, by the destruction of so silly a creature, or discrediting so poor a business; but merely to shew the truth, and unfold the secrets of the deceit, that such a prince as King James might not be colluded with shadows and apparitions, but orderly drawn into this holy and general league, wherein both the emperor, France, and Spain, desire a combination of amity with England. There only wanted himself to make the number complete, that the horn of Achelous might be sent from nation to nation, from kingdom to kingdom. For I can assure you, the merchants of England have been received into Antwerp with general procession, the emperor is pleased with this combination, the King of Spain pretendeth a marriage, the King of France endeavoureth a league, and all the princes of Europe seek after a true confirmation of quietness: therefore, once again, be not an enemy to the good of all Christendom; nor so adverse to this holy combination, that the world shall rather esteem you wilful and prejudicate, than wise and considerate."

Notwithstanding all this forcible and effectual intimation, the King of Scots would not consent to deliver Perkin upon any condition: but, as he came to him for refuge, he should depart untouched, and not by his occasion be in worse case than the brute beasts, or vilest condition of men, as he had learned long since out of that ancient tragedian;

Habet confugium bellua quidem petram,
Servi verò aras deorum: civitas verò ad civitatem

*Fugit, calamitatem passa : rerum enim humanarum
Non est quicquam perpetuū beatum.*

Eurip. Supplices.

Yet with much ado he was brought to a truce for certain years; and condescended to this, that Perkin should be no longer succoured, harboured, or maintained by him, or in his territories and dominions. With which answer, and orderly ratification of the same, the ambassadors departed, the armies retired, the soldiers were discharged, the King of England satisfied, the orators of France (who from Dover had audience at London about the same purpose) rewarded; and of all others the worthy Peter Hialos, as principal workman in this intricate business, liberally and bountifully recompensed.

Only poor Perkin, whose glorious meteor began now to be exhaled, seemed disconsolate and exanimated at this news and determination; especially when King James began to expostulate and reason the matter with him: First, From a repetition of the benefits and favours received by his princely liberality and gentleness. Secondly, From his consanguinity, in marrying his kinswoman upon dangerous hopes and trivial adventures. Thirdly, From his many trials of sundry conflicts in England; proving all his promises wind and smoke, and his best enterprises trivial and fanatical. Fourthly, Upon the now combination of amity with all the princes of Europe, which could not be done without the King of England's consent and agreement. Fifthly, Upon the fatherly regard of his country, which had need have some breathing-time of ease and rest, and must questionless take a love-day of consolation and desisting from turmoils. Last of all, from the care of religion and mother-church, unto whose obedience and regard he was now absolutely sworn: therefore he desired him to take some other course, and depart out of his realm. For, as he heard, he was now interested in the confederacy of the peace of Christendom; and, unless he should be a perjured and perfidious prince, he could in no sort infringe the conditions, nor break the truce combined by a firm and inseparable adjuration.

When Perkin had heard him out, although every word was worse than the croaking of some night-raven or screech-owl, and the amazement, for the time, might have much disabled him: yet loth to discredit his cause by any dejection or pusillanimity, and seeing all answers were superfluous, and the very messengers of despair and disconsolation, he raised himself with some outward cheerfulness, and as well to avoid ingratitude towards so great a benefactor, as to countenance himself and his business, he thus (casting away all fear and abashing timidity) replied: "Most worthy prince,

Mortale est quod quæris opus : mihi fama perennis.

And therefore God forbid, that my continuance in your court and kingdom, or the weakened cause of my attempts, should prove disadvantageous or ominous unto you; both in regard of the many favours your princeliness hath heaped upon me undeserved, and my own willingness not to be too troublesome or offensive unto so benign a majesty; which rather than it should be hazarded for my sake, without a cheerful and liberal willingness, the fame and glory of the enterprise shall be sufficient for me: and I will not only disclaim my right and interest in the kingdom of England, (my lawful inheritance, by descent,) but pour out myself, and spend my life, most profusely for your sake. Only this I must entreat at your hands, to give me leave to rig and caulk up my ships, and gather together that dispersed company I have, or such as would willingly and voluntarily attend me." Which seeming but reasonable, and no way repugning the former agreement with the ambassadors, was quickly condescended unto. So with many gifts, and royal furniture for his wife and family, he took his leave, and sailed back the same way he came into Ireland; determining (as the last anchor-hold of his fortunes) either to unite himself with the Cornish men, whom he knew not fully appeased; or to retire to Lady Margaret, his most worthy aunt, and faithful coadjutrix.

He had not been long in Ireland, but his false fortune began once again to play with him, as flattering him with assured confidence and warrant, that the western men would welcome and entertain him; from whom he had this notice, that they could not forget their former injuries and slaughters, nor determine a settled and true obedience to the Lancastrian family. Whereupon, because something must be done, or else he should be for ever discredited; or that God, in his justice, derided all such enterprises to scorn; or, else in his mercy, would give King Henry a breathing-time to set his other princely qualities of wisdom, magnificence, quietness, religion, charity, government, and policy on work; he sailed out of Ireland, with five small ships, and two-hundred men, his wife and attendants, his substance and wealth, and, in a word, all that he had.

But, when he was to confer about his landing, and setting forward his designs, he had such poor counsellors, as a man would smile at for pity, rather than laugh at for scorn. For his principal friends were now John Heron, a mercer and bankrupt; John of Water, sometime mayor of Cork; Richard Skelton, a taylor; and John Astley, a scrivener; men in general defame for dishonest actions, and in particular reproach, for understanding nothing but what consorted to their own wilfulness, and outrageous appetites; of whom I may say, as Ovid complains in another case, in his eleges:

*Non bene conducti vendunt perjuria testes,
Non bene selecti indicis arca patet:*

With this crew, about the month of September, he landed at a place called Bodnam, and there so solicited and excited the multitude, and wavering people, that when they heard him proclaimed Richard the Fourth, as the undoubted son of Edward the Fourth, whom the Duke of Gloucester (or, if you will, Richard the tyrant) determined to murder, but that he escaped by the providence of God; they flocked unto him to the number of four thousand, and according to the nature of children running after new-fangled toys and painted pictures, submitted to his highness, and swore, with all allegiance, to maintain his dignity and royalty: with which confidence and company, after they had taken the musters of his army, and concluded to get some strong towns into their possession, that so they might not only augment their forces, but still have places of supportation and refuge to retire unto, they went directly to Exeter, and besieged it. But because they wanted ordnance to make a battery, and other provision to raise their trenches, and approaches; or indeed, if you will, were ignorant of martial discipline, and the secrets of a true soldier's profession; they spent the more time against the gates, and endeavoured nothing, but a forcible entrance; assaulting the same, with great pieces of timber, like the Roman rams, crows of iron, firebrands, and impetuous violence of great stones cast at them, and amongst them. But the citizens manfully defended themselves, and held it out to their perpetual fame; letting over the walls, in secret places, divers in baskets, with strong cords, to post to the king, and acquaint him with their distress. In the mean while, seeing a fire made under their gates, and that the enemy's fury increased, they suspected themselves, and had no other shift but to put force to force, and with one fire extinguish, or, if you will, devour another; and so they caused great store of faggots and timber combustible to be brought close to the posterns and greater gates, where the mischief began, and set the same on fire; which increased with a filthy smoke and smother, and, at last, burst out into a flame and blaze, so that neither the enemies could come in, nor citizens go out; but all were compelled to desist from that work, and apply themselves to more new and necessary labours. For the rebels assaulted the most weak and broken places of the wall; and the citizens ran to the expulsions, and repaired the breaches, as fast as they were made: besides, they had leisure to cast up great trenches under their gates, and by strong banks rampiering the same made them more difficult passages than before. The walls were mightily and impetuously assaulted, but the worthy citizens defended them, with that courage, and countermanding, that they slew above two-hundred

soldiers, in their fury, and behaved themselves, as if they determined to obtain a perpetual name of renown, and unmatchable trophy of honour: so that I may well and briefly say of them;

———*Serpens, sitis, ardor, arenæ
Dulcia virtuti: gaudet patientia duris.*

When Perkin and his associates saw so strong and strange opposition, they seemed both amazed and disheartened at the same; whereupon, between rage and despair, he retired his lousy and distressed army to the next great town, called Taunton; where he mustered them a-new, but found a great want of his company. For many of his desperate followers were slain and cut off; many of the honester and civiler sort, (seeing the town of Exeter so well maintained, and that very few resorted unto him, contrary to his former flourishes and ostentation,) fell from him, and retired themselves home; many, weary of the wars, and conjecturing an impossibility to remove a king so firmly established, or terrified with the punishment impending on treason, and presumptuous rebellion, left him to his fortunes; and many politicly forecasting for the worst, seeing not one of the nobility or better sort to afford a helping hand to the lifting up of this frame, were contented to dispense with former protestations, and so provided for themselves; whereby, as I said, as if the proverb was verified,

Non habet eventus sordida præda bonos,

he came short of his reckoning; and the items of his accounts were much curtailed of their former length and computation.

But, in truth, the posts of the country brought comfortable tidings of the king's army approaching, of which the Lord Daubney (a fortunate and successful man in all his enterprises) was general: yet, in the mean while, had Lord Edward Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, Lord William his son, Sir Edmund Cary, Sir Thomas Trenchard, Sir William Courtney, Sir Thomas Fulford, Sir John Hatwell, Sir John Croker, Walter Courtney, Peter Edgecomb, William Sentnaure, and divers others, brought forward the forces of the country, to raise the siege of Exeter; which not only animated and encouraged the citizens, but rebated the fury of the contrary, and diverted them from that sore and outrageous manner of assaulting the walls, where, in the last onset, the noble earl, and divers others, were hurt with arrows; he wounded in the arm, and the rest in several parts of their bodies, but very few slain. And so, with much ado, this famous and honour-thirsting city, with the honest inhabitants of the same, were delivered and relieved.

By this time the royal standards of King Henry were advanced in sight of the city, and the drums beat up their accustomed marches, to the joy and fulness of contentment, both of the town and country: but when the king was advertised of their returning to Taunton, he hasted thither. But first he welcomed Edward, Duke of Buckingham, a young noble and well regarded prince, in whose company came along an hundred knights and esquires of special name and credit in their countries; amongst whom, Sir Alexander Bainham, Sir Maurice Berkley, Sir Robert Fame, Sir John Guise, Sir Robert Points, Sir Henry Vernon, Sir John Mortimer, Sir Thomas Tremaile, Sir Edward Sutton, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir John Bickwell, Sir John Sapcotes, Sir Hugh Lutterel, and Sir Francis Cheney, were principal. O what a glorious thing it is, to see a nobleman either stand by the chair of the prince, as a court-star and supportation, that at last the king may ask, 'What shall be done to the man he means to honour?' Or move in his own orb, (that is, the love and credit of his country,) firm to the state, and graceful in all his actions and proceedings; still having a care to the government of the people, and an eye to the dignity of the commonwealth; so shall his fame be extended abroad, and his renown enlarged at home: which makes me remember the description of Capaneus in that antient Euripides's *Supplices*, who may be a precedent to all young noblemen; yea, I wish with my heart,

that such, as are not too presumptuous on their own gifts of nature and education, would take the book in hand, and make use both of precept and example, for the illustration of their honours, and administration of their lives. The poet is somewhat large, and more pleasant in the Greek, than the Latin. He thus beginneth :

*Capaneus hic est, cui facultas vivendi erat abundans,
Minimè verò divitiis insolens erat; magnitudinem verò animi
Non majorem habebat, quam pauper vir,
Fugiens splendido victu, quicumque intumesceret minis,
Sufficiantia vili pendens: non enim in pastu ventris,
Virtutem esse, mediocria verò sufficere dicebat, &c.*

Capanei Laus.

But to our story again : When the king approached the town of Taunton, whether out of policy not to hazard the whole army at once, or out of suspicion of some revolvers in his company, or humbly considering there might be a turning of fortune's wheel, as still *rota fortunæ in gyro*, in the encounters of a battle; or harping upon some stratagem and enterprise, as providently forecasting both the worst and best, which might chance; he sent before him Robert Lord Brooke, the steward of his house, Giles Lord Daubney, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, to give the onset, and begin the battle; that he with the rest, as a strong ambuscade and relief, might come to the rescue, if they were wearied and fatigued. But little needed this policy or procrastination. For poor Perkin (desperate of his fortunes, and quite exanimated to encounter with the king's forces, in so warlike a manner and fearful a preparation, contrary to all the motives of a true Roman honour, and without knowledge of his army) about midnight, accompanied with sixty horse, departed in wonderful celerity to a sanctuary town besides Southampton, called Bewdley; where he, John Heron, Thomas à Water, and others, registered themselves as persons privileged.

O, what a God art thou! that canst, one way, humble settled princes, with the very shadows of peril and danger, making them confess their frailty and ticklish state of mortality, by the several incumbrances and mischiefs to which they are subject; and, another way, confound the mightiest projects, and annihilate their enterprises; turning all actions and mountains of pride, sedition, conspiracies, and ambition, to powder and dust, and then blowing it away like smoke and vapour; and, another way, protect the right of the innocent and distressed, sending remedy and comfort, when they least think of it, or know to help and advance themselves; and, another way, whip with the rods of vengeance the frenetical and vain multitude, who know nothing but rudeness and clamorous outcries, nor practise any thing but indecencies and outrageousness. So that we may well say:

*O Jupiter, cur nam miseros sapere dicunt
Homines! ex te enim pendemus,
Agimusque ea, quæ tu volueris.
O nihili homines!
Qui arcum extendentes tanquam ultra articulum,
Et jure utique mala patientes multa,
Amicis non quidem creditis sed ipsis rerum eventibus, &c.*

Eurip. Supplices.

When King Henry knew that Perkin was fled, and departed from his camp, he sent the Lord Daubney, with five-hundred horse, to intercept him: but he was lodged before they came, although most of his company were surprised and taken, who, as miserable caitifs and poor wretched delinquents, were presented to his majesty. But, when the residue of this fearful and staggering army could neither understand what was become of their general, nor see their accustomed pendants and ancients, nor their quarters so well

ordered, as was the manner of soldiers, nor their companies so cheerful and well heartened, they knew not what to say or to do; some supposing he was fraudulently slain, some suspecting he was traitorously fled, some reporting the manifestation of his deceit, some wondering at the strangeness of proceedings, in that he had so miraculously begun, and presumptuously prosecuted such a dangerous work; some exclaiming upon the simplicity of the matter, that built upon no better grounds, than vain hopes and presumptuous titles; some cursing themselves, that they had so far engaged their loyalties against their sovereign lord and king; some, continuing in their rancorous malice, swore nothing but revenge and obstinacy; and some, never to be reclaimed, even when their forces failed, cried out to go forward, railing at the misfortune of the business, that they must now fail, when they were ready to pull down the town-walls with their hands. Yet, when they were assured of his cowardly flight and base pusillanimity, the common fear, common mischief, and common danger, made them cast away their armour, and submit to the king; to whom, though they came with affrighted countenances, and venomous hearts, sad looks, and little repentance, curses in their souls, and promises of faith, loyalty, and obedience out of their mouths; yet did the king entertain them with all cheerfulness and acceptable comfort, as the greatest benefit which God could, at that time, bestow upon him; not disputing of their hypocrisy, nor determining, by more narrow searches, or artificial incantations, to try out the depth, and search the bottom of their resolutions.

Thus, as a conqueror, without manslaughter and effusion of blood, he rode triumphantly into the city of Exeter; and knowing *præmium* and *pæna* to be the mastering curbs of all the things in the world, not only praised and applauded the citizens, but opened the treasure-house of reward and honour amongst them, giving some presents, advancing others to the order of knighthood, and granting many petitions, according to the worthy condition of a prince, and the full corroboration of their obedience. Then proceeded he to some exemplary punishment of divers refractory Cornish men, whom their own companies accused as delinquents, and the majesty of the government would not endure without correction.

But all this was nothing, in comparison of that which followed: for his horsemen prosecuted the chace so diligently and honestly, that they pursued the Lady Catharine Gordon, wife to this Perkin, even to Michael's Mount; who, notwithstanding, had she not been betrayed by some of her own followers, might have escaped: for, transforming herself into one of her servant's habits, she had gone quite away to her ships, but that some pitying the distress of the king and turmoils of the kingdom, and perceiving the end of the war, and pacification of these troubles, to depend upon her surprising, would, by no means, give way unto new disturbances, but took her, and presented her to the king's commissioners. What should I say, when she herself said nothing? But, perceiving them gentlemen of worth, with Hypsipyle to Jason, she cried out:

“ Si vos nobilitas generosaque nomina tangunt.

I know you will use me like yourselves, and understand I am a prince every way.” So they gave her leave to adorn herself, and brought her, like a bond-woman and captive, to the king: who, wondering at her beauty and attractive behaviour, lifted up his hands to heaven in her behalf, to see so great a worth betrayed to fanatical hopes and frenetical deceit; thanking God for himself, that he had such a trophy of his endurances and victories in his hands. Nor was the Emperor Aurelius more proud of Zenobia, than he rejoiced in this adventure; some say, he fancied her person himself, and kept her near unto him as his choicest delight; yea, so doated on her perfections, that he forgot all things, but the contentment which he received by her, insomuch that many dared to libel against him, with that saying of Dejanira to Hercules:

*Quem nunquam Juno, seriesque immensa laborum
Fregerit, huic Iolen imposuisse jugum.*

Some say, he durst not let her marry, for fear of ambitious tumours in such as could attain to such a fortune : some confirm, that she was of that greatness of spirit, that she scorned all others in regard of herself; both by the privilege of her birthright, and the possibility of her greatness. Howsoever, he entreated her most honourably and amiably (such a power hath beauty and comeliness ever in distress) and sent her to the queen so majestically attended as if she had been a queen indeed.

In the mean while, my Lord Daubney employed himself, and his company, so effectually; that, environing the sanctuary, wherein Perkin was, with two companies of light horse, who were vigilant, cautious, strong, and courageous, he so lay in the advantage of watching the place, that Perkin could no way escape. But the king was not satisfied with this protraction, and therefore loth to lose him, or give him liberty to run, with the blind mole, into further caverns of the earth, to cast up heaps, and little hills of commotion, and affrighting his estate; and yet daring not to infringe the privilege of these holy places (such a hand had superstition, and the pope's fulmination, got over all the princes of Europe) he went more politicly to work, and sent divers persons of account to persuade his submission, and render himself wholly into the king's hands; who not only promised him pardon of life, but comfort of liberty: yea, honourable maintenance, upon the easy conditions of desisting to perturb the commonwealth any further, and disclaiming so injuriously to pretend any title to the diadem.

When Perkin saw to what streights his bark was driven, and that he must either split on the rocks of despair, or retire back again into the troublesome ocean of despight; according to the nature of cowardly and irresolute men, he chose the worst part,—to save his life and submit to the king's acceptance: not remembering, (because he was never acquainted with the secrets of majesty,) that he, which hath been once a prince, must never look for a settled quietness in a private estate (because he is still subject to the conqueror's pleasure), but an ignominious life, than which an honourable death is ten thousand times better; which made the noble Hecuba, as a worthy pattern to all unfortunate princes, thus answer the proudest conquerors themselves:

*Porrigam collum cordatè, intrepidè,
Liberam vero me, ut libera moriar,
Per deos queso dimittentes occidite: apud manes enim
Serva vocari, regina cum sim, pudet me.*

But, (as I said,) he now only recounted the difficult passages of his former travels, the dangers escaped, the deceit pretended, the peril imminent, and the misfortune too apparent; as being in no security in the place he was fled unto, nor having any confidence in the persons he had chosen. For, though he knew there was a reverence appropriate to sanctuaries; yet kings, if they pleased, would be tied neither to law nor religion, but perform what they list; or under colour of their own security, say they are compelled unto. Therefore, without any further aggravation, relying on the king's pardon, and those honourable conditions propounded, he voluntarily resigned himself, and came to his majesty, as a messenger of glad tidings, that now all wars, troubles, and commotions were, by this means, ended and determined.

The king wondered not much at him, for he only found him superficially instructed, of a natural wit, of reasonable qualities, well languaged, and of indifferent apprehension; but far from that highness of spirit, or heroic disposition, to deserve the character of a prince, or lay claim to a diadem: yet, loth with any boisterous strength to handle a bruised arm, or draw the fellow into a new self-love, or good opinion of himself, he passed over his examination the slightlier, and brought him immediately to London; being met all the way with great concourses of people, who both came to gratify him and his auspicious success, and to see Perkin like some strange meteor or monster; or, if you will, (because we will deal more cleanly with him,) like a triumphant spectacle, to move amazement, delight, and contentment, according to that saying of the poet:

Nocte pluit tota, redeunt spectacula mane.

But, when they began to capitulate, that, being a stranger and an alien born, he durst not only abuse so many princes and commonwealths with lyes, fictions, and abominable deceit, but even bid battle to kings and princes; yea, bring kings and princes into the field for his assistance; they fell from wondering at him to rail and abuse him, both with checks and opprobrious taunts: yea, divers dared to put in practice many indecencies, both of rage and indignation, had not the reverence of his majesty's presence diverted their inconsideration, and commanded no further rumour, gazing upon him, or violent threatenings against him. To conclude, the king brought him quietly to London; and though he had given him life, and afforded him a kind of liberty, yet did he set a guard over him, that he could neither have free conference, nor do what he wantonly listed without them.

By this time you must consider, that Lady Margaret in Flanders, Duchess-dowager of Burgundy, was not so ill-befriended, or negligent in her own affairs, but she had both intelligence from England, and spies of her own, to acquaint her with all occurrences and adventures, as they chanced. But, whether it was a news to her of bitterness and tormenting spite, or no, let them judge, that make their stomachs and inward faculties a store-house of rancour and malice, and cry out with Seneca, *Felix jacet, quicumque quos odit premit*: yet was she not tormented so much with the loss, expenses, or disaster of the business, which might be the chance of war, as that she could not prevail in her malignant courses against her enemy, the House of Lancaster: so that she bemoaned the lamentable success of her unfortunate darling, and, as many did testify, even shed tears again; but they were so far from compunction, or penitency, that they seemed rather signs of rage, phrenzy, and intolerable madness, in which she cried out on nothing but revenge, and repeated an exclamation of Hermione's against Orestes:

*Quæ mea cælestes injuria fecit iniquos!
Quodve mihi miseræ sidus abesse querar!*

So that, if she had had power equal to her implacable hatred, King Henry should have felt the scourges of her wrathful hand, even to the lowest dejection; and she had, doubtless, shewed him a trick of a woman's will, or (if I might speak without offence) wickedness.

In this while, Perkin having two years liberty to ruminate on his business, and swell up his vexed soul with uncomfortable commemoration of preceding misfortunes, would many times cast out abrupt and uncertain speeches concerning his distress, and the malevolent aspect of his fate; cursing his miserable life, and complaining of his unprofitable genius, that had stood him in no better stead; wishing he had been born to any mechanical drudgery, rather than from the royal blood of Plantagenet. Insomuch, that his keepers mistrusted him in these ecstasies, and the king was still troubled, that he could neither make him confess the truth, nor disclaim this high assumption of another's dignity and royalty. But at last, as all such discontentments and eruptions must have a vent, so a determination, whether the scandal of this kind of imprisonment grieved him, or the unquietness of his thoughts vexed him, or the baseness of his submission abused him, or the loss of his sweet wife confounded him, or the instigations of others disturbed him; or, indeed, because the last act of his tragedy and catastrophe was now in hand, he not only studied which way to escape, but put the same in practice; in spite of his own knowledge, that the king was acquainted with all his discontentments. For, alas! princes have long hands and prying looks, to reach into the furthest parts of their kingdom, and search into the secretest closets of their palaces, yea, other men's houses; and so are made to understand the affairs of the remotest regions. But, concerning himself, his vain suppositions, as in his former enterprizes, still flattered him, that he should once again find fuel enough, to set another rebellion and commotion on fire: and his vexation to be bereaved of so delicate a creature as his lady, made him desperate of all, and set his wits on the tenter-hooks, to put something in practice to his further contentment. So that one day reading the story of Mortimer's escape out of the Tower, by giving his keepers a sleepy

drink; he, in such a manner deceiveth his guard, and betook him to a resolution of escaping and flying out of the land: wherein he proved only like the silly bird, that with striving, in the net, entangles herself the more; or, as deer that are hunted, betray themselves to well-scented hounds, by their faster running away, whereby they make the deeper impression in their steps: so fell it out with him,

Incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim:

And, by seeking after liberty, he brought himself to a streighter and more unkindly endurance. For, when he had gone to the sea-coasts, and heard the exclamations of the people against him; saw all places debarred, knew great searches made for him, understood what an indignation the country had conceived of his mockeries and illusions, and found the whole kingdom up in his search, and posting after him; he was quite exanimated, and, like a man distracted, knew not what to do. At last, unstable in his former wilfulness, he once again altered his pretended journey, and came to the house of Bethlehem, (called the Priory of Shene,) beside Richmond in Surrey, and committed himself to the prior, with a long and secret conference; concluding with an impetration of his charity, that, being a man of God, he would not think it strange to see princes subject to disasters and fatal conclusions of misfortune. For he well knew the story, both of the Abbot of Westminster and the Bishop of Carlisle, who, in spite of King Henry's usurpation, who had not only projected the delivery of Richard of Bourdeaux, but opposed the king in his strength of sovereignty, against his wilfulness to destroy the other deposed; and therefore he desired him to obtain his pardon of the king, yielding forcible intimation for the same purpose.

The prior (glad to have interest in such a meritorious work, and proud to be serviceable to his prince and country,) came with convenient speed to the court, and acquainted his majesty with the accident; leaving no circumstance of any validity unrecounted: which ended to the king's wonderful content, and the whole court's disdain and amazement. But all times are not alike, and princes in their mercies and pardons, are not so flexible, as presumption buildeth upon. Yet to please the prior, he gave him his life, which, to a generous and free-born spirit, was more irksome than death. For he was first taken and brought to Westminster, with all scorn and reproach; then set in a pair of stocks, with contumelious derision; then carried through all the streets of London, like a prodigious spectacle; then put to the rack; which made him not only confess his pedigree and original, but write it with his own hands. Last of all, mounted on divers scaffolds, he read it in public, and that so disgracefully, as in the commemoration was able to torment a looker-on; so that he might well cry out,

———*Vitamque per omnem
Nulla fuit tam mæsta dies: nam cætera damna
Durata jam mente malis, firmaque tulerunt.*

In some of your Chronicles you have this confession at large, as in Grafton; which, to make the story complete, I have a little contracted, and thus expose the same:

“**B**E it known unto all men, that I was born in the town of Tournay in Flanders; my father, John Osbeck, comptroller of the said town, my mother, Catharine Haro, and my grandfather, Direck Osbeck; after whose decease, my grandmother married Peter Flamine, receiver of Tournay, and dean of the boat-men over Lescheld; my mother's father was called Peter de Faro, which kept the keys of St. Thomas's gate, within the said town. I had also an uncle, Mr. John Statime, of St. Pia's parish, with whom I dwelled very young; he married my aunt Jane, and brought me up very well: yet my mother, not contented, (as being very fond of me,) had me to Antwerp to learn Flemish more exactly, to a kinsman of my father's, John Steinbeck, with whom I remained a full half year; but,

by reason of the wars, I returned to Tournay, where I was placed with Mr. Barlo, who, within another year, carried me to the mart at Antwerp, where I fell sick awhile, and so was boarded in a skinner's house, much conversant with the English nation, whereby I learned the language, as you see. From thence I went to Barrow mart, and lodged at the Old Man. Afterwards Mr. Barlo left me at Middleborough, with John Strew, a merchant, who first made me believe, I was better than I was. From Antwerp I sailed into Portugal, with my Lady Brampton, in a ship called 'the Queen's Ship,' and served a knight in Lichborne, called Don Peter Las de Cognia, who had but one eye; yet the manner of his behaviour, and the order of his house, made me tarry a year. Then Pregent Meno, a Bretagner, carried me into Ireland, and either commanded so by my Lady Margaret, (who, as she said, was my aunt,) or projecting something for his own private interest, would needs persuade me I was a Plantagenet of the House of York. For, when I arrived in Cork, because I was somewhat handsomely apparelled, they would needs bestow upon me the title of the Earl of Warwick, son to George Duke of Clarence, formerly in Ireland; which John le Wellin, the mayor, maintained; and forasmuch as my denial was contrary to their expectation, they brought me to the Cross, and made me swear, which I did, disclaiming him or any of his kindred, until Stephen Poitron, with John à Water, came unto me, as resolved I was King Richard's bastard son (then in the hands of the King of England) persuading me not to be afraid or daunted at any thing: for they would aid me and assist me, even to the obtaining the crown of England; yea, they knew of their own knowledge, the Earls of Desmond and Kildare were ready to venture their lives and estates for my sake. After this they carried me into Flanders to Lady Margaret, Regent and Duchess of Burgundy, who prevailed so far with me, that I took upon me the person of Richard Duke of York, second son of King Edward the Fourth; and so, with reasonable preparation, I returned back again into Ireland, where the said John à Water, Stephen Poinings, John Tiler, Hubert de Brough, the foresaid Earls, and many others, entered with me into a dangerous rebellion; and I was proclaimed by them 'Richard the Fourth.' From hence the King of France sent for me, by Loyte Lucas and Stephen Friar; but, making peace with England, he left me to my fortunes. Then I sailed into Flanders, where my supposed aunt made more of me than before; so I attempted England, but was driven back again into Flanders, from whence I went into Scotland, and from thence again into Ireland, and so into England."

When the people had heard him out, they wondered both ways at the matter, and stood, as it were, confounded betwixt shame and indignation. If it were a collusion; to think how grossly the kingdom, and some of the best therein, (yea, many kingdoms,) had been abused with such an imposture, to the prosecuting several facinorous actions, and disturbance of the peace and tranquillity of the commonwealth. If it were not so, and that for fear of life he confessed the contrary, being the true Plantagenet, and a prince born to so great a fortune; then they wondered that any man could be so base, as to deject himself to such ignominy and opprobrious disgraces, when to die had been honourable, and to sell one's life in the field, far better than to plead on a scaffold, where the many changes must needs distract him, and make a poor soul neither fit for life nor death. But, whatsoever he was, they could not chuse but deplore his estate and misfortune, as naturally and ordinarily all men are bemoaned in adversity, especially such an one, that was so forward in the race and journey to majesty, and pulled back so often by the sleeve, and turned with a fury into the house of desolation, and dungeon of disconsolate wretchedness, when to have perished at once had been a favour of death and fortune indeed, according to our poet:

*Mitius ille perit subita qui mergitur unda ;
Quam suu qui liquidas brachia lassat aquis.*

Lib. iii. De Ponto.

When the king had this way satisfied himself, and pleased the people, as he thought, he made no more ado, but, to prevent inconveniencies, clapped him in the Tower, from

whence he escaped not, until he was carried to Tyburn, and there swallowed up by the never satisfied paunch of hell, for his former abuses and intolerable wickedness, which happened very shortly after. For, just at this instant, a roguish Augustin friar, called Patrick, on the borders of Suffolk, after Peter Warbeck's example, taught a poor scholar, one Ralph Wilford, to take upon him the title of the Earl of Warwick, as yet in the Tower of London; but supposed to escape, as corrupting his keepers; intimating the glory of the action, and the bravery of such an enterprise, wherein who would be so base and cowardly, as not to adventure his life, and put in practice any design to attain to a diadem, especially by so easy means as personating a prince, and assuming the title of the next heir to the crown? And when some of his better understanding friends laid open the danger and impossibility of the attempt, with the odiousness and perfidiousness of the treason, he answered the first with one poet:

*Famaque post Cineres major venit; & mihi nomen,
Tunc quoque cum vivis annumerarer, erat:*

Lib. iv. De Ponto.

And the latter with another:

*Si enim injustè facere oportet, potissimum propter
Imperium jus violandum est: alias pium esse convenit.*

Eurip. Phenissos.

But although this mischief was quietly blown over, like a weak and thick cloud, suddenly dispersed by a forcible wind (for both master and scholar were quickly apprehended; the one hanged on Shrove-Tuesday, at St. Thomas Watring's, and the friar condemned to perpetual imprisonment); yet it left such an impression behind, to the troubling, as a man may say, the whole region of the air, that the king would dally no longer, but, like the sun in his full strength, at the next incensing of his majesty, dissolved all such vapours, and gave the law leave to play her part to the final extirpation of the very roots of sedition, which presently was thus set on work.

Peter Warbeck, impatient at this restraint of his liberty, and stomaching his former disgraces and indignities, would endure no longer, but studied every hour how to escape; not yet knowing what to do, when he did escape; to which purpose, by fair promises and false persuasions, he corrupted his keepers, Strangway, Blewet, Astwood, and long Roger, servants of Sir John Digby, Lieutenant of the Tower, to slay their said master; and set both Perkin and the true Earl of Warwick at large, and so to make their fortunes, as they could, either by domestic or foreign friends; to which, when the innocent prince condescended, as glad any way to enjoy his liberty, and to be freed of his imprisonment, (for you see birds kept in golden cages beat and flutter up and down, as scorning their inclosure, to get out into their native country, the region of the air,) mischief and misfortune, which play the tyrant with many men all their lives long, and never affordeth one day, or breathing-time, to give them a taste of any pleasure or contentment, discovered the whole conspiracy to the king and his council; not leaving out any circumstance which might either exasperate his rage, or pull forward death and destruction to the delinquents. Whereupon, without further disputing the matter, Perkin Warbeck, John à Water, sometime mayor of Cork, and his son were, the sixteenth of November, arraigned and condemned at Westminster of high treason, and the twenty-third hanged at Tyburn: Perkin mounted on a scaffold, reading his confession, and, contrary to all expectation, asking the king and country forgiveness, and dying penitently, with great remorse of conscience, and compunction of spirit:

Et sic finis Priami—

Not long after, Edward Earl of Warwick, who had been the twenty-first of November

arraigned at Westminster, before the Earl of Oxford, High Constable of England for the present, was, upon the twenty-eighth, 1499, beheaded on Tower-Hill. For he quietly confessed the inditement, concerning his consent and willingness to obtain his liberty, though it were by violating the law in that kind, and breaking of prison, whose simplicity I rather lament than condemn the offence. For it was a dangerous time for any Plantagenet to live in, and I may well cry out,

Omne tulit secum Caesaris ira malum :

But the king was indeed glad of this occasion, and fortune gave virtue the check; because, as he had imprisoned him without a cause, he knew not what to do with him without a fault: yet some report that the principal reason of accelerating his death was a speech of Ferdinando's King of Spain, who should swear, that the marriage between Lady Catharine, his daughter, and Prince Arthur of Wales, should never be consummated, as long as any Earl of Warwick lived. For the very name and title was not only formidable to other nations, but superstitious to the wavering and unconstant English: whereupon the king was the gladder to take hold of this opportunity, wherein the conviction of the law had cast this stumbling block of treason in his walk and race to a longer life: and yet was there nothing done, but by orderly proceedings, and justifiable discourses, more than, when the silly prince submitted to his mercy, he thought it the greatest point of mercy to look to himself; and so, for the benefit of his posterity, and the sedation of all troubles, both present and to come, struck off his head, and with him the head of all division and dissension.

A Letter from Paris, from Sir George Wakeman, to his Friend Sir W. S.¹ in London.

Printed for T. B. in the Year 1681.

[Folio; containing two Pages.]

Dear Sir,

I CANNOT but wonder at your confidence, in staying in England among the national Bedlam of resolute Hereticks: for I think the people are all mad, and resolve to question the integrity of the Saints, since they have impeached the justice. I hear with great trouble that you have got your *quietus est*, and have left the woolpack, and thrown from your shoulders that great grievance of the nation, Justice. You are no longer mounted like Rhadamanthus on the bench, weighing the very essence of all causes to a mite, in the golden balance of judgment. I should have taken you for Justice herself, but they say she is blind; and I am sure you can see (as the old homely proverb has it) 'which side your bread is buttered on.' Let every one speak as they find, I am sure you dealt justly by me; for I protest I am as innocent as the child that is unborn, and have been acquitted by the law, and therefore, if I pleased, might return to England; but I have

¹ [Sir William Scroggs, who was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, upon the resignation of Sir Richard Rainsford, May, 1678. He was removed from this high office in April, 1681, to escape the impeachment of the House of Commons. Sir George Wakeman was physician to the Queen, and a Catholic; he was tried before Scroggs for the memorable Popish plot, and acquitted. There can be little need to warn the reader of relying upon the authenticity of the following letter.]

several reasons, best known to myself, for my staying on this side the water: but, *morblew*, it is not to plot; I leave that to the Jesuits, who are a sort of people I have nothing to do with. I cannot but remember your former kindness, and having no other means, (as the French proverb has it) '*Je vous paye en monnoye de cordelier*,' I will pay you with thanks and prayers; and I hope to see you again triumphant with the purse in your hand. But, in the mean time, I invite you to Paris; I think it would be a great deal of prudence to shun the storm that is like to blow from Oxford, about the twenty-first of March next, as I find predicted by several judicious astrologers. Here you will be out of harm's way, and who knows but you may become at Paris as famous for law and justice, as I am grown for physick? I am in great practice, and live like myself. I have lately purchased the receipts of Madam ——— of her heirs, at the value of three-hundred pistoles, in which I have found out the quintessence of poisons; a secret I much studied all my life. I have also here met with a Jew, and a disguised Banian, who came lately out of the great Mogul's territories; both which have furnished me with the most choice drugs, not to be had in Spain or Italy. I will shortly send you a pair of perfumed gloves, to present your enemies with: never fear the operation, the effluvia shall blast like the pestilence, and at several leagues distance. Every man according to his calling, for *Medicina est scientia insalubrium*, as well as *salubrium*, and is *adjectio* and *subtractio*: to kill *secundum artem* requires as much skill as to cure; and we are most useful either way among mortals. By Æsculapius, the bearded son of Apollo, I cannot refrain excursions in my own element; but I hope you will pardon me, and for that I must inquire after the state of your body. It is my opinion, that this air will be much more agreeable to your constitution, than that of London. The spring is now coming on, and the latter end of March, or the beginning of April, will be a most seasonable time to move your body: but I beseech you not to take any parliamentary pills; they have too much *colecynthida* in them, and will work too violently; you have but a tender body, none knows so well your constitution as myself: I wish I could inspect your water; if it be bloody, it is an ill sign. I think the Spaw or the waters of Bourbon, would be proper for you. I desire you would be pleased to remember me to my old friend, with whom sometimes we used to dust it; but especially to old Father J. S. you know he is a close man, and first brought us together; I wonder where he hides these dangerous times; bid him beware of the three-hundred, and then let the eight-thousand go whistle: you are acquainted with my cyphers. Pray let me have a letter from you as soon as you can, either by the ordinary post, or by Monsieur Pritchant, whom I shortly expect, and who has orders to wait on you before he comes away. I am,

Sir, your highly obliged friend,

And most humble servant,

G. W.

Paris, Feb. 25, New Stile.

POSTSCRIPT.

JUST as I had concluded, in comes Monsieur Pompone, my good friend, who tells me, that though you sit not on the bench, you still stand in the cabinet; and, though you plead not at the bar, you give chamber-council. I am glad of it with all my heart: but that wise man bid me tell you, that you should lash the wheels of your chariot; (they are too much oiled, and run like Jehu's;) and that you use the whip of zeal, till you have jaded your horses reason and judgment, who have drawn up hill so hard, that they are become blind. He bids me also put you in mind of an Italian saying, *Piu tosto tardi, che in fretta*; Take breath, be rather late, than do your business in haste. I advise you, therefore, to get an hold-fast, that you lose not ground; such as wains have when they draw up a steep hill, that keeps them from running backward, when they are at a stand, and the horses take breath. The king of France's bitt-maker has promised me an exact pattern of a parliamentary snaffle and cavason, which I will send over to you; for I

understand that the French gag, which the Earl of D. had got, is broke. This is an excellent device, I assure you; for the French king has more than one parliament in his kingdom, and, by this means, he has made them as gentle as asses; and, without either wincing or braying, carry his edicts through all his large territories. He makes no requests; *Sic volo sic jubeo*, is all the language he uses. I am much in love with his government, and may shortly send you some of his policies. Be careful of your health this spring; and have a care of changing the air, unless in France. Farewell.

G. W.

The secret History of the Calves-Head Club: Or, The Republican Unmasked. Wherein is fully shewn the Religion of the Calves-Head Heroes, in their Anniversary Thanksgiving-Songs on the Thirtieth of January; by them called Anthems, for the Years 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697; now published to demonstrate the restless, implacable Spirit of a certain Party still among us, who are never to be satisfied, till the present Establishment in Church and State is subverted.

Discite justitiam moniti, & non temnere Divos. Virg.

London: Printed and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1703.¹

[Quarto; containing twenty-two Pages.]

THE PREFACE.

THE following collection has been so industriously handed up and down, where it was thought it would be well received, and confirm those principles which too many have unhappily sucked in, and raise the confidence of those who were thought too bashful by their party; that some honest men have thought there could be no more effectual remedy for the mischief it might do, nor any surer way to stop the career, than a publication. For, though many may presume, that under the disguise of mirth, and the protection of a free conversation, they might safely venture to make an experiment how far the poison would work upon the undiscerning of untried constitutions; especially when rhyme and musick were the vehicles, and Under the Rose was the word; yet it is believed, when the malignity of the draught is publicly discovered, few will venture upon it without a sufficient antidote, and fewer have the hardiness to administer it.

These lines (for such ribaldry and trash deserve not the name of Poems) were composed and set to musick for the use of the 'Calves-Head Club,' which was erected by an impudent set of people, who have their feast of calves-heads in several parts of the town, on

¹ [Again in 1709.]

the thirtieth of January; in the derision of the day, and defiance of monarchy: at divers of which meetings the following compositions are sung, and, in affront to the Church, called 'Anthems.' These, which are here published, are said to have been written by Mr. Benjamin Bridgewater, and that he was largely rewarded by the members of the club for his pains. Whether Mr. Stevens was so well gratified for his sermons to the same tune, and on the same days, is more than the publisher dares say: but, perhaps, the pulpit was a bar to his pretensions, and the poet had been better rewarded than the preacher, had his sermons been put into rhyme.

However, it is hoped, that this publication may give a check to the evil of the example, and destroy the continuance of the practice, (or at least give fair warning,) and take away the pretence of surprise from those who shall proceed to insult the government in so saucy and so villainous a manner.

But, whatever the success may be, the publisher doubts not but his intentions are justified, and wishes the effect may demonstrate the reasonableness of them, by putting an end to so unchristian and scandalous a practice.

IT is a prodigious thing to consider (and, for the honour of my native country, I wish I could say it was a false imputation upon her) that the execrable regicides of King Charles the First should find any advocates, or abettors, still among us.

I say, it is prodigious, that after the whole nation, by their representatives in parliament assembled, has enacted so solemn a detestation of this unnatural parricide, and appointed a day of humiliation for it, to continue to all ages of the world, there should be such a set of boutefeus yet remaining, so impudently audacious, as to justify a crime, for which the three kingdoms have smarted so severely; and, in their wicked merriment, to act over, as much as in them lies, that tragical scene, which has justly made us infamous in the remotest corners of the universe.

Was it not enough that a powerful prince, allied to most of the crowned heads in Christendom, was despoiled of that just authority, wherewith the laws of God and man had invested him, and, lastly, of his life; but that he must be most barbarously persecuted after his death, and suffer those indignities in his memory, when dead, which he had so plentifully suffered in his person, when living?

There is a time, when the most implacable malice is satiated, and exerts itself no longer. The most savage nations seldom, or never, carried their resentments beyond the grave; and thought it a piece of barbarous cowardice, to insult upon the ashes of those that could not speak for themselves.

But the royal martyr has been treated, if it is possible, with more inhumanity after his decollation, than he was exposed to when under the power of his rebellious subjects. He has not only been stigmatised by the odious name of tyrant, (who was, in truth, the best and most merciful father of his country,) and loaded with a thousand undeserved calumnies; but what shews the restless malice of his adversaries, even that incomparable book of devotion², composed by him in his solitude, and the time of his deepest afflictions, and

² ['ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ; the Portraiture of his sacred majesty King Charles I. in his solitudes and sufferings.' It has long been a subject of controversy whether King Charles was or was not the author of this admirable work: nor has the question been satisfactorily decided to the present day. This is no fit place for the examination of the several arguments which have been ponderously produced in favour of either position, nor could such examination be possibly included within any moderate bounds; it will suffice therefore to present the reader with the titles of the principal publications to which this controversy hath given birth:—

'Εἰκονοκλάστης, or the Image-breaker; in answer to a book, intituled, *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*; the Portraiture of his sacred majesty in his solitudes and sufferings. By John Milton, 1649.' 'Our modern demagogue's modesty and honesty in its true light: being a Vindication of the Royal Martyr's sacred memory from the antiquated calumnies and fictions of the villain Milton, &c. in a letter to a friend.' 'Εἰκὼν Ἀληθινὴ. The Pourtraicture of Truth's most sacred majesty, truly suffering, though not solely: wherein the false colours are washed off, wherewith the painter-stainer had bedaubed Truth, the late King, and the Parliament, in his counterfeit

which no pen, but his own, could have written, has been adjudged from him by a late mercenary author³; although it is certain to any man, at least, that can distinguish styles, that the person, to whom the republicans ascribe it, was no more capable of writing so excellent a piece, than the aforesaid compiler of Milton's life, of writing an orthodox system of the mysteries of christianity.

Thus, as he was torn from his queen and children in his life, he was robbed, as far as it lay in the power of his malicious enemies, even of the legitimate issue of his brain. Though as truth, but especially truth injuriously oppressed, never wants some generous hands to defend its cause; so all the arguments that have been used by the republicans, to prove it a spurious piece, have been fully answered by a worthy⁴ divine now living, beyond all possibility of a reply.

The barbarity of his enemies stopped not here: for, not content to have assassinated his person and reputation, they even dispossessed him of his sepulchre; a piece of cruelty, which none but thorough-paced villains ever executed; for, when the⁵ long parliament had voted an honourable interment for their late prince, who had suffered so unjustly, all was stopped; by reason that the persons, ordered to regulate the ceremony, when they came to examine the royal coffin, found the body missing.

This puts me in mind of what a worthy gentleman, who travelled with my Lord A—— into Italy, told me some years ago, *viz.* That, during his short stay at Bern in Switzerland, a syndic of the town, who used frequently to visit major-general Ludlow, when he lived in those parts, assured him, that he had often heard Ludlow, in a vaunting manner, affirm, that, though Ireton and Cromwell were buried under Tyburn, yet, it was a com-

piece, intitled, *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*. Published to undeceive the world. 1649.' 'The Princely Pelican, or Royal Resolves, presented in sundry choice observations, extracted from his Majesty's divine meditations. With satisfactory reasons to the whole kingdom, that his sacred person was the only author of them. 1649.' Reprinted with Sir Thomas Herbert's Memoirs. 1702. 'Εἰκὼν Ἀκλάνης. The Image Unbroken: a perspective of the impudence, falsehood, vanity, and profaneness, published in a libel, intitled, *Εἰκονοκλαστικὴ*. 1651.' 'Vindiciæ Carolinæ; a defence of King Charles the First's holy and divine book, called, *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*, against the rude and undutiful assaults of the late Dr. Walker of Essex, proving by living and unquestionable evidences the aforesaid book to be the Royal Martyr's, and not Dr. Gauden's. By Richard Hollingsworth, D. D. 1692.' 'A Defence of the Vindication of K. Ch. the Martyr, justifying his majesty's title to *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*: in answer to a late pamphlet intitled *Amyntor*. By the author of the Vindication. 1690.' 'Truth brought to Light. By Edm. Ludlow.' 'A second Defence of K. Ch. I. by way of reply to an infamous libel called Ludlow's Letter to Dr. Hollingsworth. Lond. 1692.' 'The Character of K. Ch. I. from the Declaration of Mr. Alex. Henderson, upon his death-bed; with a further Defence of the King's Holy Book. To which is annexed some short remarks upon a vile book called "Ludlow no Lyar," with a Defence of the King from the Irish rebellion. By Rich. Hollingsworth, D. D. 1692.' 'Dr. Walker's true, modest, and faithful Account of the Author of *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*, strictly examined, and demonstrated to be false, impudent, and deceitful. In two parts. The first disproving it to be Dr. Gauden's; the second proving it to be King Charles the First's. By Tho. Long, B. D. and Prebendary of St. Peter's, Exeter. 1693.' 'A Vindication of K. Ch. the martyr: proving that his Majesty was the author of *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*, against a memorandum said to be written by the Earl of Anglesey, and against the exceptions of Dr. Walker and others. To which is added, a Preface, wherein the bold and insolent assertions published in a passage of Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, relating to the present controversy, are examined and confuted. The third edition with large additions: together with some original letters of K. Ch. I. under his own hand, never before printed, and faithfully copied from the said originals. By Tho. Wagstaff, A. M. 1693. 1711.' 'Several Evidences, which have not yet appeared, in the controversy concerning the Author of *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*; produced in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Wagstaff. By J. Y. [Young] of Plymouth. 1704.'

The controversy is likewise noticed in 'Dugdale's Short View of the late Troubles,' p. 380. Nash's 'Hist. of Worcestershire,' ii. 157. Birch's 'Enquiry into the Origin of Paradise Lost,' p. 233. Granger's Biog. Hist. of England, iii. 31. Gent. Mag. for Mar. and Apr. 1754; and in the Appendix to Burton's Genuineness of Clarendon's History. An epitome of the whole was drawn up by Mr. Nichols, in his Appendix to the Anecdotes of Bowyer, which seems to leave a preponderance of testimony in favour of K. Charles, rather than of Dr. Gauden.

Mr. Hayley, in his valuable Life of Milton, mentions a pamphlet on this subject by the infamous Lauder, intitled, 'King Charles the First vindicated from the Charge of Plagiarism brought against him by Milton, and Milton himself convicted of Forgery.' Life, p. 102. edit. 1796. 4to.]

³ See Toland's Life of Milton.

⁴ Dr. Wagstaff.

⁵ See Dr. Nelson's Preface to the King's Trial.

fort to him, that the royal martyr kept them company: for, says he, foreseeing that his son would undoubtedly come in, we took care that his father's body should not be idolatrously worshipped by the cavaliers; and therefore privately removed it to the place of common execution.⁶

Whether the matter of fact, as Ludlow related, be true or false, it is not material here to inquire; though I think nothing can give any honest man a juster and greater aversion to the libertines of that party, than to observe that their malice has no bounds, and that it neither spares the dead nor the living.

But, of all the indignities offered to the manes of this injured prince, nothing, in my opinion, comes up to the inhumanity and profaneness of the 'Calves-Head Club.' For my part, I was of opinion at first, that the story was purely contrived on purpose to render the republicans more odious than they deserved: for I could not imagine, how any men that pretended to be christians, or called themselves Englishmen, could calmly and sedately applaud an action, condemned not only by the word of God, but by the laws of the land, to which they pretend to pay so great a deference.

As for the regicides, who were actually concerned in this execrable tragedy, this may be said, however, in favour of them, (if I may be allowed so to express myself towards criminals of that magnitude,) that having gone so far in their wickedness, and given his majesty such insupportable provocations; and, what is more, measuring his clemency by their own; they concluded he could never forgive them: and therefore, like Cataline, found themselves under the necessity of committing greater crimes, in order to cover themselves from what was past.

But what can be offered to extenuate the crime of these atheistical miscreants, who make that a matter of their lewd mirth, which the whole nation has, in the most solemn manner, ever since lamented; and, over their cups, applaud the most wicked action which the sun ever beheld?

For this reason, my good nature made me look upon it as a fiction upon the party; till happening, in the late reign, to be in the company of a certain active whig, who, in all other respects, was a man of probity enough; he assured me, that, to his knowledge, it was true: that he knew most of the members of that club, and that he had been often invited to their meetings, but that he had always avoided them; adding, that, according to the principles he was bred up in, he would have made no scruple to have met King Charles the First, in the field, and opposed him to the utmost of his power; but that, since he was dead, he had no further quarrel to him, and looked upon it as a cowardly piece of villany, below any man of honour, to insult upon the memory of a prince, who had suffered enough in his life-time.

He farther told me, that Milton, and some other creatures of the commonwealth, had instituted this club, (as he was informed,) in opposition to Bishop Juxon, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, and other divines of the Church of England, who met privately every thirtieth of January; and, though it was under the time of the usurpation, had compiled a private form of service for the day, not much different from what we now find in the liturgy.⁷ That after the Restoration, the eyes of the government being upon the whole party, they were obliged to meet with a great deal of precaution; but now, says he (and this was the second year of King William's reign) they meet almost in a public manner, and apprehend nothing.

By another gentleman, who, about eight years ago, went out of mere curiosity to see their club, and has since furnished me with the following papers, I was informed, that it was kept in no fixed house, but that they removed as they saw convenient; that the place

⁶ [This account is in all probability fictitious: an equally unauthenticated and improbable story may be found in the second volume of this work, page 285.]

⁷ [See 'Private Forms of Prayer fitted for the late sad times. Particularly a Prayer for the 30th of January, morning and evening, with additions. Lond. 1660.' 12 mo. Dr. Hammond is supposed to be the author.]

they met in, when he was with them, was in a blind alley about Moorfields; that the company wholly consisted of Independants and Anabaptists (I am glad, for the honour of the Presbyterians, to set down this remark); that the famous Jerry White, formerly chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, (who, no doubt of it, came to sanctify, with his pious exhortations, the ribaldry of the day,) said grace; that, after the table-cloth was removed, the Anniversary Anthem, as they impiously called it, was sung, and a calf's skull, filled with wine or other liquor; and then a brimmer went about to the pious memory of those worthy patriots that had killed the tyrant, and delivered their country from his arbitrary sway; and, lastly, a collection made for the mercenary scribbler, to which every man contributed according to his zeal for the cause, or the ability of his purse.

I have taken care to set down what the gentleman told me, as faithfully as my memory would give me leave; and I am persuaded, that some persons that frequent the Black Boy in Newgate-street, as they knew the author of the following lines, so they know this account of the Calves-Head Club to be true.

Now I will appeal to any unprejudiced Englishman, whether such shameful assemblies ought not to be suppressed with the utmost diligence. Let us consider them, either in relation to the christian religion we profess, or to common humanity and good manners, or, lastly, to the laws of the land; and they affront all equally. Therefore, I hope the magistrates and others, whom it concerns, will take care, (especially now, since they have the countenance of the government,) to prohibit, as far as in them lies, and detect these wicked meetings; that the persons, there assembling, may be punished as they deserve.

Though no man abominates persecution more than myself, yet, I will venture to say, that a set of people, who wish the subversion of our ecclesiastical and civil establishment, as appears by the following papers, ought to expect no quarter from our hands.

Anniversary Anthem, 1693.

I.

ONCE more, my Muse, resume thy cheerful lyre,
 Let this day's acts eternal thoughts inspire:
 Let every smiling glass with mirth be crown'd,
 While healths to England's native rights go round.
 One such another day as this, alone,
 Wou'd fully for a nation's sins atone.
 'Tis a sure symptom that the people's bless'd,
 When once a haughty tyrant's dispossess'd.
Chor. Apollo's pleas'd, and all the tuneful Nine
 Rejoice, and in the solemn chorus join.

II.

Again, my Muse, immortal Brutus sing,
 Whose daring sword expell'd a tyrant king;
 Then bravely fought, and bravely overcame,
 To give Rome freedom and eternal fame.
 Such force has liberty, such conquering charms,
 That the whole world submitted to their arms.
 What wreaths shall we prepare, and how rehearse
 His lasting worth in everlasting verse?
Chor. Apollo's pleased, &c.

III.

Triumphant laurels too must crown that head
Whose righteous hand struck England's tyrant dead :
The heroes too, adorn'd with blood and sweat,
Who forc'd th' opposing monster to retreat.
Heaven still before a leading angel sent :
They conquer'd, 'cause they on his errand went.
Like th' Israelites of old, their chains they broke,
Guided by pillars, both of fire and smoke.

Chor. Apollo's pleas'd, &c.

IV.

'Tis force must pull a lawless tyrant down ;
But give men knowledge, and the priest's undone.
When once the lurking poison is descry'd,
His juggling tricks are all in vain apply'd.
In vain he whines, in vain he cants and prays,
There's not a man believes one word he says :
'Tis true, religion is the grand pretence ;
But power and wealth's the mythologic sense⁸.

Chor. Apollo's pleas'd, &c.

V.

Then fill the longing glass with sprightly wine,
Our cause is justice, and the health's divine.
The heroes smile, and our delights approve,
Which adds new joys to those they find above :
'Twas so they honour, so they conquest sought,
Thus fairly drank, and then as fairly fought.
They love to see us thus our homage pay,
And bless the just occasion of the day.

Chor. Apollo's pleas'd, &c.

Anniversary Anthem, 1694⁹.

I.

THE storm is blown over, the tempest is past,
The tyrant is fallen, and is conquer'd at last.
Our fathers resolv'd it, and bravely 'twas done,
To save the whole kingdom by lopping the crown.
By her looks we discover'd the nation was pleas'd,
Her fears were all vanish'd, her troubles were eas'd ;
Whilst we yearly commend an attempt so divine,
And applaud the just action with calves-head and wine.

Chorus.

⁸ The two last lines of this stanza are almost verbatim stolen out of a copy of verses in the State Collection, Vol. I.

⁹ This seems to be a parody of a song in the 'Innocent Adultery,' called 'the Danger is over.'

The secret History of the Calves-Head Club, &c.

II.

Thus Rome, when she suffer'd by seven lewd¹⁰ kings,
 That shackled her freedom, and pinion'd her wings,
 Long time she sat mournful, as England had done,
 And bow'd to the weight of a tyrannous throne;
 Till, urg'd with new griefs, she for liberty cry'd,
 And liberty round the glad echo reply'd:
 Whilst Brutus resolv'd to give Tarquin his doom,
 And offer a king to the welfare of Rome.

Chorus.

III.

When by tyrant's endeavours the people are prest,
 Let this noble example inspire every breast
 With the same resolutions to defend the good cause,
 The subjects just rights, their religion and laws.
 Then fill the calf's cranium to a health so divine,
 The cause, the old cause, shall ennoble our wine;
 Charge briskly around, fill it up, fill it full,
 'Tis the last and best service of a tyrannic scull.

IV.

Then, boys, let's drink a bumper, since their actions made us great,
 Let us lay our trophies at their feet:
 The cause gave courage to the soldiers, taught them how their foes to beat,
 That alone cou'd free a captiv'd state.

V.

Then to puss, boys, to puss, boys,
 Let's drink it off thus, boys,
 As our fathers did, and the world shall us adore;
 It's happier to die, boys,
 Than in slavery to lie, boys;
 Thus the heroes chose it, and bravely died before.

Anniversary Anthem, 1695.

I.

WHAT the devil means all this pother
 On this day more than another?
 See! the sot to church reels out:
 See! the lecher leaves his whore;
 The rogues, that never pray'd before,
 Are grown most plaguily devout.

¹⁰ Our author was an admirable historian, I find. This epithet of *lewd* can fit none of them but Tarquin: but all kings are alike criminal; *i.e.* they are *kings*.

II.

Prithee, Parson, why those faces,
Pious frowns, and damn'd grimaces?
Why so many creeds and masses¹¹,
Collects, lessons, and the rest
Of the holy garbage drest?
Proper food for mumbling asses.

III.

Oh! Sir; it's a debt, they say,
Mother church must yearly pay
To her saint's canonisation:
It was the day, in which he fell
A martyr to the cause of hell¹²,
Justly crown'd with decollation.

IV.

Mirth for us, and generous wine;
Let the clergy cant and whine,
Preach and prate about rebellion:
No more beasts of kings, good heaven¹³!
Such as late in wrath were given,
Two curs'd tyrants, and a stallion.

V.

May the banish'd Tarquin's fate
Be as just, but not so great;
Some mean shameful death attend him:
May curs'd Lewis, for old scores,
Turn him poorly out of doors;
Then may some friendly halter end him.

An Anthem on the Thirtieth of January, 1696.

THERE was a king of Scottish race, a man of muckle might a,
Was never seen in battles great, but greatly he would sh—— a:
This king begot another king, which made the nation sad a,
Was of the same religion, an Atheist like his dad a.
This monarch wore a peaked beard, and seem'd a doughty hero,
As Dioclesian innocent, and merciful as Nero;
The church's darling implement, but scourge of all the people:
He swore he'd make each mother's son adore their idol steeple;
But they, perceiving his designs, grew plaguy shy and jealous,
And timely chop'd his calf's-head off, and sent him to his fellows.

¹¹ The usual name that these impudent sons of Belial bestow upon our holy Liturgy.

¹² See what virtuous principles these pretended saints are of! That call the king's heroic suffering for the laws of the land, the liberties of the people, the constitutions of parliaments, and the established church, falling for the cause of hell. O execrable monsters!

¹³ A most admirable prayer! It is easy to nickname them *beasts*, and there is an end of them all.

Old Rowly¹⁴ did succeed his dad; such a king was never seen a,
 He'd lie with every nasty drab, but seldom with his queen a.
 Restless and hot, he roll'd about the town from whore to whore a,
 A merry monarch as e'er liv'd, yet scandalous and poor a.
 His dogs at council-board wou'd sit, like judges in their furs a;
 'Twas hard to say, which had most wit, the monarch, or his curs a.
 At last he dy'd, we know not how, but most think by his brother;
 His soul to royal Tophet went, to see his dad and mother.
 The furious James usurp'd the throne, to pull religion down a;
 But, by his wife and priest undone, he quickly lost his crown a.
 To France the wand'ring monarch's trudg'd, in hopes relief to find a;
 Which he is like to have from thence, even when the d——'s blind a.
 Oh! how should we rejoice and pray, and never cease to sing a,
 If bishops too were chac'd away¹⁵, and banish'd with their king a?
 Then peace and plenty would ensue, our bellies would be full a,
 Th' enliven'd isle would laugh and smile, as in the days of Noll a¹⁶.

An Anthem on the 30th of January, 1697.

1.

TOUCH, now touch, the tuneful lyre,
 Make the joyful strings resound;
 The victory's at last entire,
 With the royal victim crown'd.

2.

The happy stroke did soon recover
 What we long had sought in vain;
 Thus Ariadne lost her lover,
 But the Gods reliev'd her pain.

3.

'Twas an action just and daring,
 Nature smil'd at what they did,
 When our fathers, nothing fearing,
 Made the haughty tyrant bleed.

4.

They, their sons thus well obliging,
 Taught us how this day to keep,
 Who, by fighting, storming, sieging,
 Laid the ravening wolf asleep.

¹⁴ Charles II. A very fine character this of a merciful prince, who restored to us our ancient government and liberties! But this shews the gratitude of this faction.

¹⁵ Thus we find, that the subversion of monarchy is not the only thing this party aims at, but likewise that of the hierarchy, which must expire both together: so that, though some writers in that reign thought fit to ridicule that saying of 'No king, no bishop,' as absurd and inconsequential, yet our fathers lived to see it verified: and I heartily wish their posterities may never see the experiment made the second time.

¹⁶ The reader is desired to observe how inconsistently these libertines act with themselves, who can celebrate the bloody and calamitous reign of an usurper, who trampled upon that very republick, of which they boast so much.

5.

England long her wrongs sustaining,
Press'd beneath her burdens down,
Chose a set of heroes daring,
To chastise the haughty crown.

6.

Thus the Romans, whose beginning
From an equal right did spring,
Abhorring Romulus's sinning,
To the Gods transferr'd their king.

7.

Let the black guard¹⁷ rail no further,
Nor blaspheme the righteous blow;
Nor miscall that justice murder,
Which made saint and martyr too.

8.

They and we, this day observing,
Differ only in one thing:
They are canting, whining, starving;
We rejoicing, drink and sing.

9.

Advance the emblem of the action!
Fill the calf's-skull full of wine;
Drinking ne'er was counted faction,
Men and Gods adore the vine¹⁸.

10.

To the heroes gone before us,
Let's renew the flowing bowl;
Whilst the lustre of their glories
Shines like stars from pole to pole.

¹⁷ What religion these incendiaries are of, appears by their giving the loyal and orthodox sons of the best established church in the world such ignominious nicknames.

¹⁸ Admirable doctrine in the mouths of hypocrites, that pretend to so much sanctity!

Reasons for crowning the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen jointly, and for placing the Executive Power in the Prince alone¹.

London: Printed in the Year 1689.

[Folio; containing one Page.]

WHEREAS the grand convention of the estates of England have asserted the people's right, by declaring, ' That the late King James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and by advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of this kingdom, has abdicated the government; and that the throne is thereby vacant.' For which misgovernment he has forfeited the truth of the regal inheritance of the executive power, both in himself, and in his heirs lineal and collateral; so that the same is devolved back to the people, who have also the legislative authority, and consequently may of right give and dispose thereof, by their representatives; for their future peace, benefit, security, and government, according to their good-will and pleasure. And forasmuch as it is absolutely necessary at all times, but in this dangerous conjuncture especially, that the government be speedily settled on sure and lasting foundations; and consequently that such person or persons be immediately placed in the throne, in whom the nation has most reason to repose an entire confidence: it, therefore, now lies upon us to make so judicious a choice, that we may, in all human probability, thereby render ourselves a happy people, and give our posterity cause to rejoice, when they read the proceedings of this wise and grand convention. Who is it, therefore, that has so highly merited the love and good opinion of the people, the honour of wearing the crown, and swaying the scepter of this land, as his illustrious highness the Prince of Orange? Who with so great expense, hazard, conduct, courage, and generosity, has happily rescued us from popery and slavery; and, with so much gallantry, restored us to our ancient rights, religion, laws, liberty, and properties: for which heroic action we can do no less, in prudence, honour, and gratitude, than pray him to accept our crown.

II. It is better to settle the exercise of government in one who is not immediate in the line, than in one that is. 1. Because it is a clear asserting of a fundamental right, that manifests the constitution of the English government, and covers the subjects from tyranny and slavery. 2. It cuts off the dispute of the pretended Prince of Wales. 3. The old succession being legally dissolved, and a new one made; the government is secured from falling into the hands of a Papist.

III. The making the prince and princess of Orange king and queen jointly, is the nation's gratitude and generosity; and by recontinuing the line in remainder, is manifested the inestimable value the people have for the two princesses, notwithstanding the maladministration of their unhappy father.

IV. The present state of Europe in general, and of these kingdoms in particular, requires a vigorous and masculine administration. To recover what is lost, rescue what is in danger, and rectify what is amiss, cannot be effected, but by a prince that is consummate in the arts both of peace and war. Though the prince and princess be king and queen jointly, and will equally share the glory of a crown, and we the happiness of their auspi-

¹ [Qu. By Bishop Burnet?]

cious reign; yet the wisdom of the grand convention is manifested, First, In placing the executive power in one of them, and not in both: for two persons, equal in authority, may differ in opinion, and consequently in command; and it is evident, no man can serve two masters. Secondly, It is highly necessary and prudent, rather to vest the administration in the husband, than in the wife: 1. Because a man, by nature, education, and experience, is generally rendered more capable to govern than a woman; therefore, 2. The husband ought rather to rule the wife, than the wife the husband; especially considering the vow in matrimony. 3. The prince of Orange is not more proper to govern, as he is man and husband only, but as he is a man, a husband, and a prince of known honour, profound wisdom, undaunted courage, and incomparable merit; as he is a person that is naturally inclined to be just, merciful, and peaceable, and to do all public acts of generosity for the advancement of the interest and happiness of human societies; and therefore most fit, under heaven, to have the sole executive power.

The terrible and deserved Death of Francis Ravilliack, shewing the manner of his strange Torments at his Execution, upon Fryday the 25th of May last past, for the Murther of the late French King, Henry the Fourth. Together with an Abstract out of divers Proclamations and Edicts, now concerning the State of France. As it was printed in French in three several Bookes published by Authoritie¹. 1610.

At London: Printed for William Barley, and John Baylie, 1610.

[Quarto, black letter, containing twenty Pages.]

THE most inhumaine murther, lately comitted upon the person of the late French King, Henry the Fourth of famous memory, hath much disquieted the state of Fraunce, and so busied other kingdoms in hunting after the true reports thereof, so farre forth, that we thinke it an interior love to our countri-men to have an abstract of the most occurrences that happned since that unnaturall accydent. And, first, to begin with the viperous homicyde, the bludie actor of this deede, who strove with the envy of his hart to draw in pieces the bowells that cherished his life (florishing Fraunce I meane) that proves abortive in bringing forth such an unnaturall French-man.

This parricide, Francis Ravilliack, in time past of the order of the Felician fryers, but of late a practissioner in the lawe (by some named a pettyfogger) born in the towne of

¹ Vide Oldys's Catalogue of Harleian Pamphlets, No. 228. [The severity of punishment exercised upon the murderer of Henry IV. has been contrasted with the clemency displayed towards the English regicides, in a tract, intituled 'Two horrid Murthers; one committed upon the person of Henry the Fourth of France, the other upon his son-in-law Charles the First of England. Of the various and lasting tortures endured by the murderers of the one, and of the easy short punishments undergone by the murderers of the other: though for the atrocity of the fact, they were not inferior to the first, but considering all circumstances and complications of treason went beyond them. By James Parry of Poston, Esq.' Lond. 1660. 4to. The account herein given of the execution of Ravilliac is extracted from Howel's History of the reign of Lewis XIII.]

Angolesme, a place not farre distant from the citty of Paris; who, after he had unluckely accomplished this bloody stratagem, by taking away the preserver of so many lives, was, upon the 23 of May last, araigned, convicted, and condemned by due order of lawe, in the great court and chamber of Turnella in Paris, before all the assemblies, presidents, counsellors, and commissioners, at the request of Du Vicquet, attorney-generall to the king, whose place and authority was there then to inquire against this Francis Ravilliack, for the murther of his late soveraigne, Henry the Fourth, King of Fraunce and Navarre; whereupon, this Francis Ravilliack, with a sad and deathlike countenance, holding up his guilty hand before this great assembly, presently confessed 'guilty;' and that he became this his countries shame, onely by the instigation of the devill: and not any other accomplices and confederats would he reveale, but in a satanicall maner vowed himselfe to secrecie; whereupon the law proceeded, and a most terrible sentence of death was pronounced against him there, according to a generall decree of that great court of parliament: and so (being a condemned villaine) was, with a strong gard of armed men, convayd to prison; otherwise, by the violent rage of the common people, he had beene torne in peeces: such was the love they bore to their late king.

Upon the Fryday following, being the 25. of May (according to their computation) this Francis Ravilliack was in a most vile and bace manner caried to execution, as followeth:

First, Naked in his shirt, he was brought out of the consergery (being the prison for the palace) with a lighted torch of two pownd waight in one hand, and the knife (wherewith he killed the king) chayned to the other hand, so openly to be seene, that the least childe there present might behold it. After this, he was placed standing upright in a tumbrell or dung-cart, and so from thence conducted with a gard of cittizens to the capital church in Paris; where, being adjudged to doe penance, he had beene made a sacrafize to the rage of the rude people, had not there bin apoynted officers to see his execution, who prevented it.

After this, being accompanied to the place of execution with two doctors of divinitie, all the way perswading him to save his soule from everlasting punishment, by revealing and laying oppen his assocyates therein; which he would not, but stiffly (though ungraciously) tooke the bloody burthen upon his owne shoulders, withstanding, even to the death, all faire promises whatsoever. In this manner, as I sayd before, was he caried to the Greve, (being a spatious streete, and about the middle of Paris,) where was builded a very substantiall scaffould of strong timber, whereupon, according to his judgment, he was to be tormented to death. Du Vicquet, the king's attorney-generall, was apoynted principall to see the execution; and there to gather, if he could, some further light of this unchristianlike conspiracie.

This here following was the manner of his death; an example of terror, made knowne to the world to convert all bloody-minded traytors from the like enterprise. At his first comming upon the scaffold, he crossed himselfe directly over the breast; a signe that he did live and dye an obstinate papist. Whereupon, by the executioners, he was bound to an engine of wood and iron, made like to a S. Andrew's crosse, according to the fashion of his body; and then the hand, with the knife chayned to it (wherewith he slew the king) and halfe the arme was put into an artificiall furnace, then flaming with fire and brimstone, wherein the knife, his right-hand, and halfe the arme adjoyning to it, was in most terrible manner consumed: yet nothing at all would he confesse, but yelled out with such horrible cryes, even as it had beene a divell, or some tormented soule in hell. And surely, if hell's tortures might be felt on earth, it was approved in this man's punishment: and, though he deserved ten times more, yet humane nature might inforce us to pittie his distresse. After this, with tonges and iron pincers, made extreame hott in the same fornace, the appointed executioners pinched and seared the dugges of his breastes, the bawnes of his armes and thighes, with the calves of his legges, and other fleshy partes of his body, cutting out colloppes of flesh, and burned them before his face; after-

ward, into the same woundes thus made, they powred scalding oyle, rosen, pitch, and brimstone, melted together: yet would he reveal nothing, but that he did it of himselfe, by the instigation of the divell; and the reason was, because the king tollerated two religions in his kingdome. Oh small occasion! that, for this cause, one servile slave should thus quench the great light of France, whose brightnes glistred thorough Europe. But to passe furthur into this strange execution, according to the sentence pronounced against him; they put upon his navell a rundle of clay, very hard, with a hole in the midst, and, into the same hole, powred they moultten lead, till it was filled: yet revealed he nothing, but cryed out with most horrible roares, even like the dying man tormented in the brazen bull of the tyrant Phalaris.

But now to come to the finishing up of his life; and, that the last torture might, in severity, equall the first, they caused foure strong horses to be brought to teare his body in peeces, and to seporate his limbes into four quarters; where, being ready to pay his last punishment, he was questioned againe to make knowne the truth, but he would not, and so died; without speaking one word of God, or remembring the daunger of his soule. But so strongly was his flesh and joynts knit together, that of long time these foure horses could not dismember him, nor any way teare one joynt from the other, so that one of the horses faynted; the which a marchant of the citty of Paris perceiving, put to one of his owne, being an horse of an exceeding great strength; yet, notwithstanding, for all this, they were constrained to cut the flesh, under his armes and thighes, with a sharp raysor, by which meanes his body was the easier torne in peeces: which being done, the rage of the people grew so violent, that they snatched the dismembered carcassee out of the executioner's hands; some beate it in sunder against the ground, others cut it in peices with knives, so that there was nothing left but boanes, which were brought to the place of execution, and there burned to cinders; the ashes wherof was scattered into the wind, as being thought to be unworthie of the earth's buriall. God in his justice will, I hope, in the like manner, reward all such as repine at their countries safety, and desperately attempt to lift their hands against God's anointed.

The Briefes taken of divers Edicts and Decrees lately proclaimed in France in this Place.

Lewes the 13. by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all his loving Subjects, Health:

WHEREAS the inhumaine murder of our late deceased father, Henry the Fourth, of famous memory, is, as farre as law and justice can reach unto, revenged upon the body of that parricide Francis Ravilliack, whose death sufficiently witnesseth, and now stands regesterd an example of severity in such a cause, yet nature and duty bindeth us to add this further unto it. We therefore, by the advise of our foure courts of parliament, ordaine, the lords thereof, spirituall and temporall, that all the lands, goods, and cattels, late belonging to the aforesaid traytor Francis Ravilliack, shall be confiscate to our use; and also the house in Angolesme, wherein he was borne, to be utterly ruined, and be converted into a common leastall¹; and, in the same place, never any more house to be built. Also we, by our authority, doe decree and ordaine, judge and command, that the father and mother of the said Francis Ravilliack be for ever banished our kingdome of France, and all the provinces belonging thereunto, not to be sene after the date of seaventeen dayes be expiered, never to returne, upon paine of hanging. Also we ordaine, that the uncles, brothers, sisters, and all his kindred, shall never more take upon them the name of Ravilliack, but take to themselves some other name, upon the like paine of punishment;

¹ [Or laystall, a place to lay dung or rubbish in. In the neighbourhood of Gray's-Inn Lane there was once a receptacle of this kind; upon which, houses having been since built, it is now called Laystall Street.

Todd's Spencer, II. 183.]

as a name unworthy of our country. All which we do commaund to be proclaimed throughout all our provinces, by the sound of trompet ; as the order is. For the prosecution of which business, we do give full authority to Du Vicquet, our attorney-generall. Dated at our palace in Paris the 29. of May, 1613. and signed with the great seale of yellow wax, by the Lord

POTIER.

A Brief of Letters Patents given to the Queen.

Lewes the 13. by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, &c. to our Friends and faithfull Councillors of the Court of Parliament of Roan, Health :

LOOKING to the necessity of the time, and for the maintenance of the state in peace, upon the miserable accident committed upon the person of our most royall king and father, and being in our minority ; we doe establish, and make this good order, for the preservation of our loving subjects, to live in the union and concord as they did in the time of our father ; and as by the councill of our royall mother, princes of our blood, other princes, prelates, dukes, peeres, and officers of the crowne, we are transported to this our parliament of Paris, and being seated in our seate of justice, we do fully yeeld our whole government to our mother, to have care of us, and protect us, till we come to age ; not suffering any costome to be denyed, but all things to be performed, and continued in as good force, as they did in our father's time ; to the quiet of our land, and the peace of our loving subjects. Given at our palace in Paris the 18. of May, 1610. and of our raigne the first.

Sene, published, and registered in court, by Du Vicquet, attorney-generall, the aforesayd 18. of May. Signed likewise by De Boylevesque, secretary to the parliament of Roan ; and proclaimed in every province, that none, hereafter, shall pretend cause of ignorance.

By the King.

Lewes the 13. by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, &c. To all our loving Subjects to whome these shall appertayne, Health.

SINCE the unhapie murther of our late father, the queene, our royall mother, now regent over us, having teares in her eyes and sorrowe in her heart, hath not let to worke, with great magnanimitie and providence, for this unnaturall accident, that it might not be prejudiciall to our person, our kingdome, nor to our subjects, knowing her selfe obliged to that dutye, not only for the naturall affection she beares us, but, being declared regent, and loaden with the affaires of the kingdome, by the wils and authority of the princes of our blood, and others of the parliament, wee leaving of the seate of justice, by which meanes her paines is great, and so happie to our subjects nere us, and our cittie of Paris, desiring no deuty to us, but to our honored lady and mother, for which we doe not doubt of your willingnes ; in so doing, we shall give you thankes with our love.

Furthermore, considering that in the times past, in the daies of our late father, and other kings his predecessors, that neither of these two religions, by us now tollerated, could be weeded out of the kingdome without much blood shed : be it now therefore ordained, and likewise we doe alowe both the same through all our provinces, without any contradiction, as it was in our father's time, and the hinderers thereof to be highly punished.

Given at our palace in Paris the 22. of May ; and signed with the great seale in yellow wax. Farwell.

Letters Patents of the King concerning the Edict of Nantes.

UPON the 22. of May, there were letters patents granted, by proclamation, containing the will and intention of the king, for the intertainement of the edict made in Nantes, concerning articles given to his subjects professing the pretended reformed religion, published in the parliament at Roan, the 28. of May, 1610.

Upon Sunday the 27. of May, were nine-thousand protestants at church together verie peaceably; God be prayesd !

The king is continually guarded with two-hundred horse, and his Swissers; besides the nobilitie, which mourne greatly.

The Duke de Nevers, by advice, is retourned from the armie.

The hundred-thousand men, promised to the Marques of Brandenburgh, doe remaine as they did before; and all the army besides are well.

These be the onely last and true newes out of France, taken out of three several bookes there imprinted; the one at Roan, by Martin Mesgissier, printer ordinary to the king. Another by Peter Courant, according to the cobby printed at Paris, by Anthony Vitray, by permission of the court. And another printed at Roan by the same man; and now an abstract of them all turned into English, by R. E.

THE END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

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